ON THE RELEVANCE OF CLITIC PLACEMENT FOR THE ANALYSIS OF SUBJECT-INITIAL VERB SECOND IN WEST FLEMISH*

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0. Introduction: aim and organization

This paper examines the relevance of clitic placement in West Flemish (WF), a Dutch dialect, for the analysis of subject-initial Verb Second sentences in Germanic.

On the basis of the placement of object clitics in WF, I examine the following claims made by Zwart (1991): (i) the highest functional projection in Germanic AGRP (IP) is head-medial; and (ii) subject-initial V2 sentences are AGRP rather than CP. Adopting the assumptions proposed in recent work by Jaspers (1989), Cardinaletti and Roberts (1991) and Zwart himself (1991) that, like Romance clitics, Germanic clitics are hosted by functional heads, I will show that Zwart's first claim is insufficient to account for the WF clitic positions. My own analysis expands the AGRP recursion analysis proposed by Cardinaletti and Roberts (1991). For the structure of WF I propose a recursive head-medial AGRP with an abstract head. Under this analysis the traditional CP analysis of subject-initial V2 is more economical than Zwart's AGRP analysis.

The paper is organized as follows. Section 1 introduces two competing analyses of V2, where the divergencies concern subject-initial V2. Section 2 summarizes Zwart's (1991) analysis of clitic placement in Dutch. Section 3 describes the form and distribution of WF clitics. Section 4 sketches an analysis of clitic placement in WF in terms of AGRP recursion and examines to what extent the traditional analysis of V2 in terms of general V-to-C movement and Zwart's competing analysis account for the data. In Section 5 I briefly discuss Cardinaletti and Roberts (1991)'s AGRP recursion analysis, which is at the basis of my own proposal. Section 6 summarizes the discus-

sion. The appendix shows the ramifications of the clitic data for the analysis of infinitival clauses.

1. The analysis of Verb Second

For the past fifteen years the Germanic V2 phenomenon has received a lot of attention in the GB literature. The central data are illustrated in the following Standard Dutch examples:
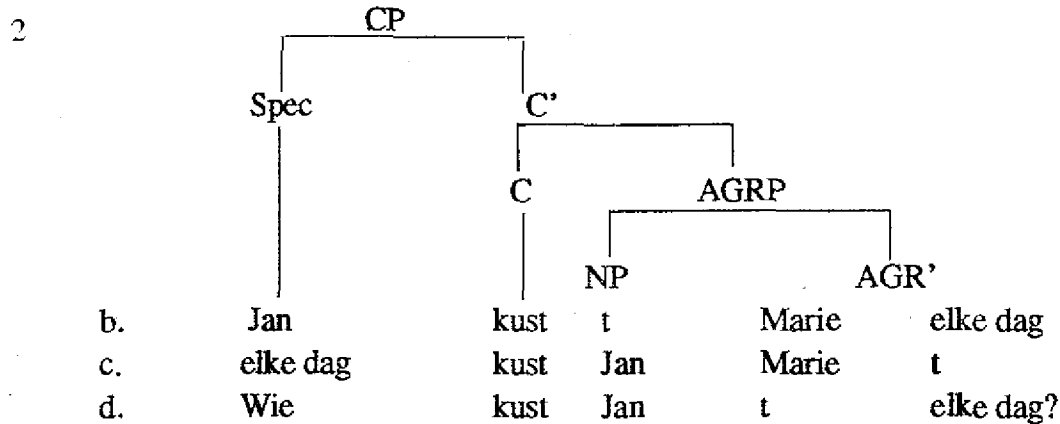
1. a. dat Jan Marie elke dag kust.
        that Jan Marie every day kisses
        'that Jan kisses Marie every day.'
    b. Jan kust Marie elke dag.
        Jan kisses Marie every day
        'Jan kisses Marie every day.'
    c. Elke dag kust Jan Marie.
        every day kisses Jan Marie
    d. Wie kust Jan elke dag?
        whom kisses Jan every day
        'Whom does Jan kiss every day?'

As illustrated in (1a), Dutch subordinate clauses have SOV order: *Jan*, the subject NP, precedes *Marie*, the object NP, which in turn precedes the time adjunct, *elke dag*, and the verb, *kust*. That the object NP precedes the time adjunct is a result of scrambling: the object NP leaves its base position and left-adjoins to some dominating maximal projection.[1]

It is generally assumed that subordinate clauses reflect the underlying word order patterns and that the word order in root clauses (1b-d) is derived by movement. For the subject-initial V2 sentence (1b) competing analyses have been put forward. I consider two proposals here:[2] what Vikner and Schwartz (1991) call the 'V2 outside IP analysis' on the one hand, and what they call the 'V2 asymmetry analysis' (1991: 1), on the other hand.
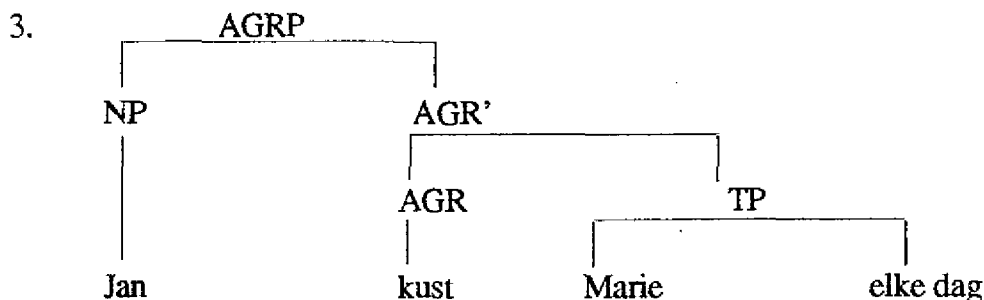
The 'V2 outside IP' analysis assumes that in each of the root clauses in (1b, c, d) the finite V has moved under C and another constituent occupies [Spec, CP]. This results in the partial structure in (2). I replace IP by AGRP, adopting a split INFL approach

along the lines of Belletti (1991). From now on I refer to this analysis as 'the V2 outside AGRP analysis'.

2.

```
                   CP
        ┌───────────┴───────┐
      Spec                  C'
        │              ┌─────┴──────────┐
        │              C              AGRP
        │              │        ┌───────┴────────┐
        │              │       NP              AGR'
```

b.	Jan	kust	t	Marie	elke dag
c.	elke dag	kust	Jan	Marie	t
d.	Wie	kust	Jan	t	elke dag?

Schwartz and Vikner (1989) and Vikner and Schwartz (1991) provide arguments drawn from various Germanic languages to support their analysis. I refer the reader to the papers mentioned for discussion.

