SUBJECT INITIAL VERB SECOND IN WEST FLEMISH: A REPLY TO HAEGEMAN

Jan-Wouter Zwart
University of Groningen

0.   Introduction[1]

The past few years have shown a growing consensus among Germanicists on the status of pronominal clitics in Germanic. It has been independently argued by several authors that the Germanic clitics are to a large extent comparable to their Romance counterparts (Jaspers 1989, Zwart 1991, Cardinaletti & Roberts 1991, Haegeman 1991, Cardinaletti 1992, Zwart 1992b). In Romance linguistics, the assumption that clitics adjoin to heads has proved a very fruitful working hypothesis (Kayne 1975, Baltin 1982, Kayne 1991). Therefore, in the works mentioned, this hypothesis has been applied to the Germanic clitics as well.

In this way, clitics can be taken to indicate the presence and position of heads, as landmarks in the vast and uncharted Germanic *Mittelfeld*. In particular, it becomes clear that the West Germanic languages of the SOV type (Dutch, German, Frisian) have functional heads to the right of the complementizer position (C) and to the left of the VP. Previously, languages of this type were considered to have all functional heads, except C, to the right of the VP.

As an important consequence of this development, it becomes very likely that the structure of the functional system in all Germanic languages is the same, viz. as illustrated in (1). In particular, it seems to be a property of all Germanic languages (except Icelandic and Yiddish) that the inflected verb can remain inside VP in certain constructions. This leaves us with little or no evidence for functional head positions to the right of the VP.

(1)   XP

      Spec   X'

            X°   ZP
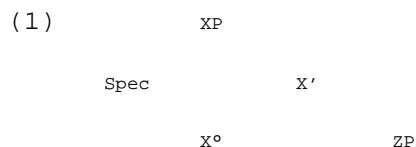
In Jaspers (1989) and Zwart (1991, 1992b), the Germanic clitics are

hosted by the highest functional head below C, AgrS. In a recent paper in this journal, Liliane Haegeman makes the important point that one functional head position as a host for the clitics is not sufficient to describe the cliticization phenomena in West Flemish, a dialect of Dutch (Haegeman 1991). Haegeman argues for unrestricted recursion of the highest functional projection below C, AgrP in her terms, which yields the multiple functional head positions needed to accommodate the West Flemish clitics.

According to Haegeman (1991), the assumption of unrestricted AgrP recursion has consequences for the analysis of subject initial main clauses in Germanic.

Before the 'discovery' of functional heads to the left of the VP in West Germanic, the verb second character of subject initial main clauses in the West Germanic languages seemed to force an analysis in which the verb moves to C and the subject to Spec,C (Den Besten 1977, Schwartz & Vikner 1989, Vikner & Schwartz 1991). This had the undesirable consequence that no formal distinction could be made between topicalizations and subject initial main clauses, as pointed out by Travis (1984).

But given the existence of at least one functional head below C to the left of VP, demonstrated by the cliticization phenomena, there is no reason to assume that in subject initial main clauses the verb moves to C (and the subject to Spec,C). We can assume that in subject initial main clauses the verb moves to AgrS (and the subject to AgrSP), and that in topicalizations the verb moves on to C, triggered by the presence of a topic in Spec,C. As I have argued in Zwart (1991, 1992a), such an analysis is preferable on both conceptual and empirical grounds.

Haegeman (1991) now argues that the adoption of AgrP recursion, needed to describe the cliticization facts of West Flemish, in turn makes the traditional V-to-C analysis of subject initial main clauses in West Germanic preferable.

In this paper, I will investigate her claim, and refute it.

1.   Facts

The pattern of West Germanic verb movement is illustrated in (2).

(2)   a.   ..dat Jan een appel <u>eet</u>
            that John an apple eats
       b.   Jan <u>eet</u> een appel
             John eats an apple
       c.   Nu <u>eet</u> Jan een appel
             now eats John an apple

In (2a), an embedded clause, the verb is in final position. Since Dutch is an SOV language (Koster 1975), this final position is either the base

position or a functional head position to the right.

In (2b), a subject initial main clause, the verb is in a derived position. Since Dutch is an SOV language, this position must be a functional head position to the left.

In (2c), a topicalization construction, the verb is again in a derived position, now to the left of the subject, and immediately to the right of the topic.

Both Haegeman (1991) and I assume that in (2c), the verb is in C and the topic in Spec,C (as argued at length by Den Besten (1977)). As for (2b), Haegeman (1991) argues that the verb is in C as well, whereas I argue that the verb is in AgrS (Zwart 1991, 1992a). Accordingly, Haegeman assumes that the subject is in Spec,C in (2b), but in Spec,AgrS in (2a) and (2c), whereas I argue that the subject is in Spec,AgrS in all sentences in (2).

The presence of a functional head AgrS to the left of the VP in Dutch is demonstrated by the position of the clitic in (3).[2]

(3)   ..dat Jan 't/*de afwas   gisteren Piet heeft zien doen
        that John it the dishes yesterday Pete has   see do
       "that John saw Pete do it/the dishes yesterday"

In (3), an Exceptional Case Marking construction, the object of the embedded clause can only appear in the main clause as a clitic. The position of the clitic must be somewhere between Spec,AgrS (where the subject of the main clause, *Jan*, is) and the VP boundary (marked by the sentence adverbial *gisteren* 'yesterday').[3] It is assumed that this indicates the presence of a functional head position to the left of the VP (Jaspers 1989; Zwart 1991, 1992b).

The cliticization arguments for the position of the functional heads in Dutch presented in Zwart (1991), are repeated for West Flemish in Haegeman (1991), so that we may assume a consensus on this part of the analysis.

2.   Conceptual Matters

Before reviewing Haegeman's (1991) argumentation, let me briefly consider the paradigm in (2) from a conceptual point of view.

First, consider (2a). In (2a), the finite verb is in a final position, either the base position, or a functional head position to the

---

[2]For the morphology of the clitics in Dutch and West Flemish, I refer to Zwart (1991) and Haegeman (1991). In the examples to follow, <u>'t</u> 'it', <u>'r</u> 'her', and <u>ze</u> 'she, they' are clitics.

