

Subject Agreement on Complementizers; A Reply to Shlonsky

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1. Introduction*

In a number of Continental West Germanic dialects, complementizers may be inflected for person and/or number agreement with the subject.¹

- | | | | | | |
|-----|----|--|-----------------|------------------------|-----------------|
| (1) | a. | ..da-n-k
that 1SG subject_clitic
"..that I go." | ik
I | goa-n
go 1SG | West Flemish |
| | b. | ..da-t-j
that 3SG subject_clitic
"..that he goes." | ij
he | goa-t
go 3SG | |
| (2) | a. | ..dat ik kom
that I come | | | South Hollandic |
| | b. | ..dat-te we kom-me
that PL we come PL
"..that we come." | | | |

Hoekstra and Marácz (1989) have analyzed this *complementizer agreement* as a reflex of abstract movement of INFL to COMP. Assuming that the subject agreement features are represented in INFL (as in Chomsky 1981), this analysis captures the fact that complementizer agreement is always *subject* agreement.

In my earlier work (Zwart 1991b, 1993a, 1993b), I have adopted the Hoekstra and Marácz analysis of complementizer agreement. Assuming the slightly more articulated phrase structure proposed in Chomsky (1991), I took the head that moves to C to be AGRS:

- (3) $[_{CP} \text{ AgrS}_i + C \text{ } [_{\text{AgrSP}} \text{ subject } t_i \text{ } [_{TP} \dots]]]$

The AgrS-to-C movement in (3) proved instrumental in explaining the absence of verb movement to AgrS in embedded clauses in complementizer agreement dialects.²

- | | | | | | |
|-----|----|---------------------------------|--|-------------------------------------|--------------|
| (4) | a. | ..da-n-k
that 1SG SCL | ik 't vandoage
I it today | gezeid ee-n
said have 1SG | West Flemish |
| | | "..that I've said it today." | | | |
| | b. | * ..dank
that-1SG-SCL | ik een 't vandoage
I have-1SG it today | gezeid
said | |

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¹ See Zwart (1993b:159) for references.

² I argued in Zwart (1993a, 1993b) that Continental West Germanic dialects and North Germanic dialects that do not show complementizer agreement nevertheless feature abstract AgrS-to-C movement. Consequently, the analysis of verb movement developed for complementizer agreement dialects carries over to the dialects without complementizer agreement.

I have argued that the subject in Spec,AgrS (see (3)) can only be licensed if either AgrS moves to C, or the verb moves to AgrS. AgrS-to-C movement taking place in (4a), verb movement to AgrS is superfluous, explaining (4b).³

Recent work has suggested that the structure of both AgrSP and CP may be richer than assumed in (3). Cardinaletti and Roberts (1991) argue that AgrS should be split up into two functional heads, each heading its own projection:

- (5) $[_{AgrSP1} \text{ AgrS1 } [_{AgrSP2} \text{ AgrS2 } [_{TP} \dots]]]$

Since AgrS contains features of both person and number, splitting up AgrSP does not seem to be an a priori unwanted move (see also De Wind (in prep)).

Likewise, Müller and Sternefeld (1993) and Hoekstra and Zwart (1994) argue that CP ought to be split up into a projection hosting wh-phrases and a projection hosting other fronted material (usually called ‘topics’):

- (6) $[_{WhP} \text{ wh-phrase Wh } [_{TopP} \text{ topic Top } [_{AgrSP} \dots]]]$

Various arguments, not to be discussed here, support the structure in (6).⁴

As far as I can see, adoption of the richer structures in (5) and (6) would not affect the analysis of complementizer agreement sketched above in any significant way. Instead of simple AgrS-to-C movement, we may assume that AgrS2 moves to AgrS1, yielding a complex AgrS2-AgrS1, which moves to C. Similarly, AgrS-to-C movement may target either Top or Wh, depending on which projections are actually present.⁵ Thus, adoption of the structures in (5) and (6), while perhaps allowing for a more detailed description of the phenomena, does not seem to call for a change in our view on complementizer agreement. This view can be summarized in the following statement:

- (7) Complementizer agreement is an expression of the coherence of the functional head for subject agreement (AgrS) and C.

More recently, Ur Shlonsky has argued that the proper description of complementizer agreement in West Flemish requires the adoption of a complementizer agreement phrase (AGRCP) inside the CP-system (Shlonsky 1994). Complementizer agreement, in this analysis, is the result of movement of the head of AgrCP (an inflectional affix) to C:

- (8) $[_{CP} \text{ C-AgrC}_i [_{AgrCP} \text{ t}_i [_{AgrSP} \text{ subject AgrS } [\dots]]]]$

As can be seen in (8), the AgrCP does not replace AgrSP, which still has its canonical place inside the IP-system. AgrS hosts the subject agreement features, and the specifier position of AgrSP is the licensing position for the subject.

³ See Zwart (1993b, section III.4) for a detailed exposition of the analysis of verb movement in Continental West Germanic. AgrS-to-C movement is preferred over verb movement to AgrS because the V-features of AgrS (in the sense of Chomsky 1992) are weak in the relevant languages. Hence, verb movement is postponed until LF as much as possible. In subject initial main clauses, the verb moves to AgrS to enable N-feature checking (i.e., licensing of the subject in Spec,AgrS), not because the V-features of AgrS are strong. Assuming that the V-features of AgrS are strong makes it impossible to account for the absence of verb movement in embedded clauses. See Solà (1994) for a different analysis to the same effect.

⁴ See also Zwart (1993b:264ff).

⁵ Assuming the structure building process of generalized transformations, projections will only be present if they are necessary to yield convergence (Chomsky 1992, 1994).

One particular interpretation of the structure in (8) would be to say that AgrCP equals the AgrSP1 in the structure in (5), and that the AgrSP in (8) equals the AgrSP2 in (5). On this interpretation, the structure in (8) presents nothing new, and the analysis of complementizer agreement based on it is essentially identical to the analysis of Hoekstra and Marácz (1989) and Zwart (1993a,b).⁶

The proper interpretation of (8), however, is that AgrCP *replaces* one of the AgrSP projections in (5) (cf. Shlonsky 1994, note 2). Crucially, AgrCP is thought of as an agreement projection *outside* the IP-system, and belonging to C in some sense. The double AgrSP-proposal in (5) implies nothing more than a further articulation of the IP-system itself.

The AgrCP-proposal therefore raises the following questions:

1. Is it necessary to postulate an agreement phrase inside the CP-system in order to describe complementizer agreement?
2. Is the agreement phrase inside the CP-system an essential ingredient of the analysis of other features of the relevant languages?

I will argue in this paper that the answer to both questions is negative. By consequence, the generalization in (7), and the analysis underlying it, can be maintained.

In what follows, I will first present a brief sketch of the relevant facts of West Flemish, followed by a summary of Shlonsky's analysis of these facts. I will then present my arguments against this analysis. Finally, I will return to the questions formulated above.

2. West Flemish

In contrast to most other Continental West Germanic dialects, West Flemish shows a complete paradigm of inflected complementizers (Goeman 1980). The inflection is always person agreement with the subject (here shown on the complementizer *da* 'that'):

(9)	1SG	dan	1PL	dan
	2SG	da	2PL	dat
	3SG	dat	3PL	dan

The morphology of the complementizers in West Flemish is complicated by the circumstance that West Flemish subject clitics suffix to the complementizer, to the right of the complementizer agreement morpheme. This yields the following paradigm (notice the elision of the complementizer agreement in 3SG-feminine, 1PL, and 2PL):⁷

⁶ Similarly if AgrSP in (8) equals TP.

⁷ Possibly, the 2SG form *daj* is also the result of elision of a complementizer agreement morpheme *-t*. I assume, however, that the complementizer agreement in the 2SG is \emptyset . Complementizer agreement also shows up on the verb in inversion constructions. This yields the form *goaj* 'you go' in West Flemish, again with cliticization of the 2SG subject clitic; the noninverted form is *goat*. In Standard Dutch, however, subject cliticization is not obligatory, and the inverted and noninverted verb forms are still different in 2SG: *ga* vs. *gaat*. This leads me to suspect that the absence of a *-t* in the inverted 2SG verb forms in West Flemish is not the result of elision. Consequently, the complementizer agreement morpheme would be \emptyset rather than *-t*. Nothing in what follows hinges on this particular conclusion.