In the alternative analysis there is an asymmetry between subject-initial V2 in (1b) and non-subject-initial V2 in (1c, 1d). The basic idea is that in (1b) the subject NP is in the canonical subject position, i.e. the specifier position of the highest functional projection of the IP complex, [Spec, AGRP] in our terminology. Under this view, the finite V occupies a right-adjacent head position, in our interpretation of the split INFL framework this would correspond to AGR. According to this approach the highest functional projection of the IP complex, AGRP, is head-medial in V2 languages. (1b) is assigned the representation in (3) below. For (1c) and (1d), on the other hand, the inverted order finite verb-subject NP is taken as evidence that the finite V has moved past the subject to C; (1c) and (1d) are analysed like (2c) and (2d) above.

3.

```
          AGRP
    ┌───────┴──────┐
   NP            AGR'
    │        ┌─────┴──────────┐
    │       AGR              TP
    │        │        ┌───────┴──────┐
   Jan      kust    Marie         elke dag
```

In this paper I examine specifically Zwart's (1991) arguments for the asymmetric analysis of V2 drawn from clitic data. He argues that IP is head-medial in Dutch. In our terminology this means that AGRP is head-medial. While this approach can account for the distribution of clitics in Dutch and German, I will argue that the analysis needs considerable modifications to account for the WF data of clitic placement. Once such modifications are adopted, it turns out that the traditional analysis of subject-initial V2 in terms of V-movement to C is more economical than Zwart's asymmetric approach.

2. Zwart's analysis of clitic placement

As mentioned already, Zwart's arguments for the head-medial functional projection and for the AGRP analysis of subject-initial V2 clauses is based on the distribution of clitics in Dutch. I sum up his arguments here. For further details the reader is referred to Zwart's text.

2.1. The subject/object asymmetry

In Dutch (and in German) there is a well-known asymmetry between subject clitics and object clitics: the former, though not the latter, may precede the finite V:

4. a. '*k* zag Jan
        I saw Jan
        cl
    b. *'*m* zag ik
        him saw I

Tonic pronouns of NPs do not exhibit this asymmetry:

5. a. *Zij/Marie* zag Jan
        she/Marie saw Jan
    b. *Hem/Jan* zag ik
        him/Jan saw I

The 'V outside AGRP analysis' of V2 does not distinguish the structural position of the clitics in (4a) and (4b) from that of the pronouns and the NPs in (5). All four sentences are interpreted in terms of movement of the finite V *zag* to C and movement of another constituent, a clitic or a pronoun, to [Spec, CP]. Under this view, the

ungrammaticality of (4b) has to be accounted for in terms of some other principle or constraint (see Rizzi 1991, discussed in Section 4).

In Zwart's analysis (4a) does not involve V-to-C movement, while (4b) does. (4b) is excluded under the assumption (Travis 1984) that clitics cannot move to [Spec, CP].

2.2. AGRP is head-medial

2.2.1. The distribution of object clitics

Zwart's analysis offers two important proposals. (i) The functional projection[3] dominating the canonical subject position is head-medial; (ii) subject-initial V2 sentences need not involve the CP domain.

The claim that AGRP is head-medial is motivated on the basis of a consideration of the position of object clitics in Dutch. Consider (6) (his (30)).

6. a. Jan heeft [$_{VP}$ gisteren *haar* gekust]
        Jan has yesterday her kissed
        'Jan kissed her yesterday.'
    b. Jan heeft *haar* [$_{VP}$ gisteren gekust]
        Jan has her yesterday kissed
    c. *Jan heeft gisteren '*r* gekust
        Jan has yesterday her-cl kissed
        'Jan kissed her yesterday '
    d. Jan heeft '*r* gisteren gekust

According to Zwart, (6a) shows that tonic pronouns can 'remain in the VP' (1991: 82). While there are arguments for assuming that the direct object NP has scrambled at least some way up even in (6a) (cf. Haegeman (1991a, in preparation; also Koopman and Sportiche (1988)), it is clear that the clitic '*r* in (6c) cannot remain in the corresponding position and must move higher up in the structure (6d).

Cliticization of object clitics to C is ungrammatical in Standard Dutch (his (31)):

7. a. dat Jan '*r* gisteren gekust heeft
        that Jan her-cl yesterday kissed has
    b. *dat '*r* Jan gisteren gekust heeft
        that her Jan yesterday kissed has

Zwart points out that the order COMP-object clitic-subject is grammatical in German but that this needs not mean that the object is cliticized to C: in German direct object NPs can precede the subject NP. In Dutch this configuration is only grammatical in case of Focus Scrambling (1991 82: ftn. 17), as in (8a) and (8b) (Zwart's (i) and (ii) ftn. 17) and in (8c) (his (9a)):

8. a. dass *den Brief* der Peter ihm gegeben hat.
        that the letter the Peter him given has
        'that Peter has given him the letter.'

    b. *dat *de brief* Peter hem gegeven heeft
        that the letter Peter him given has

    c. ^{OK} dat *zulke meisjes* Jan nooit kust
        that such girls Jan never kisses
        'that Jan never kisses such girls.'

Concerning the structural position of clitics Zwart says:

> I assume without discussion that clitics adjoin to functional heads. There is ample evidence for this point of view in work on Romance ... and the optimal hypothesis is that it carries over to other languages. However, it must be demonstrated that what I have called 'object clitics in Dutch' are truly clitics and not just reduced pronouns that for some unknown reason scramble obligatorily (1991: 82).

Four arguments are given in support of the assumption that the so called object clitics are truly clitics in Dutch. I repeat only those of them which I use for my discussion of WF clitics in Section 3.

2.2.2. Object clitics vs. pronouns

2.2.2.1. Double object constructions

In Standard Dutch the order Indirect object (IO)-Direct object (DO) is fixed when both arguments are realized as NPs and is free when they are clitics (Zwart's (32) - (34)):

9. a. dat ik gisteren *haar het boek* gaf
                        IO   DO
        that I yesterday her the book gave
        'that I gave her the book yesterday.'

b. *dat ik gisteren *het boek haar* gaf
    * DO   IO

10. a. dat ik *haar het boek* gisteren gaf
        IO DO

    that I her the book yesterday gave
    'that I gave her the book yesterday.'

    b. *dat ik *het boek haar* gisteren gaf
        *DO   IO

11. a. dat ik '*r 't* gisteren gaf
        her-cl   it-cl
        IO   DO

    'that I gave it to her.'

    b. dat ik '*t* '*r* gisteren gaf
        DO IO

    'that I gave it to her.'

Zwart specifies:

> For those speakers who do not consider the order of clitics to be free, it is the inverted order (DO-IO) that is the grammatical one. This forms an additional argument that clitic placement is not scrambling (Zwart 1991: 83, ftn. 18))

To Zwart's own examples I add (12), where the DO is a clitic and the IO an NP: the DO clitic '*t* can precede the IO NP *Marie*; the corresponding NP *het boek* cannot.