[3]The argument is a little bit more complicated, because it cannot simply be assumed that sentence adverbials mark the VP boundary. Sentence adverbials cannot appear inside VP, but they can appear higher up. Crucially, they cannot appear in between the subject and the object clitic in (3). For a more detailed discussion, see Zwart (1992b).

right of the VP. Since the cliticization facts show that there are functional heads to the left of the VP, we may wonder whether there is any evidence for functional heads to the right of the VP. If not, we may assume that all functional projections have the structure in (1).

It would be a misunderstanding to see any empirical evidence for a functional head position to the right of the VP in the fact that an inflected verb appears in the final position in (2a). This could only be evidence if it were the case that in general in Germanic inflected verbs occupy functional head positions. However, it is clear from Swedish that this is not the case (Kosmeijer 1986).

In Swedish, an SVO language, the inflected verb appears to the right of sentence adverbials in embedded clauses, and in the second position in main clauses.

```
(4)   a.      ..att  han inte köper någon bil
                  that he   not buys  some  car
              "that he doesn't buy a car"
      b.  * ..att han köper inte någon bil
(5)   a.  * Han inte köper någon bil
              he   not buys  some  car
      b.    Han köper inte någon bil
              "He doesn't buy a car."
```

Since Swedish is an SVO language, there can be no doubt that in (4b), the inflected verb remains in its base position (again, on the assumption that sentence adverbials mark the VP-boundary). Therefore, (2a) doesn't provide an empirical argument for a functional head to the right of the VP in SOV languages like Dutch. On the contrary, the fact that the asymmetry between main clauses and embedded clauses of Dutch ((2a-b)) is also present in Swedish ((4)-(5)), indicates that we are dealing with a +/- movement asymmetry, rather than with a left/right movement asymmetry.

Second, consider (2b) and (2c). In each case, the verb has moved to the left. So has the subject (assuming the VP-internal subject hypothesis). In a maximally explanatory account of this paradigm, each of these movements should have an independently motivated trigger.[4]

Assuming that Spec,C is a designated position for topics, and that topicalization triggers verb movement, the presence of the verb in C in (2c) is accounted for.[5] Similarly, assuming that subjects are licensed in Spec,AgrS, the presence of the subject in Spec,AgrS in (2c) (and in (2a), for that matter) is unproblematic.

Next consider (2b). According to standard assumptions, subjects are

---

[4]Movement without a trigger is allowed by the <u>format</u> of the general rule Move α, but not by principles of explanatory adequacy when the movement in question is obligatory.

[5]Fronting of elements triggers subject verb inversion in numerous languages. This appears to be a general phenomenon, then, which, like verb movement to AgrS, is overtly present in some languages, and is postponed until LF in others (Chomsky 1992).

licensed in a Spec-Head relation with the verb in AgrSP. The fact that in (2b) the subject and the verb are adjacent comes as no surprise, therefore. If we assume that the subject is in Spec,AgrS in (2b), as in (2a) and (2c), and that the verb is in AgrS, no further stipulations are required. On the other hand, if we assume that in (2b) the subject is in Spec,C (the topic position) and the verb in C, we have to present a trigger for the additional movements NP-to-Spec,C and V-to-C. In the absence of this trigger, we must assume that the additional movements do not take place.[6]

This is the main reason why I assume that the verb is in AgrS in (2b) and in C in (2c).[7]

Finally, consider the notion of a "V/2 Constraint". In both (2b) and (2c), the finite verb occupies the (structurally) second position in the clause. To capture this observation, one could formulate a constraint forcing the finite verb to be in second position (Vikner 1991). Under the assumption that the verb is in C in both (2b) and (2c), this constraint would account for the verb movement in (2c) and the subject placement in (2b).

However, it is clear that a "V2 Constraint" is nothing but a description of the facts to be explained. In particular, each of the movements leading to the observation of a "V2 Constraint" has to be explained independently of the constraint itself.

Notice that the grammar is not sensitive to notions like "first" or "second", but only to the presence of grammatical features in functional head positions, which trigger movement to these head positions or to the Spec positions of these heads (cf. Chomsky 1992). Since licensing generally takes place in Spec-Head configurations, verb second effects are not unexpected, and, in fact, also present in languages not obeying the "V2 Constraint", such as English. What has to be explained, then, is why some languages have overt Spec-Head constellations in all constructions, and others only in some. A "V2 Constraint" describes this fact, but does nothing to explain it.

Let us now turn to Haegeman's (1991) analysis of the cliticization facts in West Flemish.

3.   Clitics in West Flemish

---

[6]As shown by Travis (1984), subjects in subject initial main clauses in Dutch have none of the properties of topics.

[7]A question rises as to why the verb is not required to move to AgrS in (2a). Importantly, this point does not affect the conceptual argument against V-to-C movement in Dutch. Suppose, for example, that a general requirement would force C to be always filled in Dutch, and that the presence of the complementizer in (2a) blocks verb movement. Even then it remains unclear why the subject apparently has to move to Spec,C. In other words, without extra stipulations, we would expect Dutch non-topicalized main clauses to have a VSO order. I have argued elsewhere that in embedded clauses verb movement to C is superfluous because in that case the subject is licensed by the trace of AgrS which has moved to C (witness numerous complementizer agreement facts in dialects of Dutch and related languages). See Zwart (1992a, 1992c).

In Zwart (1991), I argued that the cliticization facts show that there is at least one functional head to the left of VP below C in Dutch. In Dutch, object clitics form a cluster which cannot be split up.

(6) a.   dat Jan **'t 'r** gisteren gegeven heeft
          that John it her yesterday given   has
    b. * dat Jan **'t** gisteren **'r** gegeven heeft
    c. * dat **'t** Jan **'r** gisteren gegeven heeft

(6b) follows from the fact that adverbials cannot (immediately) precede clitics in Dutch, which follows from the assumption that clitics adjoin to AgrS. (6c) follows from the fact that object clitics cannot adjoin to C. Thus it seems to be the case that all object clitics in Dutch cluster and adjoin to AgrS.[8]

Haegeman (1991) shows that in West Flemish, the picture is less clear. First, there are arguments that direct object clitics and indirect object clitics may occupy different positions. Second, in West Flemish, clitics do adjoin to C.

To see the first point, consider (7).