- (10)
- | | | | | |
|-------|-------------|-----|--------------|----------|
| 1SG | dank | 1PL | dame | [~danme] |
| 2SG | daj | 2PL | daj | [~datj] |
| 3SG-m | datj | 3PL | danze | |
| 3SG-f | dase | | | [~datze] |

In embedded clauses, it is sometimes impossible to use a full subject pronoun without also using a subject clitic. This restriction holds for 1SG, 2SG, and 2PL. This leads to the following type of construction, which looks like a clitic doubling construction, familiar from Romance languages:

- (11)
- | | | | |
|----|----------------|-----------|-------------|
| a. | ..dank | ik | goan |
| | that-1SG-scl I | go-1SG | |
| b. | * ..dan | ik | goan |
| | that-1SG I | go-1SG | |

One might suggest that the subject clitic in (11) is reanalyzed as an agreement morpheme. However, in subject initial main clauses the subject clitic precedes the verb, which shows that it is still active as a clitic:

- (12)
- | | | | |
|----|---------------|-------------|-----------|
| a. | 'k | goan | ik |
| | scl | go-1SG | I |
| | "I'm going." | | |
| b. | goank | ik | |
| | go-1SG-scl | I | |
| | *"I'm going." | | |
| | "Am I going?" | | |

(12b) is only grammatical as a yes/no-question. Yes/no-questions always involve inversion of the verb and the subject, so that the order verb-clitic in (12b) is expected:

- (13)
- | | | |
|----|--------------------|----------------|
| a. | Valère | goat |
| | Valery | goes |
| b. | Goat | Valère? |
| | goes | Valery |
| | "Is Valery going?" | |

Matters of emphasis aside, full subject pronouns are never necessary when there is a subject clitic:

- (14)
- | | | | |
|----|----------------|--------------|--------------|
| a. | ..dase | (zie) | goat |
| | that-3SG-scl | she | go-3SG |
| b. | Ze | goat | (zie) |
| | scl | go-3SG | she |
| | "She's going." | | |

One might suggest to analyze this as optional pro-drop, licensed by the agreement on the complementizer or the verb. However, agreement does not license pro-drop in West Flemish, as is clear from the following examples:

- (15)
- | | | | |
|----|------------------|------------------|-------------|
| a. | ..dan | *(zunder) | goan |
| | that-3PL | they | go-3PL |
| b. | *(zunder) | goan | |
| | they | go-3PL | |

Notice that the full 3PL subject pronoun *zunder* in (15a) does not require the presence of a subject clitic on the complementizer (unlike pronouns of 1SG, 2SG, and 3PL). However, if the subject clitic is added, the full pronoun can be dropped:

- (16) a. **..danze** (zunder) **goan**
 that-3PL-scl they go-3PL
 b. **ze** **goan** (zunder)
 scl go-3PL they
 "They're going."

Therefore, we must describe the distribution of the full pronouns in (14) and (16) as *optional clitic doubling*, not as pro-drop.

The subject clitics in West Flemish cannot be doubled by an R-expression:

- (17) a. **..dan(*ze)** **Valère en Lucien** **goan**
 that-3PL-(scl) Valery and Luke go-3PL
 b. * **ze** **goan** **Valère en Lucien**
 scl go-3PL Valery and Luke

Doubling is also restricted to subject pronouns:

- (18) **..dankse** **kik** (*eur) **gezien een**
 that-1SG-scl-ocl I her seen have-1SG
 "..that I've seen her."

Finally, West Flemish shows the verb placement pattern that is familiar from other Continental West Germanic dialects such as Standard Dutch and High German. In embedded clauses, the verb is in a sentence-final position, as illustrated in (4). In main clauses, the verb is in second position. In this position, it may be preceded by subjects, objects, and adjuncts, but not by object clitics:

- (19) a. **Zie/ze** **goat**
 she/scl go-3SG
 b. **Eur/*ze eenk** **ik** **gezien**
 her/ocl hav-1SG-scl I seen
 "I have seen her."
 c. **Gisteren eenk** **ik eur/ze** **gezien**
 yesterday have-1SG-scl I her/ocl seen
 "I saw her yesterday."

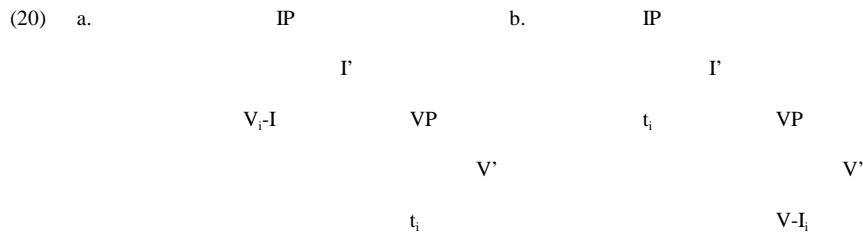
3. Theoretical Preliminaries

Shlonsky (1994) presents an analysis of clitic doubling and verb movement which makes use of the structure in (8), including AgrCP. However, in order to be able to evaluate the analysis, we have to discuss certain theoretical questions which enter into any description of Continental West Germanic. These questions have to do with a) the content and position of the functional heads, and b) the proper analysis of clitics and clitic doubling.

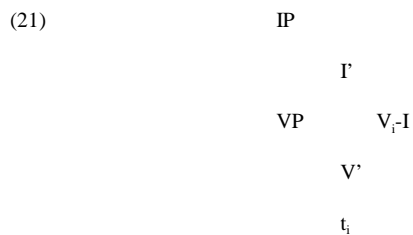
I will discuss these two questions in this section.

3.1 The content and position of functional heads

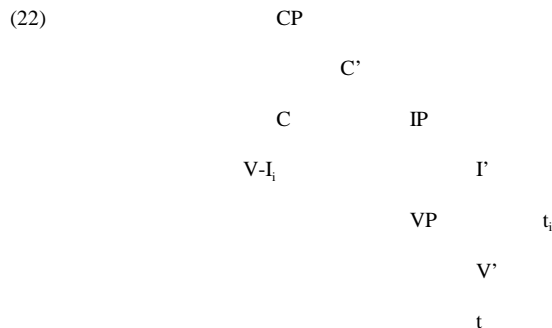
The questions of the position and content of the functional heads are closely connected. Until recently, it was generally assumed that functional heads contain either inflectional affixes or inflected verbs. The latter were considered to have moved to the relevant functional head to pick up the affix (20a). Alternatively, inflected verbs could result from the inflectional affix moving down to V (20b). The latter operation, though apparently needed for English (cf. Emonds 1976), was considered to be suspect (on account of its leaving a trace that is ungoverned by its ‘antecedent’). For that reason, it has never played a role in the analysis of verb syntax in Continental West Germanic (which includes West Flemish).