12. a. dat ik '*t Marie* gegeven heb
        that I it-cl Marie given have
        'that I gave it to Marie.'

    b. *dat ik *het boek Marie* gegeven heb

2.2.2.2. ECM patterns

While the embedded subject of an ECM construction creates an opaque domain for scrambling, the same domain is transparent for clitic movement:

> scrambling cannot cross an embedded subject in an Exceptional Case Marking (ECM) construction. On the other hand, object clitics can (1991: 83),

The opacity of ECM constructions is illustrated in (13) and (14), his (36) and (37).

13. a. dat ik *Jan/hem het boek* heb zien lezen
    that I Jan/him the book have seen read
        SU   DO
    'that I saw Jan/him read the book.'

    b. *dat ik *het boek Jan/hem* heb zien lezen
         *DO   SU

14. a. dat ik *Jan/hem 't* heb zien lezen
    that I Jan/him it have seen read
        SU   DO
    'that I saw Jan/him read it.'

    b. dat ik *t Jan/hem* heb zien lezen
              DO SU
    that I it Jan/him have seen read
    'that I saw Jan/him read it.'

In independent work I have argued that ECM constructions in Dutch involve scrambling of the subject of the infinitival complement to the matrix clause, a point also made by Van den Wyngaerd (1989a). The scrambled subject of the lower non-finite clause ends up in the position taken by a scrambled matrix IO. Under this view the data in (13) and (14) are parallel to those in (10) - (12).

2.2.2.3. Indefinite NPs

Consider the position of the clitic '*r* which is used in some dialects of Dutch to replace indefinite objects. (15) confirms that the distribution of the indefinite clitic '*r* differs from that of a corresponding indefinite NP.

15. a. Heb je gisteren *meisjes* gekust?
       have you yesterday girls kissed
    b. *Heb je gisteren *er* gekust
    c. Heb je *er* gisteren gekust?
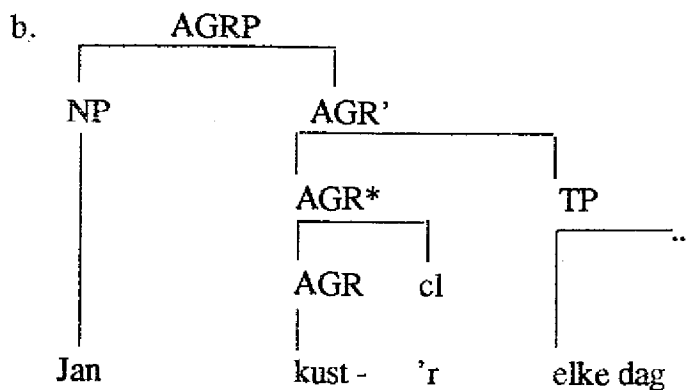   d. *Heb je *meisjes* gisteren gekust?

In addition to the evidence from double object patterns, ECM - constructions and the distribution of indefinite clitics to support the view that clitic movement differs from scrambling[4], Zwart provides arguments from VPR and VP topicalization. I

cannot agree with his judgements nor with his interpretation of the data, however. I return to this point in the Appendix.
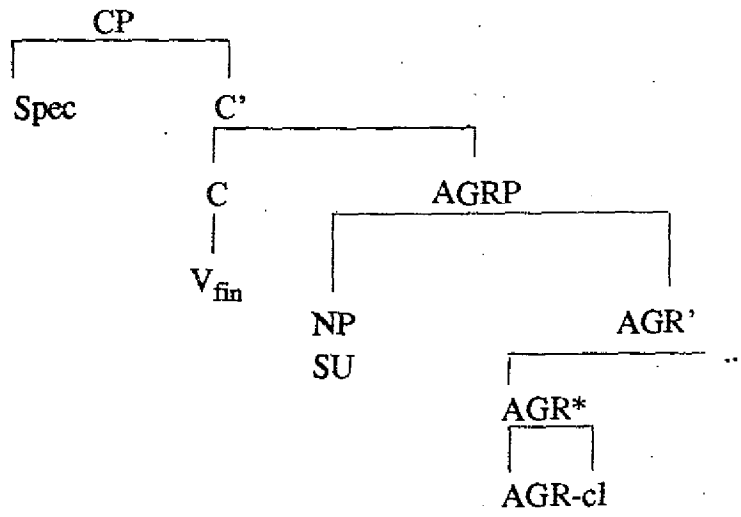
2.2.3. The Wackernagel position

In Zwart's analysis there is one clitic position in Dutch: the position right-adjacent to the position of the finite V in subject-initial V2 clauses. Clitics are hosted by I in Zwart's analysis and this would mean that they are hosted by AGR in my interpretation of the split INFL. (16a) has structure (16b): '*r* moves to AGR. The finite V *heeft* has moved to AGR. Recall that Zwart assumes that subject-initial V2 clauses do not involve the CP level:

16. a. Jan kust '*r* elke dag
         Jan kisses her-cl every day

b.

```
            AGRP
     ┌───────────────┐
    NP              AGR'
     │          ┌──────────────┐
     │         AGR*           TP
     │       ┌──────┐       ┌──────  ...
     │      AGR   cl       │
     │       │
    Jan    kust -  'r     elke dag
```

In non-subject-initial V2 clauses, Zwart's analysis is like the traditional 'V outside AGRP analysis': the finite V moves to C. Object clitics again move to AGR.[5]
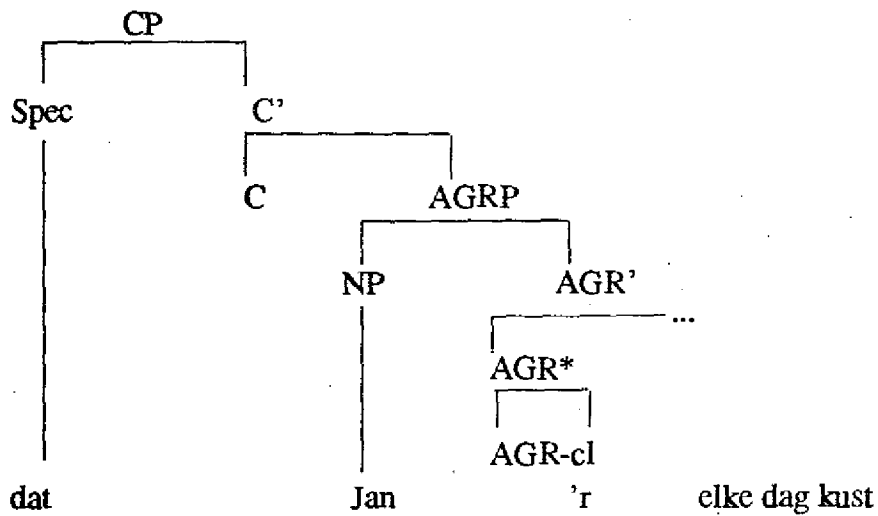
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17.