(7) a.   ..da   Jan **ze**   Valère getoogd eet
          that John them(DO-cl) Valery shown   has
    b.   ..da Jan Valère **ze** getoogd eet

          "that John showed them to Valery"

In double object constructions in West Flemish, the clitic direct object can precede or follow the full indirect object. Suppose the direct object clitic adjoins to AgrS. Then in (7b), the indirect object *Valère* appears in between Spec,AgrS and AgrS. This is impossible, for X-bar Theoretic reasons. Therefore, the direct object clitic *ze* is in a position lower than AgrS in (7b).

To see the second point, consider (8).

(8) a.   da   **'t**   Jan **ze**   gisteren gegeven oat
          that it(DO-cl) John her(IO-cl) yesterday given   has
    b.   da   **ze**   Jan **'t**   gisteren gegeven oat
          that her(IO-cl) John it(DO-cl) yesterday given   has

          "that John gave it to her yesterday"

In (8), the direct object clitic *'t* and the indirect object clitic *ze* can be separated from each other by the subject. Suppose one of the clitics

---

[8]It seems marginally possible to split clitics in a VP preposing construction in Dutch:

(i)   **'r**   gegeven heb ik **'t**   niet
       her(IO-cl) given   have I it(DO-cl) not

Similarly, (6b) appears to be slightly better than (6c). I have no account for these judgments at this point.

adjoins to AgrS. Then the other one must be in a different position from AgrS.[9] Maintaining that the subject is in Spec,AgrS, we must conclude that clitics can adjoin to C in West Flemish.

Building on these observations, Haegeman develops the hypothesis that there are three clitic positions in West Flemish, each one immediately to the left of the canonical licensing position of the NP with the grammatical function corresponding to the grammatical function of the clitic.[10] Thus, assuming that the subject, the indirect object, and the direct object have three distinct formal licensing positions, the head of the projection immediately to the left of these positions is the adjunction site for the subject clitic, the indirect object clitic, and the direct object clitic, respectively.

This can be schematically represented as follows (cf. Haegeman 1991: 46):

(9)

    SUBJ-cl   SUBJ

              IO-cl   IO

                     DO-cl   DO

Thus, each NP has a designated clitic position, the head of an adjacent functional projection. In addition, clitics may move from head to head. Thus, direct object clitics may move to the indirect object clitic position and to the subject clitic position. Indirect object clitics may move to the subject clitic position. Along the way, the clitics may form clusters or not. As always, lowering is excluded.

This analysis covers the intricate facts of West Flemish cliticization splendidly. Thus, in (7), the direct object clitic may appear on either side of the indirect object (in its canonical licensing position). In (8), either clitic may cross the subject, together or independently from each other.

As for the exact identity of the heads the clitics adjoin to, Haegeman's (1991) analysis appears to be less straightforward. The subject clitic position is not problematic and can be identified as C. This has been established for Dutch already in Den Besten (1977). But the other positions are less clear. Much depends on the structure of the functional domain here.
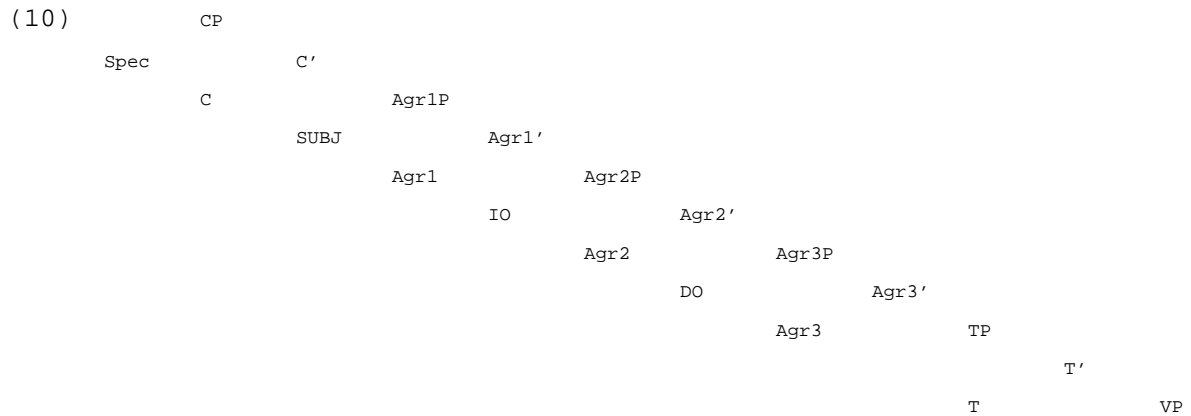
Haegeman (1991) assumes that INFL is split into Agr and T, as in Pollock (1989), but with Agr dominating T, as in Belletti (1991).

---

[9]The clitics can also appear together as a cluster, in either position.

[10]In fact, Haegeman (1991) identifies four clitic positions. This is only relevant in Exceptional Case Marking constructions with a ditransitive verb in the embedded clause. For the sake of simplicity, I will only consider simplex clauses in this reply. The presence or absence of the fourth position in the functional domain in the matrix clause does not affect the central argumentation in Haegeman (1991).

Crucially, Haegeman (1991) does not assume the three way split INFL of Chomsky (1991, 1992), with AgrS dominating T and T dominating AgrO. Therefore, the canonical licensing position of direct objects is not inside AgrOP, according to Haegeman, but somewhere above TP.

Still assuming that NPs must be formally licensed in the functional domain, this leads inevitably, it seems, to the conclusion that AgrP is recursive. Haegeman therefore adopts the following structure of CP/AgrP (1991:51):

```
(10)            CP

        Spec            C'

        C                   Agr1P

                SUBJ            Agr1'

                Agr1                   Agr2P

                        IO                  Agr2'

                        Agr2                    Agr3P

                                DO                  Agr3'

                                Agr3            TP

                                                    T'

                                            T           VP
```

The adoption of a recursive AgrP is ad hoc. It is true that in the standard approach multiple Agr projections are employed (Chomsky 1991, 1992). However, these AgrPs are not recursive, but every one of them is a projection of particular syntactic features involved in the licensing of NPs (subjects and direct objects).[11] It is also assumed in this approach that there is a special relation between T (tense) and AgrS, and between V and AgrO, having to do with Case checking, such that T determines the Case that is checked in Spec,AgrS and V determines the Case that is checked in Spec,AgrO. Therefore, AgrSP and AgrOP should immediately dominate TP and VP, respectively. The relation between tense and subject agreement seems harder to express in a structure like (10).[12]

However, let us adopt this analysis for the sake of argumentation, and consider its consequences for the analysis of subject initial verb second.