In *embedded clauses* in Continental West Germanic, the inflected verb appears in a sentence final position (cf. (4)). In principle, this could be analyzed in one of two ways. One could assume that the verb has moved to a functional head in order to pick up the inflectional affix, or one could assume that the inflectional affix has moved down to the verb in V. Since the latter analysis involves lowering, it was generally assumed that the verb moves up to a functional head. But since the verb is sentence-final, it must be the case that the relevant functional head is somewhere to the right:



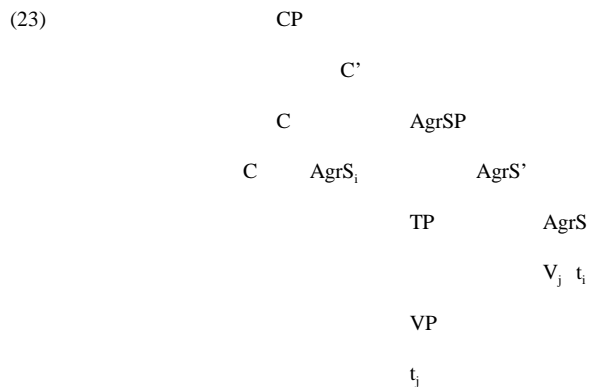
In *main clauses*, on the other hand, the inflected verb always appears in the second position (cf. (19)). This, then, was considered to be the result of a second movement, needed to ‘satisfy the verb second constraint.’ Since Den Besten (1977), the verb second movement is considered to invariably target C. C, then, must be somewhere to the left (as is also clear from the position of the complementizer):



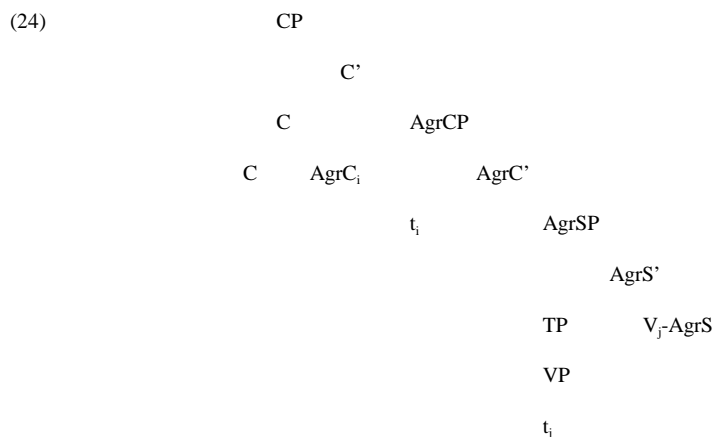
Together, the hypothesized verb movements in Continental West Germanic, based on the assumption that inflectional morphemes are generated in a functional head, lead to the conclusion that IP is head-final and CP is head-initial. Thus, assumptions concerning the contents of functional heads lead to conclusions regarding the position of functional heads.

Consider how these assumptions play a role in the analysis of complementizer agreement in West Flemish. Complementizer agreement constructions show a *double* subject agreement. As can be seen in (1)-(2), there are subject agreement morphemes on the complementizer and on the verb. If inflectional morphemes are generated in a functional head, there must be a functional head for subject-verb agreement, and another one for complementizer-subject agreement. The former being the well-known AgrS, there must be a separate functional head AgrC to host the complementizer agreement morpheme.

It would be difficult to generate the complementizer agreement morphology in AgrS, together with the subject-verb agreement morpheme. Assuming the analysis of verb movement in embedded clauses sketched above, the verb would have to move to AgrS to pick up the subject-agreement morphology. At the same time, the complementizer agreement morpheme would have to move from AgrS to C, leaving a trace in AgrS. This yields an unattractive, if not impossible, analysis:



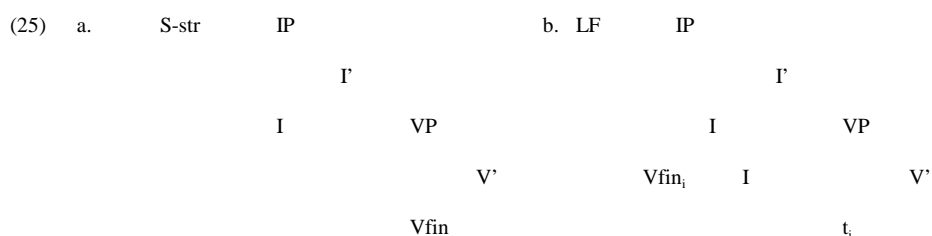
It is obvious that the AgrCP-hypothesis provides a way out here. If there is a separate AgrC outside the IP-system (containing AgrSP and TP in (23)), the finite verb can move to AgrS independently of the AgrC-to-C movement:



Thus, the AgrCP-hypothesis is well motivated, if we make the assumption that affixes are generated in functional heads. This assumption, however, is far from necessary, and has been abandoned in the minimalist approach (Chomsky 1992).

It has been clear since Chomsky (1957) that functional heads may host abstract inflectional features, like PAST. Taking this possibility seriously, we can assume that functional heads in fact *always* contain abstract features rather than inflectional morphemes. This opens up the possibility that inflected verbs are created in the morphological component, and are inserted in V in fully inflected form. Such an analysis of inflectional morphology has been argued for repeatedly in the late 1970s and early 1980s (see Lapointe 1981, Lieber 1980, Fabb 1984, Travis 1984, etc.), and is adopted in Zwart (1991b, 1993b) and Chomsky (1992).

This view on inflectional morphology leads to a different analysis of verb movement. Inflected verbs move to functional heads, not to pick up morphology, but to check the morphology they already have with the feature content of the functional heads. Movement of bare stems (raising) or inflectional affixes (lowering) is no longer a part of the analysis. Instead, languages in which the inflected verb appears to be in V (like English) must be assumed to procrastinate verb movement to the functional domain until LF:⁸



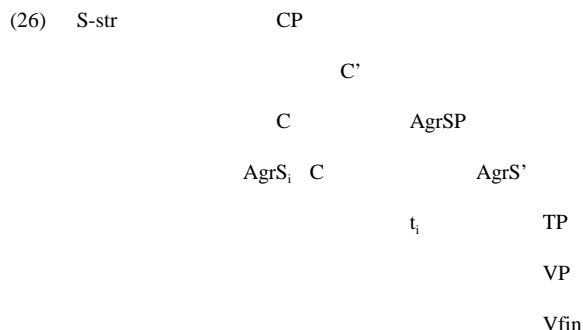
Consider the consequences for the syntax of Continental West Germanic. In embedded clauses, the verb appears in sentence final position. But on the checking approach to inflectional morphology, there is no reason to suppose that the verb has moved to a functional head in overt syntax. Thus, (4a) could have the analysis in (25a), *mutatis mutandis*, with the finite verb *een* in V. Hence, there is no need to conclude that the functional heads of the IP-system are somewhere to the right. In fact, it appears to be more advantageous to assume that the functional heads of the IP-system are to the left: we already know that this is the case in the CP-system, and we know that this is the case in the other West Germanic languages (in particular English).⁹

Consider the consequences for the analysis of complementizer agreement. Assuming the checking approach to inflectional morphology, it is no longer necessary to provide a functional head for each inflectional affix. In cases of complementizer agreement, it looks like a single agreement relation (subject agreement) is spelled out twice: on the verb and on the complementizer. It could be the case that the language in question has a paradigm of complementizers, which must show agreement with AgrS. Obviously, there is no point in forcing this *head-head agreement* into a spec-head agreement mold.

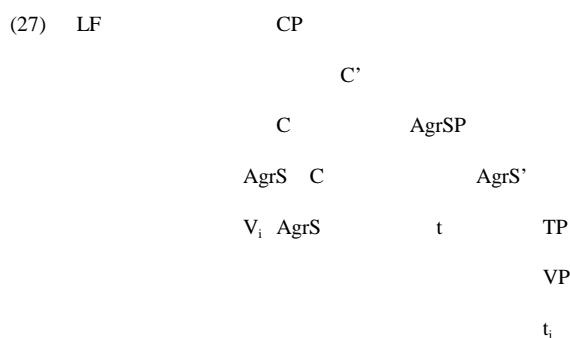
⁸ Alternatively, we may assume that all languages show the same movements at the same point in the derivation. Since movement leaves a copy, we can say that a verb is in fact present in more than one position. We can then say that languages do not vary as to the moment of the movement (before or after Spell-Out), but as to the position in which elements are spelled out (the copy-position, or the landing site position). See Solà (1994) for an approach along these lines.

⁹ See Zwart (1991a) and Haegeman (1991) for arguments that the functional projections of the IP-system in Dutch and West Flemish are head initial.

Another important consequence of the checking approach is the following. If we assume that the finite verb in embedded clauses is in V, verb movement and complementizer agreement will not be in each other's way, like it is in the structure in (23):



In (26), AgrS moves to C, while the inflected verb is still sitting inside the VP. At LF, the verb can move to AgrS (now in C) to check the subject-verb agreement features:



Thus, if we change our assumptions concerning the content and position of functional heads, evidence for the existence of AgrCP is no longer straightforward.