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                    CP
        ┌────────────┴────────┐
      Spec                    C'
                     ┌─────────┴──────────┐
                     C                   AGRP
                     │          ┌──────────┴──────────┐
                    V_fin      NP                    AGR'
                               SU          ┌──────────┴──── ···
                                          AGR*
                                        ┌──┴──┐
                                        AGR-cl
```

a.		kust Jan	'r	elke dag?
b.	Elke dag	kust Jan	'r	
	every day	kisses Jan	her-cl	

'Every day Jan kisses her.'

In subordinate clauses V remains in a final-position.[6] Clitics move to AGR:

18.

```
                CP
        ┌────────┴────────┐
      Spec                C'
        │          ┌───────┴────────┐
        │          C              AGRP
        │                 ┌─────────┴─────────┐
        │                NP                  AGR'
        │                 │         ┌─────────┴──── ···
        │                 │        AGR*
        │                 │      ┌──┴──┐
        │                 │      AGR-cl
       dat               Jan      'r        elke dag kust
```

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2.2 4 Summary

Zwart's central claims are the following:

1. Clitics adjoin to functional heads.

The idea that clitics adjoin to functional heads is based on the analysis of clitics in Romance. For the Germanic languages an analogous position is taken by Jaspers (1989) and by Cardinaletti and Roberts (1991).

2. The Dutch IP is head-medial.

I reinterpret this as applying to the highest of the functional projections composing IP, AGRP in Belletti's (1990) adaptation of Pollock (1989).

In order to account for the distribution of object clitics in Dutch, Jaspers (1989) also proposes that the highest functional projection composing IP is head-initial. In the same way, Cardinaletti and Roberts (1991) argue for AGRP recursion in Germanic languages with the highest AGRP also head-initial.[7]

3. There is an asymmetry between two types of V2 clauses: subject-initial V2 clauses are IPs; non-subject-initial V2 clauses are CPs.

In Section 3 I describe the distribution of clitics and argument NPs in WF. Section 4 provides an outline of an analysis of cliticization in WF and examines to what extent the competing analyses for V2 can account for the clitic data.

3. Clitics in WF

3.1. Clitics and pronouns

In this section I briefly discuss the clitic and pronoun paradigms for WF. For more details the reader is referred to Haegeman (1991b and forthcoming).

3.1.1. The subject clitic paradigm

Both for subjects and for objects the pronominal system in WF distinguishes between tonic pronouns and weak pronouns:

18. WF pronominal system

a. *Subjects* tonic weak
   person/number

person/number		tonic	weak
1sg		ik	'k
2sg		gie	ge/je
3sg	masc	jij	je
	fem	zie	ze/se
	neut	tet	et
1pl		wunder	we/me
2pl		gunder	ge/je
3pl		zunder	ze/se

b. *Objects* tonic weak
   person/number

person/number		tonic	weak
1sg		myn	me (n)
2sg		jun	je (n)
3sg	masc	hem	
	fem	eur	ze
	neut	tet	t
1pl		ons	
2pl		under	
3pl	def	zunder	ze
		+ human/	± human
	indef	d'r	
			± human

Subject weak pronouns display clear clitic behaviour, as it is seen from pronoun-clitic doubling. (19a-e) illustrate second person singular pronoun-clitic doubling; this doubling pattern applies to all other persons, both in the singular and in the plural. Doubling occurs in subordinate clauses (19a) and in V2 root clauses, both non-subject initial (19b), (19c) and (19d) and subject-initial (19e):

19. a. dan-*j gie* dienen boek nie gelezen eet.
    that you you that book not read have
    'that you have not read that book.'

b. Ee-*j gie* dienen boek a gelezen?
   have you you that book already read
   'Have you already read that book?'

c. Wat ee-*j gie* gelezen?
   what have you you read
   'What did you read?'

d. Dat ee-*j gie* nie gelezen.
   that have you you not read
   'That you did not read.'

e. *G*-ee *gie* dienen boek nie gelezen.
   you have you that book not read
   'You have not read that book.'

3.1.2. *Weak object pronouns and object clitics*

Only four of the object pronouns in WF have clitic-like behaviour: *ze*, which is used for 3rd person singular feminine and for 3rd person plural, *t* for third person neuter, and *d'r*, the plural indefinite weak pronoun. The four weak pronouns listed above and only those can intervene between the complementizer *da* and the subject NP; NPs, tonic pronouns or the other weak pronouns *me* and *je* cannot:

20. a. da-*ze*/*t*/*d'r* Valère gezien eet
       that her/them/it/some Valère seen has
       'that Valère has seen her/them/it/some.

    b. *da-*me*/*je* Valère gezien eet
       that me/you Valère seen has

    c. da Valère *me*/*je* gezien eet
       that Valère me/you seen has
       'that Valère has seen me/you.'

    d. *dat *uns*/*under* Valère gezien eet
       that us/you/them Valère seen has

    e. da Valère *uns*/*under* gezien eet
       that Valère us/you/them seen has

    f. *da *die boeken*/*boeken* Valère gezien eet
       that those books/books Valère seen has

The next section shows that Zwart's criteria to distinguish clitics from pronouns in Dutch identify the elements listed in (21) as clitics in WF:

21.   a.   ze: 3 sg fem
         b.   ze   3 pl
         c.   t   3 sg neut
         d.   d'r   3 pl indefinite

3.1.2.1. Double object constructions (cfr. 2.2.2.1)

In WF, as in Standard Dutch, the order IO-DO is fixed when both arguments are NPs and is free for clitics:

22.   a.   dan-k gisteren *eur da boek* gegeven een
            that I yesterday her that book given have
                     IO DO
            'that I gave her that book yesterday.'
         b.   dan-k *eur da boek* gisteren gegeven een
                IO DO
         c.   dan-k *eur* gisteren *da boek* gegeven een
                IO   DO
         d.   *dan-k gisteren *da boek eur* gegeven een
                  *DO   IO
         e.   *dan-k *da boek eur* gisteren gegeven een
                *DO   IO
         f.   *dan-k *da boek* gisteren *eur* gegeven een
                *DO   IO

23.   a.   dan-k *ze 't* gisteren gegeven een
            her-cl it-cl
            IO   DO
            'that I gave it to her yesterday.'
         b.   dat ik *'t ze* gisteren gegeven een
            DO IO

And like in Standard Dutch:

> For those [WF] speakers who do not consider the order of clitics to be free, it is the inverted order (DO-IO) [23b] that is the grammatical one. This forms an additional argument that clitic placement is not scrambling (Zwart 1991: 83, ftn. 18)).

There are additional constraints on the position of object clitics regardless of their relative order, they must precede adverbial elements:[8]

24. a. *dan-k *ze* gisteren *t* gegeven een
         that I her yesterday it given have
     b. *dan-k *t* gisteren *ze* gegeven een
     c. *dan-k gisteren *ze-t* gegeven een
     d. *dan-k gisteren *t-ze* gegeven een

As it was the case in Standard Dutch a DO clitic may precede an IO NP, while a DO NP cannot:

25. a. dan-k *et Marie* gegeven een
         that I it-cl Marie given have
             DO IO
         'that I gave it to Marie.'
     b. *dan-k *da boek Marie* gegeven een
             *DO   IO

3.1.2.2. ECM patterns (cf. 2.2.2.2)

ECM constructions involve scrambling of the embedded subject to the matrix domain (cf. Haegeman 1991b; in preparation). The distributional evidence for clitics cited by Zwart for Standard Dutch is mirrored in WF, as illustrated in (26) and (27), (cf. his (36) and (37)):

> scrambling cannot cross an embedded subject in an Exceptional Case Marking (ECM) construction. On the other hand, [WF] object clitics can (1991: 83),

26. a. dan-k *Jan/hem da boek* een zien lezen
             SU   DO
         that I Jan/him the book have seen read
         'that I saw Jan/him read the book.'
     b. *dan-k *da boek Jan/hem* een zien lezen
             *DO   SU

27. a. dan-k *Jan/hem* '*t* een zien lezen
             SU   DO
         that I Jan/him it have seen read
         'that I saw Jan/him read it.'

    b.   dan-k *t Jan/hem* een zien lezen
              DO SU

3.1.2.3. Indefinite NPs (Cf. 2.2.2.3)

The distribution of the indefinite clitic *d'r* in WF also differs from that of the indefinite NPs:

28.   a.   Ee-je gisteren *meisjes* gezien?
             have you yesterday *girls* seen
        b.   *Ee-je gisteren *d'r* g⟨/ien?
        c.   Ee-je *d'r* gisteren gezien?
        d.   Ee-je *meisjes* gisteren gezien?[9]

I discuss VPR and VP topicalization data in the Appendix (cfr. also Haegeman 1991a).

3.2. The distribution of object clitics in WF

In Standard Dutch object clitics occupy one single position: in Zwart's analysis this position is to the immediate right of the canonical subject position. A similar analysis is proposed by Jaspers' (1989). The post-subject clitic position is often referred to as the Wackernagel position. For WF we will have to increase the number of object clitic positions. I first discuss sentences with non-pronominal subjects. Then I turn to sentences with pronominal subjects and clitic doubling.

3.2.1. Non-pronominal subjects

In this section we shall see that WF clitics can occupy any of the positions indicated by arabic numerals in (29). (29a) represents clauses with ditransitive verbs; (29b) represents clauses with ECM constructions; (29c) represents non-subject-initial V2 clauses with ditransitive Vs; (29d) represents subject-initial V2 clauses with ditransitive Vs. NP_{su1} and NP_{su2} are the subjects of the matrix and the ECM clause respectively; NP_{io} is the IO NP.

29.   a.   C - 1 NP_{su1} 2 NP_{io} -   3 . . .
        b.   C - 1 NP_{su1} 2 NP_{su2} -   3 - NP_{io2} - 4
        c. V_{fin} 1 NP_{su1} 2 NP_{io2} 3
        d. NP_1 V_{fin} 1 NP_{io2} 2 . . .

3.2.1.1. Subordinate clauses

(29a) summarizes the distribution of clitics in examples such as those in (30):

30. a. da Jan Valère die boeken gisteren nie getoogd eet
that Jan Valère those books yesterday not shown has
'that Jan did not show Valère those books yesterday.'

    b. da-ze/*die boeken Jan Valère gisteren nie getoogd eet
    1
    that them/*those books Jan Valère yesterday not shown has

30. c. da Jan ze/*die boeken Valère gisteren nie getoogd eet
2

    d. da Jan Valère ze/die boeken gisteren nie getoogd eet
    3

In a double object construction a DO clitic may either

1. follow C and precede the definite[10] subject NP (30b);
2. follow the definite subject and precede the IO NP (30c);
3. follow the IO NP (30d)

It could be argued the rightmost position (3) is not a clitic position but corresponds to the highest scrambling position for DO NPs. One argument against this is the distribution of the indefinite clitic *d'r*.

31. a. da Jan Valère gisteren *boeken* getoogd eet
that Jan Valère books yesterday shown has
'that Jan showed Valère books yesterday.'

    b. da-*d'r*/*boeken Jan Valère gisteren getoogd eet
    that some/*books Jan Valère yesterday shown has

    c. da Jan *d'r*/*boeken Valère gisteren getoogd eet

    d. da Jan Valère *d'r*/*boeken gisteren nie getoogd eet

While the clitic *d'r* can occur in position 3, the full indefinite NP cannot.[11]

The position right-adjacent to clitic position 3 is the highest position which a floating quantifier or an adverb can take with respect to the clitics:

32 a. da Jan Valère die boeken *al* getoogd eet
that Jan Valère those books all shown has

'that Jan showed Valère all those books.'

    b. *da-ze *al* Jan Valère getoogd eet
        that them all Jan Valère shown has

    c. *da Jan ze *al* Valère getoogd eet

    d. da Jan Valère ze *al* getoogd eet

33.   a. da Jan Valère *gisteren* *ze/die boeken getoogd eet
        that Jan Valère yesterday *them/those books shown has
        'that Jan showed Valère those books (*them) yesterday.'

    b. da Jan *gisteren* Valère *ze/die boeken getoogd eet

    c. *da Jan ze *al* Valère getoogd eet

    d. da Jan Valère ze *al* getoogd eet

IO clitics occupy position 1, to the right of the subject NP, or position 2, adjacent to C:

34.   a. da Jan Marie die boeken gisteren getoogd eet
        that Jan Marie those books yesterday shown has
        'that Jan showed Marie those books yesterday.'

    b. da Jan *ze* die boeken gisteren getoogd eet
            SU IO DO
               2
        that Jan her those books yesterday shown has
        'that Jan showed her those books yesterday.'

    c. da *ze* Jan die boeken gisteren getoogd eet
          1
        that her Jan those books yesterday shown has

When both IO and DO are clitics they may cluster in position 1 (35d, e) or in position 2 (35b, c); splitting is also possible (35f, g):

35   a. da Jan Marie tgeld gisteren gegeven oat
        that Jan Marie the money yesterday given has
            SU IO DO

    b. da Jan *tze* gisteren gegeven oat
           it-them
           2

c.   da Jan *ze-t* gisteren gegeven oat