4.   The Number of Clitic Positions

[11]In this approach, no Agr projection for the indirect object is distinguished, but this certainly seems a viable option.

[12]Haegeman (1991) bases her AgrP recursion proposal partly on Cardinaletti & Roberts (1991). However, in Cardinaletti & Roberts (1991) an additional AgrSP is identified, and both AgrSPs are relevant for the licensing of the subject. Thus, the multiple AgrPs here have nothing to do with direct objects or indirect objects.

Haegeman (1991) argues that, in West Flemish, the number of clitic positions in subject initial main clauses equals the number of clitic positions in topicalization constructions (and embedded clauses). If subject initial main clauses are CPs, this is as expected. If subject initial main clauses are AgrPs, the top clitic position (C) will be unavailable. Hence we would expect the number of clitic positions in subject initial main clauses to drop to two.

Compare the topicalization construction in (11) with the subject initial construction in (12). In both cases, a ditransitive verb is employed.

(11) a.   Gisteren ee **ze**   Marie   Valère   getoogd
        yesterday has them(DO-cl) Mary   Valery(IO) shown
     b.   Gisteren ee   Marie **ze** Valère   getoogd
     c.   Gisteren ee   Marie   Valère **ze** getoogd

"Yesterday, Mary showed them to Valery."

(12) a.   Marie ee **ze**   Valère   gisteren getoogd
        Mary   has them(DO-cl) Valery(IO)   yesterday shown
     b.   Marie ee   Valère   **ze** gisteren getoogd

"Mary showed them to Valery yesterday."

In (11), the three clitic positions identified by Haegeman (1991) are clearly visible. In (12), there seem to be only two clitic positions. However, Haegeman shows that (12a) really covers two constructions with the clitic in different positions in each case.

West Flemish has a phenomenon of subject clitic doubling, as illustrated in (13).

(13) a.   da   *se*   *zie* komt
        that she(SUBJ-cl) she comes
     b.   *Ze*   komt *zie*
        she(SUBJ-cl) comes she
     c.   Morgen kom *se*   *zie*
        tomorrow comes she(SUBJ-cl) she

In (13) *ze (se)* 'she' is the subject clitic, and *zie* 'she' is what we will call the 'doubling pronoun'.[13]

The subject clitic cannot be separated from the complementizer (13a) and from the verb in C (13c). This follows from Haegeman's (1991) analysis. The only head the subject clitic can adjoin to is C. The doubling pronoun can be separated from the subject clitic, as can be seen in (13b).

The important point now is that the object clitic in (12a) can appear on either side of the doubling pronoun:

---

[13]The doubling element has to be a pronoun, see Haegeman (1990), Shlonsky (1992).

(14) a. *Z'*   ee **ze**   *zie* Valère gisteren getoogd
          she(SUBJ-cl) has them(DO-cl) she   Valery yesterday shown
      b. *Z'*   ee   *zie* **ze** Valère gisteren getoogd

          "She showed them to Valery yesterday."

(14) is (12a) with the full subject *Marie* replaced by a combination of a
subject clitic and a doubling pronoun. Now it can be seen that (12a) really
comprises two cases. If so, subject initial main clauses have three clitic
positions, just like topicalization constructions (and embedded clauses).

Haegeman concludes that, since the number of clitic positions in
subject initial main clauses and topicalization constructions is the same,
the two constructions span the same number of projections. In particular,
since the top clitic position is identified as C, both sentence types
should be CPs and should have the verb in C.

5.   The Subject Clitic and the Doubling Pronoun

In this section I will argue that the West Flemish object cliticization
facts can be accommodated without assuming that the verb is in C in subject
initial main clauses.

In section 5.1, I will discuss the position of the subject clitic.
Since it is a clitic, it must be adjoined to a head. However, if the verb
is in C in subject initial main clauses, it cannot be adjoined to C,
because it precedes the verb and clitics invariably adjoin to the right in
West Flemish. Therefore, in subject initial main clauses the subject clitic
must be in its base position, AgrS, and the verb must be adjoined to AgrS.

In section 5.2, I will discuss a crucial assumption underlying
Haegeman's argumentation, namely that the doubling pronoun occupies the
Spec of the highest Agr. This assumption is not well motivated, and
therefore the argument based on it is invalid.

Both sections lead to the conclusion that the number of clitic
positions in West Flemish is four for topicalizations and embedded clauses,
and three for subject initial main clauses.[14]

5.1   The Position of the Subject Clitic

Haegeman's (1991) inventory of clitic positions in West Flemish raises one
immediate question: What is the position of the subject clitic in subject
initial main clauses?

Consider (13).

---

[14]As will become clear, the final count depends on the presence of an Indirect Object Agreement
Phrase, which I will silently adopt from Haegeman (1991) for the purpose of this paper.

```
(13)   a.     da    se          zie komt
              that  she(SUBJ-cl) she comes
       b.     Ze          komt   zie
              she(SUBJ-cl) comes  she
       c.     Morgen   kom   se          zie
              tomorrow  comes she(SUBJ-cl) she
```

According to Haegeman's analysis, the subject clitic has only one position to adjoin to, viz. C. As (13a) and (13c) bear out, the clitic adjoins to the right of the element in C (the complementizer and the verb, respectively). Therefore, if the verb is in C in (13b), the subject clitic should be adjoined to the right of the verb. But this is not the case.

(15)   *   Kom *se zie*.

Thus, Haegeman's analysis needs an additional stipulation in order to derive the correct sequence in (13b). As explained in section 3, recourse to a "V2 Constraint" conceals the problem rather than solving it.

Therefore, Haegeman (1991) argues that the subject clitics in West Flemish subject initial main clauses do not adjoin to a functional head, but occupy the Spec,C position (see also Haegeman (1990)).

This clearly is not an attractive solution.

First, the clitic status of the West Flemish weak subject pronouns can hardly be disputed, because of the clitic doubling phenomenon. It is generally assumed, also in Haegeman (1991), that clitics adjoin to heads. It would be very strange to make an exception here, for these clearest of all Germanic clitics.