3.2 Clitic Constructions

A second set of assumptions that may vary from analysis to analysis concerns the proper description of clitic constructions in Germanic.

There are really two issues here. First, how to describe clitic constructions in general. Second, whether clitics in Germanic, in particular in West Flemish, are real clitics, or weak subject pronouns with a special status of their own.

Regarding the second question, it has been argued by Zwart (1991a, 1993c) and Haegeman (1991) that clitics in Germanic should be analyzed on a par with clitics in Romance. On the other hand, Cardinaletti (1992) has argued that clitics in Germanic have an intermediate status as weak pronouns.

The issue relates to the question of whether the clitics/weak pronouns in Germanic are heads or phrases. The only way to test this is to look at the distribution of the clitics/weak

pronouns. Here, West Flemish provides clear evidence that the clitics/weak pronouns do not have the distribution of phrases:

- (28) a. **..dant** **Valère en Lucien** **gezien een**
 that-3PL-ocl Valery and Luke seen have-3PL
 "…that Valery and Luke have seen it."
 b. * **..dantse** **gezien een**
 that-3PL-ocl-scl seen have
 "…that they have seen it."

As can be seen in (28), full noun phrases may follow the object clitic/weak object *t* 'it', where as subject clitics/weak subjects may not. This shows that the subject clitics/weak subjects cannot be in the same position as a full noun phrase. This difference in distribution is easily explained if the weak pronouns are clitics. In (28), this means that they behave like heads and adjoin to the complementizer.

Another consideration that seems to decide in favor of the clitic status of the weak pronouns in West Flemish is the phenomenon of clitic doubling, illustrated in section 2.

Let us next consider the question of how to analyze clitic constructions in general. The conclusion that clitics are heads still leaves open various possibilities for deriving clitic constructions.¹⁰ It could be that clitics are generated as heads, or that they are generated as XPs and adjoin to a head in the course of the derivation. The latter option also leaves open the moment of adjunction, syntax or PF.

This issue has been around for quite a while without yielding definite results. Recently, however, Sportiche (1992) has argued that the two approaches (generation as head or as XP) can be fruitfully combined. The idea is that clitics are generated as heads and have to be associated with an XP in a theta-position. This XP will at some point in the derivation move to the specifier position of the clitic-head. Clitic doubling occurs when the associated XP is overtly realized. Non-doubling clitics have an empty associate, so that technically all clitic constructions are doubling constructions. Zwart (1992, 1993b) supplements this analysis by arguing that the clitics are generated in the head position of the agreement phrase associated with the doubling XP. Thus, subject clitics are generated in AgrS, because their associate XP is the external argument of the verb; object clitics are generated in AgrO, because the associate XP is an internal argument of the verb; etc. (see also Anagnostopoulou 1994).

Shlonsky (1994) presents an analysis of clitics and clitic doubling in West Flemish that is not compatible with the considerations presented here. For instance, he assumes that the West Flemish subject clitics are XPs, generated in the specifier position of AgrCP. Being generated outside the IP-system, they must be regarded as additional elements, doubling up the full pronoun.¹¹

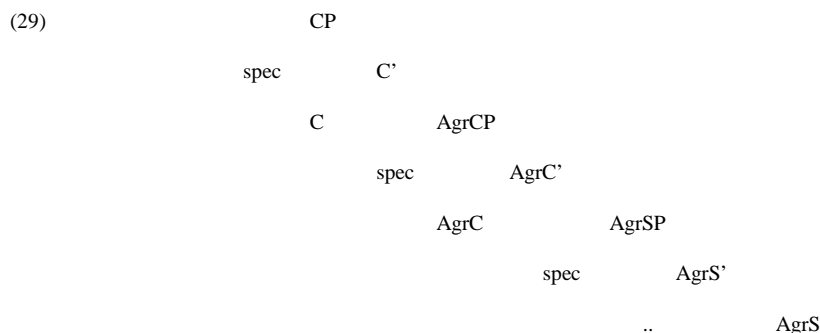
Having illuminated these points of potential confusion, let us now turn to the analysis of complementizer agreement and clitic doubling of Shlonsky (1994).

¹⁰ See Haverkort (1992) for an overview.

¹¹ "If the subject is a tonic pronoun it may be doubled by a clitic pronoun which agrees with it in person and number." (Shlonsky 1994:4) Accordingly, Shlonsky uses the term 'doubling pronoun' to refer to the subject clitic, whereas more standard usage would refer to the full pronoun with that term.

4. The AgrCP Analysis.

Shlonsky (1994) assumes the following structure to account for the West Flemish facts illustrated in section 2 (cf. (24)):



The complementizer *da* is in C, and the complementizer agreement morphology is generated in AgrC. The complementizer agreement morpheme moves up to C and adjoins to the right of the complementizer (cf. (7), (24)).¹²

The subject clitics are XPs, and are base generated in the specifier position of AgrCP. They adjoin to the inflected complementizer at PF. Complementizer agreement, therefore, is not agreement with the clausal subject, but with the subject clitic.

The subject, if it is not a clitic, is licensed in the specifier position of AgrSP. This holds for tonic pronouns doubling the subject clitic, as well as for (nondoubling) subject pronouns and R-expressions (I will refer to this set of subject elements as *full subjects*). If the Spec,AgrCP is not occupied by a subject clitic, the full subject moves from Spec,AgrSP to the Spec,AgrCP.

Spec,AgrCP is a pure agreement position: it is not a Case-licensing position nor a \bar{v} -position. Being an agreement position, however, it counts as an A-position. Spec,AgrCP must be occupied in overt syntax, because the spec-head agreement relation in AgrCP must be overtly expressed. Spec,AgrSP is a Case-licensing position (hence, also an A-position). However, Case is not assigned by AgrS through spec-head agreement, but by AgrC through head-government.

The projections in the CP-system (CP and AgrCP) are head-initial, whereas the projections in the IP-system (mostly not articulated) are head-final (cf. (24)). The verb occupies a functional head position to the right of VP in embedded clauses (cf. (4a)). In main clauses, there is a difference between subject initial main clauses and main clauses introduced by a non-subject (cf. (19), cf. Travis 1984, Zwart 1991a). In subject initial main clauses, the verb is in AgrC, whereas in main clauses introduced by a non-subject, the verb is in C (cf. Den Besten 1977).

The fact that in West Flemish a clitic can only be doubled by a pronoun, not by an R-expression (cf. (17a)), Shlonsky derives from the Binding Theory. An R-expression doubling the subject clitic would be bound by the subject clitic in violation of Principle C of the Binding Theory (Chomsky 1981). A pronoun doubling the subject clitic would not be bound

¹² More precisely, Shlonsky describes complementizer agreement as substitution of the complementizer agreement morpheme (generated in AgrC) into an empty slot in the subcategorization frame of the complementizer. He assumes that head movement is always substitution, either into an empty slot in a subcategorization frame, or into a radically empty head position. The latter is instantiated in verb movement to AgrC or C.

within AgrSP, which counts as a Complete Functional Complex (CFC) for the Binding Theory (cf. Chomsky 1986). Hence, the pronoun is free within its CFC, in compliance with Principle B of the Binding Theory.

In the next section, I will present five arguments against this analysis of complementizer agreement.

5. Arguments Against The AgrCP Analysis.

The arguments against the AgrCP analysis are listed below:

1. The AgrCP-analysis is dependent on particular assumptions regarding the content and position of functional heads.
2. The fact that complementizer agreement is subject agreement can only be stipulated in the AgrCP-analysis.
3. The AgrCP-analysis contains a host of ad hoc subject movements.
4. The AgrCP does not play a role in West Flemish syntax outside the domain of complementizer agreement.
5. Adopting the AgrCP leads to an unnecessary complication of the grammar.

I will discuss these arguments one by one.