        them-it
        2

d.   da *t-ze* Jan gisteren gegeven oat
        1

e.   da *ze-t* Jan gisteren gegeven oat
        1

f.   da *t* Jan *ze* gisteren gegeven oat
        1   2

g.   da *ze* Jan *t* gisteren gegeven oat
        1   2

The data above, and the possibility of splitting, show that there is more than one clitic position in WF. Further data will confirm this view.

The distribution of clitics in ditransitive clauses is also found in ECM constructions. Before I illustrate clitic placement in such constructions I briefly introduce my arguments for the view (shared by Van Den Wyngaerd 1989) that the subject of the ECM complement scrambled into the matrix domain:

36   a.   dat Jan Valère gisteren nie *en*-ee zien werken
          that Jan Valère yesterday not *en* has seen work
          'that Jan did not see Valère work yesterday.'

     b.   dat Jan Valère gisteren nie *en*-ee doen werken
          that Jan Valère yesterday not *en* has made work
          'that Jan did not make Valère work yesterday.'

In (36) the subject of the infinitival clause, *Valère*, precedes the negative adverb *nie*. I have argued elsewhere (Haegeman 1991a) that WF *nie* is like French *pas*: it occupies [Spec, NegP] of the clause that it negates. In (36) *nie* negates the main clause, witness the fact that the Negative head *en* is licensed on the finite matrix V (for a discussion of the relation between *en* and *nie* cf. Haegeman and Zanuttini 1991; Haegeman 1991a). If we adopt the analysis of negation proposed independently, then we must conclude that *Valère* has scrambled into the matrix domain. (37) illustrates ECM patterns with causative verbs and with clitics:

37 a. da Jan Marie (al) die boeken nie ee doen lezen
        that Jan Marie all those books not has made read
        'that Jan did not make Marie read all those books.'

    b. da-*ze* (*al) Jan Marie nie ee doen lezen
                1
        that them all Jan Marie not has made read

    c. da Jan *ze* (*al) Marie nie ee doen lezen
                    2

    d. da Jan Marie *ze* (al) nie ee doen lezen
                        3

    e. da Jan *ze ze* nie al ee doen lezen
                    2
        that Jan her them not all has made read

    f. da *ze* Jan *ze* nie al ee doen lezen
            1   2
        that her Jan them not all has made read

38. a. da Jan Marie nooit vee boeken ee doen lezen
        that Jan Marie never many books has made read
        'that Jan never made Marie read many books.'

    b. da-*d'r* (*vele) Jan Marie nooit ee doen lezen
                1
        that some many Jan Marie never has made read

    c. da Jan *d'r* (*vele) Marie nooit ee doen lezen
                    2

    d. da Jan Marie *d'r* vele nooit ee doen lezen
                            3

    e. da Jan *ze* der nie vele ee doen lezen
                    2
        that Jan her there not many has made read

    f. da *ze* Jan *der* nie vele ee doen lezen
            1   2
        that her Jan there not many has made read

As a first approximation (cf. Haegeman (in preparation)) I propose that the subject NP of the ECM clause scrambles out of the non-finite domain to an NP position in the matrix domain which corresponds to that occupied by the IO NP in a ditransitive

clause; the object of the ECM clause also scrambles to the matrix domain where it occupies an NP position to the right of the subject of the ECM clause. The corresponding clitics occupy positions to the left of the related NP positions.

(39) and (40) give analogous data for perception verbs:

39.　a.　da Jan Marie (al) die boeken nie ee zien lezen
　　　　　that Jan Marie all those books not has seen read
　　　　　'that Jan did not see Marie read all those books.'

　　　b.　da-*ze* (*al) Jan Marie nie ee zien lezen
　　　　　that them all Jan Marie not has seen read

　　　c.　da Jan *ze* (*al) Marie nie ee zien lezen

　　　d.　da Jan Marie *ze* (al) nie ee zien lezen

　　　e.　da ze Jan ze nie al ee zien lezen
　　　　　that them Jan her not all has seen read

　　　f.　da Jan ze ze nie al ee zien lezen
　　　　　that Jan her them not all has seen read

40.　a.　da Jan Marie nooit vee boeken ee zien lezen
　　　　　that Jan Marie never many books has seen read
　　　　　'that Jan never saw Marie read many books.'

　　　b.　da-*d'r* (*vele) Jan Marie nooit ee zien lezen
　　　　　that some many Jan Marie never has seen read

　　　c.　da Jan *d'r* (*vele) Marie nooit ee zien lezen

　　　d.　da Jan Marie *d'r* vele nooit ee zien lezen

　　　e.　da Jan ze *d'r* nooit vele ee zien lezen
　　　　　that Jan her there never many has seen read

　　　f.　da ze *d'r* nooit vele ee zien lezen

ECM clauses with ditransitive verbs are illustrated in (41):

41.　a.　da Jan Valère Marie die boeken ee doen/zien geven[12]
　　　　　that Jan Valère Marie those books has made/seen give
　　　　　'that Jan made/saw Valère give Marie those books.'

　　　b.　da *ze* Jan Valère Marie ee doen/zien geven
　　　　　　1

　　　c.　da Jan *ze* Valère Marie ee doen/zien geven
　　　　　　2

d. da Jan Valère *ze* Marie ee doen/zien geven

                      3

e. da Jan Valère Marie *z*'ee doen/zien geven

                        4

f. da Jan *ze* Valère *z*'ee doen/zien geven

          2   3

that Jan her/them Valère them/her has made/seen give

g. da ze Jan ze Valère ee doen/zien geven

         1   2

that her/them Jan them/her Valère has made/seen give

(42) summarizes the clitic positions identified so far:

42. a. C - 1 NP_{su1} 2 NP_{io} 3 ...

      b. C - 1 NP_{su1} 2 NP_{su2} 3 NP_{io2} 4

      c. C - 1 NP_{su1} 2 NP_{su2} 3 NP_{io2} 4 NP_{do2}

The pattern that emerges is one in which each argument NP-position (subject, objects) has a corresponding clitic position to its left. Consider (42a). The clitic position to the right of the subject NP indicated as 1 is optionally occupied by IO and DO clitics, it is also the canonical position for subject clitics (Haegeman 1991b). Position 2 to the left of the IO NP is the canonical position for IO clitics, and is optionally occupied by DO clitics. Position 3 to the left of the DO NP is occupied by DO clitics. The same pattern is found in the more complex ECM patterns. In each case the lowest position for a clitic with a certain grammatical function (GF) is to the immediate left of the corresponding NP position. Clitics may optionally occupy positions further to the left of (i.e. c-commanding) their canonical position. In more abstract terms we could give the following schema:

42. d. C-CL1   GF1   CL2   GF2 ... CLn   GFn

The number of actual clitic positions correlates with the number of argument NPs.