Second, Haegeman (1991) does assume that the subject clitic adjoins to a head, C, in all other constructions. Thus, in (13a) and (13c), the clitic adjoins to C, and does not occupy Spec,Agr. This makes the proposed analysis of (13b) ad hoc.

Naturally, one could assume that in (13b) the subject clitic is not adjoined to C either, but occupies Spec,Agr1. In that case, the doubling pronoun *zie* in (13b) must be one projection further down. However, Haegeman's (1991) analysis doesn't allow this, unless an additional projection is inserted in between the first and the second AgrP in (10).

Suppose we do admit an additional projection in between the top two AgrPs in (10). This projection could be a fourth AgrP, or a TP (which would bring the structure in (10) more in line with standard assumptions). The presence of this additional projection, however, would destroy Haegeman's (1991) main argument for the general V-to-C analysis.

Recall that this argument is based on the number of clitic positions that can be identified in each type of construction. The clitic doubling facts show that subject initial main clauses have exactly the same number of clitic positions as topicalization constructions. If subject clitics

adjoin to C, these positions are C, Agr1, and Agr2 in (10). But if subject clitics never adjoin to C, and an additional projection (say, TP) is inserted to accomodate the doubling pronoun, the clitic positions are Agr1, the additional T position, and Agr2.

Consider (16), which is (11) with the full NP replaced by the combination of a subject clitic and a doubling pronoun.

(16) Gisteren ee *ze* (**ze**) *zie* (**ze**) Valère (**ze**) getoogd
yesterday has she(SUBJ-cl) them(DO-cl) she Valery(IO) shown
"Yesterday, she showed them to Valery."

If the subject clitic is in Spec,Agr1, (16) must be analyzed as in (17).

(17) Spec,C C   Spec,Agr1 Agr1   Spec,T T   Spec,Agr2 Agr2   Agr3P   VP

gisteren ee ze   (**ze**) zie   (**ze**) Valère (**ze**)   getoogd

Subject initial main clauses ((18), cf. (14)) could then be analyzed as in (19).

(18) *Z'*   ee (**ze**)   *zie* (**ze**) Valère (**ze**) getoogd
she(SUBJ-cl) has them(DO-cl) she   Valery   shown
"She showed them to Valery."

(19) Spec,Agr1 Agr1   Spec,T T   Spec,Agr2 Agr2   Agr3P   VP

z'   ee-(**ze**) zie   (**ze**) Valère (**ze**)   getoogd

As (17) and (19) show, the clitic positions in (18) correspond exactly to the clitic positions in (16). But in (18), there is no reason why the subject clitic and the verb should not be in Spec,Agr1 and Agr1, respectively, rather than in Spec,C and C.

Thus, if we assume that subject clitics occupy Spec,C, it is at least a possibility that they occupy Spec,AgrS when Spec,C is filled by something else, as in (16). If so, the doubling pronoun must be in a projection further down, and Spec,Agr1 is available for the subject clitic in (18). In that case, Haegeman's (1991) argument based on the number of clitic positions in the various clause types is no longer valid.

Clearly, an analysis involving subject clitics in Spec,Agr1 is not attractive, since there is sufficient evidence to show that, in inversion constructions (and embedded clauses), subject clitics do adjoin to C (see Den Besten (1977), Zwart (1991)). However, since subject clitics so clearly adjoin to heads in these constructions, an analysis of subject initial main clauses involving subject clitics in Spec,C is equally unattractive.

Consider once again (13b).

(13) b.   *Ze*   komt *zie*
she(SUBJ-cl) comes she

"She comes."

If the subject clitic is not in Spec,C, where can it be? As we have seen, the subject clitic cannot be adjoined to C, since clitics adjoin to the right of the element in C. This leaves Agr1 as the only candidate. If the subject clitic is in Agr1 in (13b), the verb cannot be in C.

If we compare (13b), a subject initial main clause, with (13c), a topicalization construction, the subject-verb inversion is conspicuous.

(13) c.   Morgen   kom   *se*   *zie*
            tomorrow comes she(SUBJ-cl) she
            "Tomorrow, she comes."

Suppose the verb is in C in (13b) and the subject clitic is left adjoined to the verb. Then we would expect the subject clitic to be left adjoined to the verb in (13c) as well. Clearly, this is not the case:

(13') c. * Morgen   *ze*   komt   *zie*
            tomorrow she (SUBJ-cl) comes she

On the other hand, if the subject clitic is in Agr1 in (13b), the inversion is just the result of an additional movement of the verb to C, triggered by the presence of a topic in Spec,C.[15] Again, this suggests that in (13b) the subject clitic is in Agr1, and not in C.

Notice that if the subject clitic is in Agr1 in (13b), it may very well be the case that it moves to C in inversion constructions like (13c). In fact, this is suggested by the adjacency of the subject clitic and the verb in C (Den Besten 1977, Zwart 1991). This movement of the subject clitic (and other clitics as well) to C is also an essential ingredient in Haegeman's (1991) analysis (cf. (9)). What we expect, then, is that in inversion constructions the subject clitic and the object clitics will all adjoin to the right of the verb in C. This is exactly what happens, as can be seen in (13c) (cf. also (16)). Consequently, it is highly unlikely that the subject clitic should be adjoined to C in (13b) as well.[16]

In conclusion, the distribution of subject clitics indicates that in subject initial main clauses of West Flemish, the verb is in Agr1 rather than in C.[17]

---

[15]It is a general property of Germanic clitics that they are stranded under verb movement to C. See Cardinaletti (1992), Zwart (1992b).

[16]Unless the subject clitic could be adjoined to the right of an empty C. In that case, the verb would still be in AgrS (Agr1) in subject initial main clauses.

[17]One might wonder how subject clitics can be in AgrS (Agr1) in subject initial main clauses. This question can only be answered if we make certain assumptions about the nature of clitics. I follow Sportiche (1992) in assuming that clitics are generated as heads of functional projections, and that the clitics are associated with full NPs which have to occupy the Spec position of these functional projections at some point in the derivation. Sportiche (1992) argues for a number of Clitic Projections on top of the Agreement Projections. In order to restrict the number of functional projections, I assume that these Clitic Projections do not exist, and that clitics are generated as heads of the Agreement Projections instead. As always, clitics are subject to further head movement to the left. The trigger

5.2   The Position of the Doubling Pronoun

Haegeman (1991), following Haegeman (1990), assumes that the doubling pronoun in (13b) is in the Spec of the highest Agr below CP. This is crucial to her analysis of subject initial verb second.