5.1 Assumptions on functional heads.

As will be clear from the discussion in section 3.1, the AgrCP hypothesis leans heavily on certain assumptions concerning the content of functional heads.

If we assume that inflectional morphemes must be generated in a functional head, there must be a functional head for the complementizer agreement morphology. On the other hand, if we assume that functional heads contain abstract inflectional features which enter into checking relations with inflected elements, the conclusion that there must be a *separate* functional head for complementizer agreement is not forced upon us.

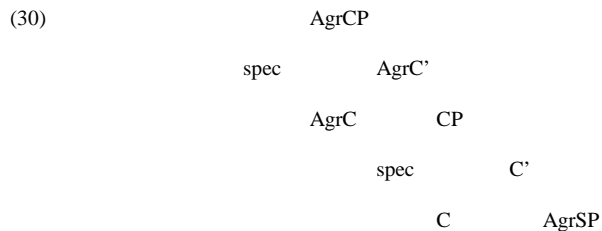
Translating the Hoekstra-Marác analysis of complementizer agreement in terms of the checking approach to inflectional morphology, we could say that an inflected complementizer is a head (C) that agrees with another head (AgrS), which in its turn agrees with its specifier (the subject in Spec,AgrSP). Complementizer agreement in itself, then, does not present an argument for or against the existence of an AgrCP.

The AgrCP-hypothesis would gain strength if it could be shown that the checking approach to inflectional morphology is untenable. I believe, however, that the checking approach has a lot going for it. In particular, it has turned out in recent years that the movement approach to inflectional morphology is too much at odds with requirements of economy of derivation (cf. Chomsky 1991 and class lectures of 1990).

Finally, notice that even on the movement approach to inflectional morphology it is not clear that the AgrCP needed to host the complementizer agreement morpheme is part of the CP-system instead of the IP-system. In other words, it will be hard to distinguish AgrCP in (8) and (29) from AgrSP1 in (5). Recall that AgrCP in (8) equals AgrSP in (5), Shlonsky's analysis reduces to the Hoekstra-Marác analysis.

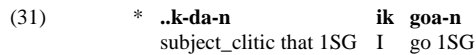
As Shlonsky himself notes, if AgrC is a functional head in the CP-system, its position in (29) is somewhat surprising (Shlonsky 1994, note 6). Drawing on the parallel with verbal agreement, we may assume that the subject at some point in the derivation has to move to the specifier position of AgrC. Likewise, we may assume that the complementizer will at some point have to move to the head of AgrCP, just like the verb has to move to the head of AgrSP. This leads to the conclusion that the AgrCP must be superior to CP, just like the AgrSP is superior to VP.

The analysis of complementizer agreement in Shlonsky (1994) does involve movement of the subject to the specifier position of AgrCP (see section 4). However, movement of the complementizer to AgrS is not part of that analysis. As is clear from the structure in (29), the complementizer could only move to AgrC by lowering. Instead, the relation between the subject and the complementizer is mediated by raising of AgrC to C. This destroys the parallel treatment of complementizer agreement and verbal agreement. A completely parallel analysis would require the structure in (30):



In (30), AgrCP is the functional 'shell' of CP, just like AgrSP is (part of) the functional shell of VP.

The structure in (30), however, is not compatible with Shlonsky's analysis of clitic doubling in West Flemish. For instance, we cannot assume that the subject clitics are generated in the specifier position of AgrCP, since this would yield an embedded clause word order as in (31)(cf. (1a):



In fact, no material of the embedded clause ever appears to the left of the complementizer in West Flemish. Thus, the AgrCP in (30) can only be postulated on theory internal grounds.

In short, Shlonsky's structure in (29) is incompatible with the generally held views on the relation between functional and lexical heads (C taken to be a lexical head relative to AgrC). On the other hand, the structure in (30) that is compatible with these views lacks empirical substance.

From this we may conclude that the AgrCP is not an agreement projection of the CP-system, but a lower agreement projection that is somehow associated with the subject, and which has a head that moves to C. If so, AgrCP cannot be distinguished from AgrSP1. Note that this conclusion is reached independently of assumptions on the content of functional heads.

In short, the AgrCP-hypothesis is redundant if we adopt the checking approach to inflectional morphology. If we adopt the movement approach to inflectional morphology, we do need an additional agreement head. However, this additional agreement head is not superior to C, and therefore must be regarded as an agreement head of the IP-system.

5.2 Subject Agreement Must Be Stipulated

A second argument against the AgrCP-hypothesis is that the fact that complementizer agreement is always subject agreement must be stipulated.

In Shlonsky's analysis, the complementizer agrees with the subject clitic in Spec,AgrC. However, subject clitics are not obligatorily present. If there is no subject clitic around, a requirement that says that the spec-head agreement in AgrCP must be overtly expressed forces some noun phrase to move to the Spec,AgrCP. Since complementizer agreement is always subject agreement, we must conclude that only the subject is allowed to move to Spec,AgrCP.

The question arises why this should be so. Recall that the Spec,AgrCP-position counts as an A-position. Therefore, conditions on A'-movement (which might rule out movement of the object to Spec,AgrCP as a superiority violation) do not apply. Also, the fact that the object would cross the subject on its way to Spec,AgrCP must be considered irrelevant, since A-movement in general yields crossing rather than nesting paths (Chomsky 1992).¹³

This problem does not occur if AgrCP equals AgrSP (or AgrSP1). In that case, the subject moves to Spec,AgrSP for independent reasons (nominative Case assignment, or, in the checking approach, checking of the N-features of AgrS). The absence of object complementizer agreement then reduces to the absence of object-verb agreement in West Flemish.

5.3 Subject Movement Is Superfluous

In Shlonsky's analysis, subject movement to Spec,AgrCP is needed in two cases. First, if there is no subject clitic, a full subject has to move to Spec,AgrCP in order to express the agreement relation with AgrC overtly (see section 5.2). Second, the subject moves to Spec,AgrCP in subject-initial main clauses (where the verb occupies AgrC).

Since the subject has already been licensed in Spec,AgrSP, the subject does not stand to gain in the movement to Spec,AgrCP.¹⁴ This is especially problematic in subject-initial main clauses.

In subject-initial main clauses, the only observable agreement relation is between the subject and the verb. This agreement relation is standardly expressed in AgrSP. Adopting the structure in (29), this requires movement of the subject to Spec,AgrSP and movement of the verb to AgrS (which is to the right of the VP on these assumptions). No further movement is required to express the subject-verb agreement relation.

Needless to say that this derivation would not yield the correct verb second word order. At this point, AgrC is invoked to host the verb. Since this would yield an

¹³ In Chomsky (1992), the generalization that A-movement yields crossing paths is derived from locality conditions on movement. In particular, the *equidistance* principle does not allow A-movement across two potential landing sites (which could not be avoided with nesting paths). This might help to rule out object movement to Spec,AgrCP, since the object noun phrase would have to cross both Spec,TP and Spec,AgrSP to reach Spec,AgrCP. However, the equidistance principle is not without problems, since it predicts that in double object constructions in an overt object shift language like Dutch movement of a subject from Spec,VP to Spec,AgrSP, across the direct object and the indirect object (each in the specifier position of a separate AgrOP), leads to ungrammaticality (as pointed out by Liliane Haegeman and Gereon Müller, p.c.) (but see Collins and Thrainsson 1993 for an attempt to deal with this problem).

¹⁴ In terms of Chomsky 1992, movement of the subject to Spec,AgrCP violates the principle of *Greed*.

ungrammatical VSO word order, an additional movement of the subject to Spec,AgrCP is required.

Notice that the movement of the verb to AgrC and of the subject to Spece,AgrCP has no explanation in terms of complementizer agreement. There is no observable complementizer agreement morpheme that would justify the presence of AgrC in the structure. The absence of a complementizer is irrelevant since the verb could pick up the complementizer agreement.¹⁵

Like in the previous section, the additional movements are only needed because the additional projection AgrCP is included in the description. If the AgrCP equals the AgrSP, the additional movements are no longer needed (i.e., they do take place, but they are no longer ad hoc).