3.2.1.2. V2

3.2.1.2.1. Non-subject-initial V2

In non-subject-initial V2 clauses the distribution of clitics and related argument NPs corresponds to that discussed in the previous section. I omit detailed discussion of the examples. (43) and (44) illustrate ditransitive sentences:

43   a. Gisteren ee Valère Marie al die boeken a getoogd
         yesterday has Valère Marie all those books already shown

     b. Gisteren ee-*ze* (*al) Valère (*al) Marie al a getoogd
                1

     c. Gisteren ee Valère *ze* (*al) Marie al a getoogd
                    2

     d. Gisteren ee Valère Marie *ze* al a getoogd
                       3

     e. Gisteren ee Valère *ze ze* al getoogd
                    2

     f. Gisteren ee ze Valère ze al getoogd
              1   2
         yesterday has them/her Valère her/them all shown

44   a. Gisteren ee Valère Marie nog vee boeken getoogd
         yesterday has Valère Marie still many books shown
         'Yesterday Valère showed Marie many more books.'

     b. Gisteren ee-*d'r* (*vele) Valère (*vele) Marie vele nog getoogd
                1

     c. Gisteren ee Valère *d'r* (*vele) Marie vele nog getoogd
                  2

     d. Gisteren ee Valère Marie *d'r* vele nog getoogd
                    3

     e. Gisteren ee Valère *ze d'r* nog vele getoogd
                  2
         yesterday has Valère her there still many shown

     f. Gisteren ee *d'r/ze* Valère *ze/d'r* nog vele getoogd
              1   2

The distribution of the clitics, the quantifiers and the NPs in (43) and (44) are identical to those in subordinate clauses, but the finite V replaces C. This is expected if we assume that inverted structures have V-movement to C, an assumption shared by the traditional 'V outside AGRP analysis' and Zwart's (1991) asymmetric analysis of V2.

Root clauses with ECM complements also do not differ from the corresponding subordinate clauses.

45 a. Gisteren ee Valère Jan Marie t geld zien geven
        yesterday has Valère Jan Marie the money seen give
    b. Gisteren ee *ze* Valère Jan *t* zien geven
        yesterday has her Valère Jan it seen give
    c. Gisteren ee Valère *t* Jan *ze* zien togen
    d. Gisteren ee *t* Valère Jan *ze* zien geven
etc.

3.2.1.2.2. Subject-initial V2

Let us turn to subject-initial V2 clauses with ditransitive Vs:

46 a. Valère ee Marie gisteren al die boeken a getoogd
        Valère has Marie yesterday all those books already shown
    b. Valère ee-*ze* (*al) Marie al gisteren a getoogd
    c. Valère ee Marie *ze* al gisteren a getoogd
    d. Valère ee *ze ze* gisteren al a getoogd

47 a. Valère ee Marie gisteren nog vee boeken getoogd
        Valère has Marie yesterday still many books shown
        'Valère showed Marie many more books yesterday.'
    b. Valère ee-*d'r* (*vele) Marie vele gisteren nog getoogd
    c. Valère ee Marie *d'r* vele gisteren nog getoogd
    d. Valère ee *ze d'r* gisteren nog vele getoogd
    e. Valère ee *d'r ze* gisteren nog vele getoogd

The positions of the clitics in (46) and (47) are summarized in (48):

48. SU_1 V_{fin} 1 (*adverbial) NP_{io} 2 (^{ok} adverbial)

At first sight, in ditransitive subject-initial V2 clauses there are apparently only two clitic positions available: one immediately to the right of the finite V, the second to the

immediate right of the IO NP. The rightmost position can be adjacent to a quantifier or an adverbial; the leftmost cannot. Recall that in subordinate ditransitive clauses or in non-subject-initial V2 ditransitive clauses we have identified three positions: one to the left of the subject, one to the left of IO and one to the left of DO. In (48) we seem to have lost the clitic position related to the position of the sentence-initial subject. We shall see later that depending on the analysis we choose we will be able to claim that the clitic positions are in fact invariant.

Recall that there are two analyses for subject-initial V2 clauses. On the one hand, there is the 'V-outside-AGRP analysis' which assumes that the finite V in (48) moves to C, on the other hand, Zwart argues that the finite V in (48) moves to AGR.

3.2.2. Subject clitic doubling

In WF the subject clitic is regularly doubled by an overt pronoun.

For a detailed analysis of doubling patterns the reader is referred to Haegeman (1991b) and Haegeman (Forthcoming). The data which I am concerned with here are summarized in (49). *Ze* is the subject clitic; *zie* the doubling pronoun. (49a) summarizes subordinate clauses and non-subject-initial V2 clauses; (49b) subject-initial V2 clauses with a clitic in first position. As before the arabic numerals signal positions occupied by clitics; in (49a) the subject clitic is in position 1.

49   a.   C   ze-1   *Q   zie   2   *Q NP_{io} 3   (adv/Q)

             Vfin

      b.   z- V_{fin}-1   *Q   zie   2   *Q NP_{io} 3   (adv/Q)

(50) - (53) contain subordinate clauses and non-subject-initial V2 clauses:

50   a.   da ze zie Marie gisteren al die boeken getoogd eet

           that she she Marie yesterday all those books shown has

      b.   da ze *ze* (*al) zie Marie gisteren al getoogd eet

           1

      c.   da ze zie *ze* (*al) Marie gisteren al getoogd eet

           1   2

      d.   da ze zie Marie *ze* gisteren al getoogd eet

           1   3

e. da ze *ze* zie *z'*al getoogd eet
      1   2

that she them/her she her/them all shown has
'that she has shown her all of them.'

51   a. da ze zie Marie gisteren vee boeken getoogd eet
         that she she Marie yesterday many books shown has

    b. da ze *d'r* (*vele) zie Marie gisteren vele getoogd eet
            1

    c. da ze zie *d'r* (*vele) Marie gisteren vele getoogd eet
         1   2

    d. da ze zie Marie *d'r* gisteren vele getoogd eet
         1   3

    f. da ze *ze* zie *d'r* vele getoogd eet
         1   2

that she her she there many shown has
'that she has shown her many'

52   a. Gisteren ee-ze zie Marie al die boeken getoogd
         yesterday has she she Marie all those books shown

    b. Gisteren ee-ze *ze* (*al) zie Marie al getoogd
              1

    c. Gisteren ee-ze zie *ze* (*al) Marie al getoogd
            1   2

    d. Gisteren ee-ze zie Marie *ze* al getoogd
            1   3

    e. Gisteren ee-ze *ze* zie *ze* al getoogd
            1   2

53   a. Gisteren ee ze zie Marie vee boeken getoogd.
         yesterday has she she Marie many books shown

    b. Gisteren ee-ze *d'r* (*vele) zie Marie vele getoogd
            1