As we have seen in section 5.1, if the doubling pronoun is only one functional projection further down, Haegeman's (1991) main argument against Zwart's (1991) analysis of subject initial verb second fails.

However, if the subject clitic is in Agr1 in (13b), as I have argued in the previous section, the doubling pronoun cannot be in the Spec of the highest Agr below CP. Therefore the doubling pronoun must be in the Spec of at least one projection further down.

Consider again (16).

(16) Gisteren ee *ze*   (**ze**)   *zie* (**ze**) Valère (**ze**) getoogd
      yesterday has she(SUBJ-cl) them(DO-cl) she   Valery(IO)   shown
      "Yesterday, she showed them to Valery."

Now let us assume that the subject clitic *ze* is adjoined to C, but that the doubling pronoun *zie* is not in Spec,Agr1 but in the Spec of one functional projection further down (an additional AgrP or TP). Under these assumptions, (16) must be analyzed as in (20).

(20) Spec,C C   Spec,Agr1 Agr1   Spec,T T   Spec,Agr2 Agr2   Agr3P   VP

      gisteren ee-<u>ze</u>-(**ze**)   (**ze**)   <u>zie</u>   (**ze**)   Valère   (**ze**)   getoogd

As is clear from (20), there are two clitic positions, C and Agr1, which cannot be distinguished in a sentence like (21).

(21) Gisteren ee *ze*   **ze**   *zie* Valère   getoogd
      yesterday has she(SUBJ-cl) them(DO-cl) she Valery(IO) shown
      "Yesterday, she showed them to Valery."

Thus, (21), like (12a) before, really covers two indistinguishable cases.[18] If this is correct, topicalizations contain four clitic positions, which is one more than subject initial main clauses.

---

for this clitic movement is unclear to me at this point, but the movement appears to be obligatory wherever possible. Under these assumptions, it is not unexpected that a subject clitic should be in AgrS, especially when AgrSP is the highest projection (see Zwart 1992b).

Haegeman's (1991) analysis of West Flemish cliticization can be reformulated within this set of assumptions, with no generalizations lost. Thus, the clitics are generated in the head positions of the projections designated for the licensing of the full NPs with the corresponding grammatical function. By head movement, the clitics always raise at least one step. This derives the generalization in (9).

As for the exact mechanism of verb movement and clitic movement, the word order patterns follow if we assume that head movement is always right adjunction. Thus, when the verb moves to AgrS, where the subject clitic is, the adjunction yields the order [SUBJ-cl V]. Additional movement of an object clitic to the clitic-verb complex in AgrS yields the order [SUBJ-cl V OBJ-cl].

[18]A difference between (12a) and (21) is that the two clitic positions in (12a) could be made visible in the clitic doubling construction. However, if we try the same in (20)/(21), the clitic positions in Agr1 and T would become indistinguishable again.

If subject clitics are in Agr1, and doubling pronouns in the Spec of a lower projection, (18) must be analyzed as in (22).

(18) *Z'*   ee (**ze**)   *zie* (**ze**) Valère (**ze**) getoogd
      she(SUBJ-cl) has them(DO-cl) she   Valery   shown
      "She showed them to Valery."

(22) Spec,Agr1 Agr1   Spec,T T   Spec,Agr2 Agr2   Agr3P   VP

          z'-ee-(**ze**)   zie   (**ze**) Valère (**ze**)   getoogd

The clitic positions in the subject initial construction (22) correspond exactly to the clitic positions in the topicalization construction (20), with the exception of the additional clitic position in C in (20). The presence of this additional clitic position is exactly as predicted by the subject initial verb second analysis of Zwart (1991).

Therefore, it is crucial to Haegeman's (1991) argumentation that the doubling pronoun occupy the Spec of the highest Agr. Haegeman (1991:55f.) advances the following arguments in favor of her claim that it does.

First, Haegeman argues that if the doubling pronoun were not in the Spec of the highest Agr, we need to postulate one more recursive head-initial AgrP to accommodate the argument NPs and the clitics in subject initial main clauses.[19]

This is only a problem if AgrP is not defined recursively. According to Haegeman (1991:57), there is "unrestricted recursion" of AgrP. This leaves ample room for additional AgrPs.

If, on the other hand, AgrP is not recursive, the AgrPs identified by Haegeman (1991) can only exist as projections of inflectional features. In that case, adding an additional projection would be suspect. However, in such an analysis it is standardly assumed that a tense projection (TP) separates the AgrPs designated for the licensing of the subject and the object (AgrSP and AgrOP, respectively) (cf. Chomsky 1991, 1992). This TP, then, is a well-motivated additional projection the Spec of which could host the doubling pronoun. Therefore, adopting an additional projection immediately below the top AgrP is definitely less ad hoc than adopting unrestricted recursion of AgrP.

Second, Haegeman (1991) argues that doubling pronouns show the same adjacency effects as ordinary subjects. Assuming that ordinary subjects are in Spec,Agr1 (Spec,AgrS), the doubling pronouns are likely to occupy the same position.

The adjacency effects show up in embedded clauses and inversion constructions. In these constructions, nothing can separate the subject

---

[19]Haegeman (1991) uses the term 'head medial' instead of 'head initial'. To avoid confusion with non-binary branching structures, I prefer to use the latter term. Also, the information that something linearly precedes the head is redundant, since Specs are invariably to the left (Kayne 1992).

from the element in C.[20]

(23)   a.   ..da   (*gisteren) Marie die   boeken gekocht eet
              that   yesterday Mary   these books bought has
       b.   Woarschijnlijk ee (*gisteren) Marie die   boeken gekocht
              probably   has yesterday Mary these books bought

Similarly, the doubling pronoun cannot be separated from the subject
clitic-verb combination in C.