5.4 AgrCP Not Independently Needed

Shlonsky (1994) argues that the AgrCP is needed in the analysis of verb second and clitic doubling in West Flemish. However, the structure in (3) or (5) suffices in both cases.

5.4.1 Verb Second

Recall from (19) that in West Flemish (as in all Continental West Germanic dialects) there is an asymmetry between subject initial main clauses and object-initial main clauses. The subject in the former can be a clitic, but the object in the latter cannot. The pattern is also illustrated in (32), from Standard Dutch:

- | | | | | |
|------|----|---------------|---------------|-------|
| (32) | a. | Ze | komen | |
| | | they | come | Dutch |
| | b. | * Ze | zie ik | |
| | | they | see I | |
| | | "I see them." | | |

Ze in (32) is a weak 3PL subject or object pronoun. As can be seen, only as a subject can *ze* appear in the first position of the sentence. Travis (1984) concluded from this that sentence initial subjects are in their canonical licensing position, the specifier position of IP. Sentence initial non-subjects, on the other hand, are in a special position, Spec,CP, which is not accessible to weak elements.

This analysis leads to the conclusion that the verb in (32a) is in a different position than the verb in (32b), even though the verb is in the second position in each case. Travis suggested that the verb in (32a) is in INFL. This analysis was generally rejected, as it ran counter to the standardly held views regarding the position of the functional heads in Continental West Germanic.

However, there are other considerations which support Travis' analysis. The standard verb second pattern, illustrated in (33), could be taken to involve subject-verb inversion, triggered by the movement of a non-subject to Spec,CP:

¹⁵ In fact, there are dialects in which the fronted verb carries observable complementizer agreement morphology (Zwart 1991b, 1993a, and references cited there). Crucially, in some of these dialects, the complementizer agreement is only present on the verb in subject verb inversion constructions (Bavarian appears to be exceptional in this respect, cf. Bayer 1984, Gärtner and Steinbach 1994).

- [illegible]

Assuming the structure in (34), (33) appears to feature two types of positions: a designated licensing position for subjects (Spec,AgrSP) and a designated licensing position for ‘topics’ (Spec,CP):

- (34)
- | | | | | |
|--|------------|-----------|------|-------|
| | | | CP | |
| | <i>dat</i> | | C' | |
| | | C | | AgrSP |
| | <i>ken</i> | <i>ik</i> | | AgrS' |
| | | | AgrS | .. |

The non-inverted counterpart of (33), (35), can then simply be analyzed as in the structure in (36), with the subject in its designated licensing position (Spec,AgrSP):

- | | | | | |
|------|-----------|------------|----------------|-------|
| (35) | Ik | ken | dat | |
| | I | know | that | |
| (36) | | | AgrSP | |
| | | <i>ik</i> | | AgrS' |
| | | | AgrS | TP |
| | | <i>ken</i> | <i>..dat..</i> | |

The alternative analysis, in which the verb is in C and the subject in Spec,CP, would feature a completely unmotivated movement of the subject out of its designated licensing position:

- (37)
- | | | | | |
|--|--|---------|-------|----------|
| | | | CP | |
| | | ik_i | | C' |
| | | | C | AgrSP |
| | | ken_j | t_i | AgrS' |
| | | | | AgrS |
| | | | | TP |
| | | | t_j | ...dat.. |

The advantage of the simpler analysis in (36) over the analysis in (37) seems clear, even disregarding the empirical argument based on (32).¹⁶

The structure in (37) is sort of a straw man, since the classic analysis of verb second (which involves verb movement to C in all cases) assumes that IP (or the functional projections of the IP-system) is head-final in the West Germanic SOV-languages and dialects. As discussed above, this is based on the assumption that inflectional affixes are generated in

¹⁶ For this reason, attempts to reconcile the pattern in (32) with the standard analysis of verb second (involving verb movement to C in all constructions) are not convincing (cf. Rizzi 1991, Vikner and Schwartz 1994).

functional heads. The structure in (36) assumes a version of the checking approach (cf. Travis 1984).

For Shlonsky, who in his 1994 article assumes the movement approach to inflectional morphology, the pattern in (32) is problematic. The facts tell us that there must be a functional head position in the *Vorfeld* other than C. However, if the functional projections of the IP-system are head-final, the head position in question cannot be AgrS.¹⁷

It is clear that the AgrCP-hypothesis presents a way out of this dilemma. Hence, Shlonsky's analysis of subject-initial main clauses as involving verb movement to AgrC (see section 5.3).

However, there is an easier way out of the dilemma: to assume that the functional projections of the IP-system are head-initial (Travis 1984, Zwart 1991a, 1993b).¹⁸ This would give the same result, without having to assume the additional movements discussed in section 5.3.

5.4.2 Clitic Doubling

Let us next consider Shlonsky's analysis of clitic doubling in West Flemish. Again, the question to ask is whether this analysis, where AgrCP is part of the CP-system, is more plausible than its alternative, where AgrCP equals AgrSP.

Consider clitic doubling in subject-initial main clauses in West Flemish:

- (38) **Ze** **goat** **zie**
 scl goes she
 "She's going."

The subject clitic *ze* may be analyzed as an XP or as a head. Let us adopt the idea that the subject clitic is an XP. In Shlonsky's analysis, then, it is generated in Spec,AgrCP. The doubling pronoun *zie* must be in the specifier position of a lower functional projection, say AgrSP.

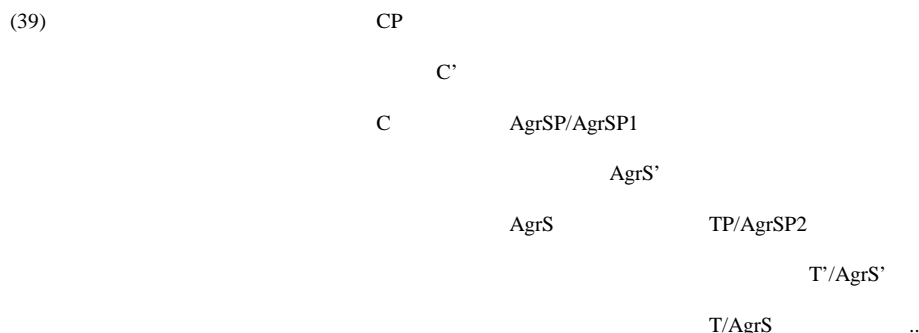
If we replace AgrCP by AgrSP, the analysis can be maintained: the doubling pronoun again occupies the specifier position of a lower functional projection, say TP (or, adopting the structure in (5), AgrSP2). It is clear that AgrCP in Shlonsky's analysis of clitic doubling is no more than a label.

In both analyses, two 'subject positions' are distinguished, one for the subject clitic, and another one for the doubling pronoun. The analyses differ in that the 'AgrSP analysis' employs only well-known positions to accommodate West Flemish clitic doubling, whereas the 'AgrCP analysis' introduces an entirely new position for that purpose.

Consider the analysis of the various clitic doubling facts in West Flemish, assuming the structure in (39):

¹⁷ This problem disappears if the functional projections of the IP-system do not have to be consistently head-final, as proposed by Jaspers 1989.

¹⁸ Alternatively, one could assume that not all functional projections of the IP-system are head-final (cf. Jaspers 1989). This would be stipulative, but not more so than to assume that the inflectional morpheme of the complementizer is generated in a position inferior to the position of the complementizer.



- (40)
- | | | | | |
|----|---------------------|----------------|-----------|--------------|
| a. | ..da-n-k | | ik | goa-n |
| | that 1SG SCL | I | goa 1SG | |
| b. | 'k | goa-n | ik | |
| | SCL | go 1SG | I | |
| | "I'm going." | | | |
| c. | Vandoage | goa-n-k | ik | |
| | today | go 1SG SCL | I | |
| | "Today, I'm going." | | | |

In each example in (40), the clitic *k* is in Spec,AgrSP and the doubling pronoun *ik* is in Spec,TP (or, alternatively, Spec,AgrSP2).