(24)   a.   ..da- *se*   (*gisteren) *zie* die   boeken gekocht eet
              that she(SUBJ-cl)   yesterday she these books bought has
       b.   Woarschijnlijk ee- *se*   (*gisteren) *zie* die   boeken
              probably   has she(SUBJ-cl)   she these books

              gekocht
              bought

Crucially, the adjacency effect also shows up in subject initial main
clauses.

(25)   *Z'*   ee (*gisteren) *zie* die   boeken gekocht
       she(SUBJ-cl) has yesterday she these books bought

   All these adjacency effects can be captured in one statement if the
doubling pronoun is in Spec,Agr1, and the verb invariably in C.
   However, this argument is not decisive, until it is demonstrated that
elements in the Spec of a lower projection, say TP, do not show the same
adjacency effects.
   Also, there is the distinct possibility that the adjacency effects
have different causes. Suppose the subject has to occupy Spec,AgrS for
reasons of Case checking. In that case, the impossibility of having adverbs
preceding the subject may be due to a restriction on adverb adjunction to
AgrSP in West Flemish. If this is the only restriction on adverb placement
in West Flemish, we expect (25) to be grammatical on this part (if the
doubling pronoun is in Spec,T). But there may be other factors blocking
adverb adjunction to TP whenever Spec,T is occupied by a doubling pronoun.
These factors may have nothing to do with adverb adjunction in general, but
with the local dependency relation of the doubling pronoun and the subject
clitic. It simply is not clear that the relation between the doubling
pronoun and the subject clitic is comparable to the relation between the
subject NP and C. Therefore it is not clear that the adjacency phenomena
have identical causes.
   Doubling pronouns have a number of curious properties which make it

_____

[20]Here and in the following exposition, it should be understood that clitics and clitic-like
elements do not block adjacency. As will be clear from previous examples clitics can adjoin to C and
hence intervene between an element in C and whatever is present in the AgrPs.

unlikely that they should be treated as ordinary subjects.

First, as noted in Bennis & Haegeman (1984) (see also De Geest (1990), Haegeman (1990)), the West Flemish subject clitics can only be doubled by a pronoun, not by a full NP.

(26) a. *Ze*   komt *zie*
          she(SUBJ-cl) comes she
          "She comes."
      b. * *Ze*   komt *Marie*

Second, the doubling pronoun cannot be topicalized.

(27) a. * Zie_i ze   komt t_i
          she   she(SUBJ-cl) comes
      b. * Zie_i komt *ze* t_i
          she   comes she(SUBJ-cl)

These two properties haven't received a satisfactory explanation to date.

As Shlonsky (1992) observes, the fact that the subject clitic cannot be doubled by an R-expression may be explained by Principle C of the Binding Theory. If this is the case, the problem in (26) is why the doubling pronoun doesn't equally violate Principle B of the Binding Theory.[21] On the assumption that the doubling pronoun is in the Spec of the highest Agr, a solution to this problem doesn't easily present itself.

The fact that the doubling pronoun cannot be topicalized may be explained in various ways. It may be that the special relation of the subject clitic and the doubling pronoun requires the former to linearly precede the latter. If so, it may be the case that intervening XPs interfere with this special relation as well, thus deriving the adjacency effects in (24)-(25) as well.

An alternative explanation for both problems could be that the doubling pronouns are really heads. In that case, violations of the principles of the Binding Theory are not expected. Similarly, topicalization would be excluded, being non-structure preserving. Needless to say, that, if doubling pronouns are heads, they cannot serve to identify clitic positions in the way suggested by Haegeman (1991).[22]

---

[21]Shlonsky (1992) provides a solution for this problem. Crucial in his account is that the doubling pronoun does not occupy the position in which the subject is licensed, but the Spec of a functional projection further down. If correct, this would again invalidate Haegeman's argument against the analysis of subject initial main clauses in Zwart (1991).

[22]If the doubling pronoun is a head, Haegeman's argument would be valid if it is impossible to accomodate the clitics in West Flemish in subject initial main clauses without assuming that the verb is in C. However, this is very well possible, if the doubling pronoun is generated in T and adjoins to AgrS. In that case, the doubling pronoun would be part of a clitic cluster. As we know, the order of clitics in a cluster is free in West Flemish (Haegeman 1991). Thus the fact that the object clitic may appear on either side of the doubling pronoun, as shown in (14), does not necessarily indicate the presence of an additional clitic position, since the object clitic and the doubling pronoun may both be adjoined to AgrS, in two different orderings.
    Notice that if doubling pronouns are heads and adjoin to AgrS, the adjacency effects in (24)-(25) are also explained.

It should be concluded in all fairness that the status of the doubling pronouns in West Flemish is still a mystery. Therefore, arguments based on their behavior cannot be decisive either way.

However, if we were correct in section 5.1 in concluding that the subject clitic is in AgrS in subject initial main clauses, the doubling pronoun cannot be in Spec,AgrS but must be further down. It turns out that in that case, the West Flemish object clitics can be accommodated without difficulty within the analysis of Zwart (1991). Therefore, there is no reason to conclude from the West Flemish object cliticization phenomena that the verb in subject initial main clauses *must* be in C.

6. Conclusion

I hope to have made clear in this reply that the West Flemish object cliticization facts do not force us to adopt one or the other analysis of subject initial verb second constructions.

Haegeman's claim (1991:29) that the standard analysis of subject initial main clauses (involving V-movement to C) is "more economical" than the alternative presented in Zwart (1991) (involving V-movement to AgrS) appears to be based on her analysis of clitic doubling in West Flemish. The alternative analysis, with the verb in AgrS, needs to postulate an additional projection between Agr1P and Agr2P. However, this additional projection, TP, is readily available in standard conceptions of the structure of the functional domain (Chomsky 1991, 1992). Therefore, employing it might be considered more economical than ignoring it.

It is not clear whether the doubling pronoun occupies a position in AgrSP (Agr1P) or TP, and whether this position is a phrasal position or a head position. However, Haegeman's assumption that the doubling pronoun occupies the Spec,Agr1 leads to an analysis in which the subject clitic occupies Spec,C. This is alien to Haegeman's (and others') assumptions regarding clitics in Germanic, and therefore constitutes an internal contradiction in her analysis.

On the other hand, if the doubling pronoun does not occupy Spec,AgrS, Haegeman's main argument against Zwart's (1991) analysis of subject initial verb second disappears. In that case, there are three clitic positions inside AgrSP, both in subject initial main clauses and in topicalization constructions (and embedded clauses), as well as an additional clitic position, C, in the latter. This is as expected in the analysis of subject initial verb second clauses of Zwart (1991).

Obviously, a further investigation of the clitic doubling phenomenon of West Flemish is called for.

Haegeman's final words (1991:58) are illustrative of an ill motivated traditionalism which appears to favor the "generalized V-to-C account".

Haegeman notes that, if her analysis of the object clitic positions in West Flemish is correct, Zwart's (1991) analysis of subject initial main clauses "offers no major advantages over the 'V outside AgrP analysis' of subject-initial V2 clauses" (Haegeman 1991:58). And, one might add, should be rejected on account of it.

This seems to suggest that the traditional 'V outside AgrP analysis' is a priori preferable over any alternative. I would hesitate to agree with that. The virtue of every analysis depends on the way it is embedded in a general theoretical framework.

It so happens that in the theoretical framework adopted by both Haegeman (1991) and Zwart (1991), obligatory movements should receive a satisfactory explanation. The traditional analysis of verb second phenomena is notoriously wanting in this respect. Therefore it is strange that the 'V outside AgrP analysis' should be given the benefit of the doubt.

More generally, empirical arguments are never conclusive until our knowledge of what goes on is complete. Thus, it comes as no surprise that Travis' (1984) empirical arguments against the V-to-C analysis of subject initial main clauses in Germanic can be circumvented by making certain assumptions on the A/A'-status of the Spec,C position (as Haegeman (1991:56) shows; cf. also Vikner & Schwarz (1991)). But even if these assumptions are independently motivated, this refutation of Travis' arguments doesn't make the V-to-C analysis stronger than its alternative, when the latter is otherwise simpler and more explanatory.

In the mean time, we are on much safer ground by basing our evaluations on conceptual considerations. I hope to have shown here that Haegeman's analysis of the West Flemish cliticization phenomena is not sufficiently conclusive to abandon an otherwise conceptually well motivated account of subject initial verb second in Germanic.

References

Baltin, M. (1982) "A Landing Site Theory of Movement Rules". *Linguistic Inquiry* 13, 1-38.

Belletti, A. (1991) *Generalized Verb Movement.* Turin: Rosenberg and Tellier.

Bennis, H. & L. Haegeman (1984) "On the Status of Agreement and Relative Clauses in West Flemish", in W. de Geest & Y. Putseys (eds.), *Sentential Complentation*, Dordrecht: Foris, 23-53.

den Besten, H. (1977) "On the Interaction of Root Transformations and Lexical Deletive Rules", in Den Besten (1990) *Studies in West Germanic Syntax*, University of Tilburg Dissertation.

Cardinaletti, A. (1992) "On Cliticization in Germanic Languages". Ms., University of Venice and Geneva.

Cardinaletti, A. & I. Roberts (1991) "Clause Structure and X-second". To appear in W. Chao & G. Horrocks (eds.), *Levels, Principles and Processes: The Structure of Grammatical Representation,* Dordrecht: Foris.

Chomsky, N. (1991) "Some Notes on Economy of Derivation and Representation", in R. Freidin (ed.), *Priniples and Parameters in*

Comparative Grammar, Cambridge: MIT Press, 417-454.

Chomsky, N. (1992) "A Minimalist Program for Linguistic Theory", *MIT Occasional Papers in Linguistics* 1.

de Geest, W.P.F. (1991) "Universele Grammatica op de Gentse toer", *Taal en Tongval* themanummer 3, 108-124.

Haegeman, L. (1990) "Subject Pronouns and Subject Clitics in West Flemish", *The Linguistic Review* 7, 333-363.

Haegeman, L. (1991) "On the Relevance of Clitic Placement for the Analysis of Subjectinitial Verb Second in West Flemish", *Groninger Arbeiten zur germanistischen Linguistik* 34, 29-66.

Jaspers, D. (1989) "A Head Position for Dutch Clitics, or: Wilma, Wim and Wackernagel", in D, Jaspers et al. (eds.), *Sentential Complementation and the Lexicon,* Dordrecht: Foris, 241-252.

Kayne, R.S. (1975) *French Syntax*. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Kayne, R.S. (1991) "Romance Clitics, Verb Movement, and PRO", *Linguistic Inquiry* 22, 647-686.

Kayne, R.S. (1992) "Word Order". Guest lecture at the GLOW Colloquium, Lisbon, April.

Kosmeijer, W. (1986) "The Status of Finite Inflection in Icelandic and Swedish", *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax* 26.

Koster, J. (1975) "Dutch as an SOV Language", *Linguistic Analysis* 1, 111-136.

Pollock, J.-Y. (1989) "Verb Movement, UG, and the Structure of IP", *Linguistic Inquiry* 20, 365-424.

Schwartz, B.D. & S. Vikner (1989) "All Verb Second Clauses Are CPs", *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax* 43, 27-49.

Shlonsky, U. (1992) "The Representation of Agreement in Comp and Subject Clitics in West Flemish". Ms., University of Geneva.

Sportiche, D. (1992) "Clitics, Voice, and Spec/Head Licensing". Paper presented at the GLOW Colloquium, Lisbon, April.

Travis, L. (1984) *Parameters and Effects of Word Order Variation*. MIT dissertation.

Vikner, S. (1991) *Verb Movement and the Licensing of NP-Positions in Germanic.* Dissertation, University of Geneva.

Vikner, S. & B.D. Schwartz (1991) "The Verb Always Leaves CP in V2 Clauses". Ms., University of Geneva & Boston University.

Zwart, C.J.W. (1991) "Clitics in Dutch: Evidence for the Position of INFL", *Groninger Arbeiten zur germanistischen Linguistik* 33, 71-92.

Zwart, C.J.W. (1992a) "Verb Movement and Complementizer Agreement". Paper presented at the GLOW Colloquium, Lisbon, April.

Zwart, C.J.W. (1992b) "Notes on Clitics in Dutch". Paper presented at the ESF Workshop on Clitics and Other Non-Lexical Categories, Lund, May.

Zwart, C.J.W. (1992c) "Clues from Dialect Syntax: Complementizer Agreement", to appear in *Linguistische Berichte.*