In (40a), the complementizer *da* is generated in C. Ignoring the complementizer agreement (which is a reflex of AgrS-to-C movement, if we are right), all we have to say is that the clitic adjoins to the right of the complementizer. Like Shlonsky, we can assume that this adjunction takes place at PF.

In (40b), the verb is in AgrS, according to our assumptions. No further movements are needed, as AgrS follows the clitic *k* in Spec,AgrS and precedes the doubling pronoun *ik* in Spec,TP (or Spec,AgrSP2).

Finally, in (40c), Spec,CP is occupied by the fronted adverb, triggering verb movement to C. In this type of construction, the verb behaves exactly like the complementizer in (40a). Accordingly, the subject clitic adjoins to the verb in C, presumably at PF, as assumed by Shlonsky.

In (40a,c) complementizer agreement is agreement with the subject clitic in Spec,AgrSP. It is visible on the complementizer as a result of AgrS-to-C movement. Since full subjects are also in Spec,AgrSP, complementizer agreement with full subjects works exactly the same way:

- (41)
- | | | | |
|----|-----------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| a. | ..da-n | Valère en Lucien | goa-n |
| | that 3PL | Valery and Luke | go 3PL |
| b. | Vandoage | goa-n | Valère en Lucien |
| | today | go 3PL | Valery and Luke |

It appears that clitic doubling in West Flemish can be described with equal plausibility if the AgrCP-hypothesis is dropped. Consider in this respect Shlonsky's explanation for the impossibility of clitic doubling with R-expressions:

- (42)
- | | | | |
|-----------------|-------------------|--------------|---------|
| ..da-t-j | ij/*Valère | goa-t | (=(9b)) |
| that 3SG SCL | he/Valery | go 3SG | |

Shlonsky derives this fact from the Binding Theory, by assuming that the subject clitic *j* binds the doubling element. If the doubling element is an R-expression, this binding relation would violate Principle C of the Binding Theory.

It is clear that this explanation is in no way dependent on the AgrCP-hypothesis. The same can be said about the grammaticality of clitic doubling by a pronoun.

In Shlonsky's analysis, the doubling pronoun (*ij* in (42)) occupies the Spec,AgrSP. In this position, the pronoun is governed by AgrS, which turns AgrSP into the relevant CFC for the pronoun. Since the subject clitic (the binder for the pronoun) is outside this CFC, the pronoun is free in its CFC, as prescribed by Principle B of the Binding Theory.

Again, this analysis is not dependent on the AgrCP-hypothesis. If the pronoun is in Spec,TP (or Spec,AgrSP2), where it is governed by T (or AgrS2), TP (or AgrSP2) counts as the relevant CFC for the pronoun, and Principle B of the Binding Theory is satisfied.

In short, Shlonsky's analysis of clitic doubling can be maintained in full, if we change the relevant labels and abandon the AgrCP-hypothesis.

If we assume that subject clitics are in fact not generated as XPs but as heads, several questions arise in Shlonsky's analysis.

First, it becomes difficult to describe complementizer agreement as specifier-head agreement. If the subject is a clitic, complementizer agreement is head-head agreement (of AgrC and the clitic adjoined to AgrC), but if the subject is a full subject, it is spec-head agreement.

This problem can easily be overcome by adopting Sportiche's analysis of clitic constructions. This would imply that an empty XP associated with the clitic occupies the specifier position of the projection where the clitic is generated. But in West Flemish subject clitic constructions, this XP-associate may be overtly present (the doubling pronoun), and it is not in a spec-head configuration with the clitic.

Therefore, this solution requires that the doubling pronoun in West Flemish is *not* the associate XP in the analysis of Sportiche. I believe that this would be a correct conclusion. Clitic doubling constructions in general do not show the binding restrictions of West Flemish. For example, principle C does not block clitic doubling in River Plate Spanish:

- (43) **Lo_i** **vimos** **a Juan_i**
 ocl we-saw P John
 "We saw John."

It is hard to see why West Flemish would be different in this respect.

Moreover, West Flemish object clitics can never be doubled. Thus, if West Flemish is really a clitic doubling language, the parametrization to this effect must contain a number of provisos.

This suggests that it may be more correct to characterize West Flemish as a non-clitic doubling language. If so, both subject clitics and object clitics are always doubled by an empty XP. In this way, West Flemish cliticization at large has a more regular character. The only irregular feature remains the optional presence of an additional tonic pronoun in subject clitic constructions.¹⁹

For complementizer agreement, this means that we can maintain the idea that complementizer agreement is spec-head agreement of an XP and an agreement head. If the subject is a clitic, the XP is empty, if not, the XP is a full subject.

¹⁹ Notice that this analysis of West Flemish as a non-clitic doubling language does not invalidate the Binding Theory account of the ungrammaticality of sentences containing a subject clitic and an R-expression, like (9b). If the clitic is a head, we may assume that it is the empty XP associated with the clitic that acts as the binder for the pronoun. If TP (or AgrSP2) counts as the binding domain for Principle B of the Binding Theory, the tonic pronoun is allowed, whereas an R-expression is disallowed as before. An advantage of this analysis is that Binding Theory never seems to enter into clitic doubling in standard clitic doubling constructions the way it does in Shlonsky's analysis of West Flemish.

This reduces the doubling pronoun in West Flemish to a quirk of the language. It is not a regular subject, because the clitic's empty associate XP is the regular subject. It is also not the associate XP in the sense of Sportiche's analysis.²⁰ The following facts support the idea that the doubling pronoun has this 'funny' status.

First, the doubling pronoun cannot occupy the specifier position associated with the clitic in overt syntax (this would be Spec,AgrCP in the AgrCP-analysis, Spec,AgrSP in the AgrSP-analysis):

- (43) * **Zie** **ze** **goat**
 she scl goes

This is explained if the specifier position in question is already occupied by the empty XP-associate of the clitic.

Second, the doubling pronoun shows morphological ideosyncrasies, such as the reduplication illustrated in (44a):

- (44) a. **'k** **goan** **ik/ekik**
 scl go-1SG I
 "I'm going."
 b. **Ik/*Ekik** **goan**
 I go-1SG
 "I'm going."

Third, the tonic pronoun can be left out in clitic doubling constructions:

- (45) a. **..da-n-k** **ik** **goa-n**
 that 1SG SCL I go 1SG
 b. **..da-n-k** **goa-n**
 that 1SG SCL go 1SG

Shlonsky suggests that in doubling constructions without a tonic pronoun like (45b), the pronoun is replaced by *pro*. However, there is no evidence for the presence of *pro* in (45b) (see section 2).²¹ If the subject clitic is a real subject, carrying the subject $\bar{\theta}$ -role and checking the N-features of AgrS, there is no need for assuming a *pro* in (45b), and the 'doubling' pronoun has the status of an ill-understood additional element.

Finally, there are several cases where the tonic pronoun cannot occur without a subject clitic, whereas there are no cases where the subject clitic cannot occur without a tonic pronoun (ignoring the factor of emphasis):

- (46) a. **..da-n-k** **goa-n**
 that 1SG SCL go 1SG
 "...that I go."
 b. * **..da-n** **ik** **goa-n**
 that 1SG I go 1SG

²⁰ Notice that if we assume that the doubling pronoun is the associate of the clitic in the sense of Sportiche's analysis, the spec-head agreement involved in complementizer agreement (in AgrCP, in Shlonsky's analysis) no longer has to be overtly expressed, unless not AgrC but the lower head AgrS is involved in complementizer agreement.

²¹ Shlonsky argues for the presence of *pro* in clitic constructions in West Flemish by considering *pro*-drop phenomena in Frisian and Bavarian. The Frisian and Bavarian facts, are irrelevant, however, since Frisian and Bavarian lack clitic doubling, and *pro*-drop appears to be related to the rich inflection on the verb or the complementizer. In West Flemish, on the other hand, *pro*-drop is not licensed by the complementizer agreement (Zwart 1993a).

- (47) a. **..da-∅-j** **goa-t**
 that 2SG SCL go 2SG
 "..that you go."
 b. * **..da-∅** **gie goa-t**
 that 2SG you go

In the a-sentences, the tonic pronoun is left out, in the b-sentences, the clitic is left out. The b-sentences are ungrammatical. This shows that the tonic pronoun is dependent on the subject clitic, rather than the other way around. This supports the idea that the tonic pronoun is an additional element, whereas the clitic (or its empty associate) is the real subject.

Shlonsky's analysis groups the doubling pronoun together with independent tonic pronouns and R-expressions, and assigns a special status to the subject clitic. In the alternative analysis, the doubling pronoun has a special status, and the subject clitic is treated as an ordinary clitic, doubled by an empty XP as proposed by Sportiche (1992). This appears to be the consequence of the assumption that clitics are heads, rather than XPs.

Since many issues in the analysis of clitic constructions are unsolved, it is not easy to come up with definite conclusions. However, it seems clear that the AgrCP can be dispensed with in the analysis of clitic constructions in West Flemish.

5.4.3 Conclusion

The AgrCP-hypothesis is redundant in both the analysis of verb second and the analysis of clitic doubling in West Flemish.

5.5 Simplification of the Grammar

A final argument against the AgrCP-hypothesis is that it leads to a number of complications in the system of grammar. It is not clear in each case that these complications are independently needed.

Most of these points have been touched upon in previous sections. In general, we can say that if the AgrCP-hypothesis is right, several developments in grammatical theory that seemed desirable must be going in the wrong direction.

For example, it seems desirable to come up with a uniform phrase structure (including directionality factors) for all West Germanic languages. This would imply that the functional projections in these languages are all head-initial. This again requires that we adopt the checking approach to inflectional morphology (unless we are willing to admit lowering in the description of Continental West Germanic). Consequently, there is no reason to postulate an additional functional head for complementizer agreement or subject-initial verb second constructions.²²

It also seems desirable to have a general split between L-related and non-L-related functional projections, as proposed in Chomsky and Lasnik (1993). The heads of L-related functional projections contain inflectional features of the verb, the heads of non-L-related functional projections do not. This distinction is relevant, among other things, for the determination of barriers, on the assumption that L-related heads remove the barrier status of their sister XP. The distinction corresponds, roughly, to the traditional A/A' distinction (but

²² Not to mention the fact that there is considerable empirical evidence for functional projections to the left of the VP in Continental West Germanic, and virtually no evidence for the existence of functional heads to the right of VP (cf. Jaspers 1989, Reuland 1990, Zwart 1991a, 1993b, Haegeman 1991, etc.).

see Haegeman 1994), and to the distinction between the IP-system and the CP-system. The AgrCP-proposal blurs this distinction again, by postulating an agreement phrase in the CP-system.²³ Moreover, as has been pointed out, the AgrCP is not a regular agreement phrase since it is inferior to the projection of C with which it is associated. Both these problems disappear if AgrCP is just AgrSP.

Likewise, the AgrCP-proposal and the analyses that go with it fly in the face of several recent attempts to bring the Germanic clitics more in line with the clitics in other language groups, in particular Romance (Jaspers 1989, Zwart 1993c, Haegeman 1991). These attempts start from the assumption that clitics are heads, and try to derive the differences of clitic constructions across languages from independent syntactic differences between the relevant languages. The AgrCP-hypothesis ignores this development, which nevertheless seems to be a desirable one (but see Cardinaletti 1992).

Finally, the AgrCP-analysis relies heavily on the traditional notion of government as a licensing relation, whereas the recent developments suggest that this relation can be replaced by specifier-head agreement entirely.²⁴ This becomes clear if we consider the assumptions on nominative Case assignment entertained in Shlonsky (1994).

Shlonsky (1994) assumes that AgrC assigns nominative Case to the element in the specifier position of AgrSP. In clitic doubling constructions, the specifier position of AgrSP is occupied by the doubling pronoun. Assuming an adjacency condition on Case assignment, nominative Case assignment by AgrC accounts for the adjacency of the doubling pronoun and the subject clitic in (48):

- (48) **..dase** **(*morgen)** **zie** **komt**
 that-3SG-scl tomorrow she come-3SG
 "...that she's coming tomorrow."

However, adjacency does not generally play a role in Case assignment in Continental West Germanic. This is clear from the fact that the object need not be adjacent to the verb:²⁵

- (49) **..dase** **Valère** **gisteren** **gezien eet**
 that-3SG-scl Valery yesterday seen have-3SG
 "...that she saw Valery yesterday."

Of course, recent theorizing accounts for the word order in (49) by assuming that the object is assigned objective Case in the specifier position of a functional head AgrO (Vanden Wyngaerd 1989). But if that is the way Case is assigned in (49), the same must be true for nominative Case in (48), and the Case adjacency explanation of the distribution of the adverb in (48) fails.

Rijkhoek (1994) argues that adverbs are not randomly adjoined to projections, but must occupy the specifier position of a functional head which is not occupied otherwise. The most likely candidates are TP and AspectP (AspP). Assuming that TP nor AspP intervenes

²³ Shlonsky (1994) also assumes that AgrC assigns nominative Case to the element in Spec,AgrSP, thus making it impossible to define IP-internal syntactic processes in terms of licensing relations.

²⁴ This refers to government as a relation between a head and a dependent element, not to government as a relation between members of a chain (antecedent government), which really is not government but A'-binding (cf. Chomsky 1981).

²⁵ I ignore the possibility that the object is assigned Case in its $\bar{0}$ -position and has undergone A'-movement out of the VP. This has been argued against sufficiently by Vanden Wyngaerd (1989).

between the subject clitic and the pronoun in (48) would account for the observed adjacency effect.²⁶

This illustrates that it may very well be possible to account for peculiarities of West Flemish syntax without having to deviate from the tendency to restrict all licensing relations to spec-head configurations. This tendency is, of course, not altogether absent from the analysis in Shlonsky (1994), but the assumption that spec-head agreement is not available as a licensing relation for subjects gives the analysis an unnecessary hybrid character.²⁷ This problem disappears if AgrCP is identified as AgrSP: spec-head agreement can then be maintained as the sole licensing relation.²⁸

6. Conclusion

Let us finally return to the questions raised at the end of section 1:

1. Is it necessary to postulate an agreement phrase inside the CP-system in order to describe complementizer agreement?
2. Is the agreement phrase inside the CP-system an essential ingredient of the analysis of other features of the relevant languages?

The answer to both questions is negative (taking West Flemish to be representative of the relevant languages in question 2).

Subject agreement on complementizers must be described as involving an agreement relation between C and a lower functional head. No part of the description forces us to conclude that this lower functional head is part of the CP-system. Simplicity then requires that we identify this lower functional head as the functional head involved in subject agreement, AgrS.

Neither the analysis of verb second nor the analysis of clitic doubling in West Flemish forces us to adopt the AgrCP-hypothesis. Subject-initial verb second can and has been described as involving verb movement to AgrS. Clitic doubling in West Flemish shows that there must be two subject positions, but not that the superior subject position is outside the IP-system.

Since *entia non sunt multiplicanda praeter necessitatem*, this implies that the AgrCP as defined in Shlonsky (1994) does not exist.

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²⁶ This proposal is couched in the theory of Kayne (1993) which prohibits adjunction to XPs altogether. Of course, if the 'doubling' pronoun occupies Spec,TP, there is no room for an adverb there.

²⁷ Notice, in addition, that AgrS does govern the 'doubling' pronoun in Spec,AgrS for purposes of the Binding Theory. Only if AgrS governs its specifier position can AgrSP be defined as the CFC for Principle B of the Binding Theory, allowing the 'doubling' pronoun to appear in Spec,AgrS.

²⁸ Shlonsky (1994) mentions the problem that if Spec,AgrC were a Case licensing position, we might assume that a full subject moves to Spec,AgrC, while the clitic is licensed by incorporation. This would yield the ungrammatical Subject-Clitic-Verb order. This problem disappears, however, if clitic constructions in West Flemish require the presence of an empty associate, in the analysis of Sportiche (1992).

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