    c. Gisteren ee-ze zie *d'r* (*vele) Marie vele getoogd
            1   2

    d. Gisteren ee-ze zie Marie *d'r* vele getoogd
            1   3

e.   Gisteren ee-ze *ze* zie *d'r* vele getoogd
               1   2

The subject clitic *ze* is right-adjacent to C. The DO clitic has three potential positions: it precedes the doubling pronoun; it intervenes between the subject pronoun and the IO NP; it follows the IO NP and may itself be followed by the quantifier.

The optimal hypothesis is that the three clitic positions are those identified for clauses with non-pronominal subjects: the subject clitic is in 1; the IO clitic in 2 or in 1, were it will cluster with the subject clitic, if any; the DO clitic is in 3, in 2, where it clusters with the IO clitic, if any, or in 1, where it clusters with subject clitic and IO clitic, if any.

In subject-initial root clauses with clitic doubling (49b) the subject clitic may occupy the sentence-initial position:

54   a.   z-ee zie Marie gisteren al die boeken getoogd
        she has she Marie yesterday all those books shown

     b.   z-ee *ze* (*al) zie Marie gis'eren al getoogd
               1
        she-has them (*all) she Marie yesterday all shown

     c.   z-ee zie *ze* (*al) Marie gisteren al getoogd
                  2

     d.   z-ee zie Marie *ze* gisteren al getoogd
                    3

     e.   z-ee ze zie *ze* gisteren al getoogd
        she has them/her she her/them yesterday all shown
        'She showed them all to her yesterday.'

55   a.   z-ee zie Marie gisteren vee boeken getoogd
        she has she Marie yesterday many books shown

     b.   z-ee *d'r* (*vele) zie Marie gisteren vele getoogd

     c.   z-ee zie *d'r* (*vele) Marie gisteren vele getoogd

     d.   z-ee zie Marie *d'r* gisteren vele getoogd

     e.   z-ee ze zie *d'r* vele gisteren getoogd
        she has her she there many yesterday shown
        'she showed her many yesterday.'

Here there are again three positions, given in (48b) and repeated here in (55f) for the reader's convenience.

55   f.   z- V_{fin} - 1   *Q   zie   2 *Q NP_{io} 3   (adv/Q)

                     SU

(49) can be schematized according to our previous analysis: each NP-position has a corresponding clitic position to the left:

56   a.   C   CL1   *Q   GF1   CL2   *Q   GF2   CL3   GF3   (adv/Q)

       V_{fin}

    b.   z- V_{fin} -CL1   *Q   GF1   CL2   *Q   GF2   CL3   GF3   (adv/Q)

DO clitics (CL3) and IO clitics (CL2) optionally move to position 1, the canonical position for subject clitics; DO clitics optionally move to CL2, the canonical position for IO clitics.

3.2.3. NP positions in AGRP

Before examining the competing analyses of V2 in relation to WF clitics I return to the distribution of argument NPs in WF. I restrict myself to the data needed for the discussion: the distribution of definite NPs with the GF subject, IO and DO.

57   a.   da *Jan Marie die boeken* gisteren gegeven eet
            that Jan Marie those books yesterday given has
            'that Jan gave Mary those books yesterday.'
    b.   da *Jan Marie* gisteren *die boeken* gegeven eet
    c.   da *Jan* gisteren *Marie die boeken* gegeven eet
    d.   *da gisteren *Jan Marie die boeken* gegeven eet

58.   a.   *da *Jan die boeken Marie* gisteren gegeven eet
    b.   *da *Jan die boeken* gisteren *Marie* gegeven eet
    c.   *da *Jan* gisteren *die boeken Marie* gegeven eet
    d.   *da *die boeken Jan Marie* gisteren gegeven eet

In non-subject-initial sentences (i.e. subordinate clauses and non-subject initial V2) the distribution of subject, IO and DO NPs is subject to the following restrictions:

i.   a definite subject must be right-adjacent to C (cf (57d));

ii.   the ordering of the NPs is rigidly fixed: subject precedes IO which in turn precedes DO (cf. (57) vs (58);

iii.   adverbials (also PPs and floating quantifiers) cannot occur between the complementizer/the finite verb and the subject to its immediate right, such material may intervene between subject and IO and between IO and DO (cf. (57)) but it must be to the right of clitics.

I have argued that the adjacency requirement between C and the subject NP is due to the fact that the AGR features under C assign Nominative case to the subject NP under government (cf. Haegeman 1991b).[13]

Section 4 examines to what extent the current analyses of V2 in Dutch and German apply to WF.

4. Verb Second analyses and clitic positions

4.1. Functional heads and clitics

I follow the current literature (Jaspers 1989; Cardinaletti and Roberts 1991, Zwart 1991) and assume that clitics are hosted by functional heads. The data in Section 3 suggest that there must be several hosts for cliticization in WF somehow correlate with the positions occupied by argument NPs.

For the subordinate clause and in non-subject-initial V2 clauses I propose that the relevant head for cliticization is C, a functional head which in WF has overt AGR (cf. Haegeman 1991b, and forthcoming).

If we adopt Jaspers' (1989) and Zwart's (1991) account that the highest functional projection of what used to be IP is head-medial then the head of this projection can correspond to clitic position 2. However, this assumption is not sufficient: we have seen in Section 3 that there can be a third and even a fourth clitic position. If these positions also correspond to functional heads, the minimal assumption, then we need more functional heads. We conclude that Zwart's and Jaspers' proposal that AGRP is head-medial, though attractive for standard Dutch, can only account for a fraction of the data of WF clitic positions. What we need is a recursion of functional heads to host the clitics.[14] Extending an idea due to Cardinaletti and Roberts (1991) I propose unrestrictive AGR recursion in WF (cf. Haegeman in preparation for an extensive discussion):

59.

```
            CP
       ┌─────────┐
     Spec        C'
              ┌────────────┐
              C          AGRP
            V_fin      ┌──────┴──────┐
             CL1     Spec          AGR'
                     SU        ┌──────────┐
                              AGR        AGRP
                              CL2     ┌──────┴──────┐
                                    Spec          AGR'
                                    NP_io      ┌────────┐
                                              AGR     AGRP
                                              CL3   ┌──────┴──────┐
                                                  Spec          AGR'
                                                  NP_do
```
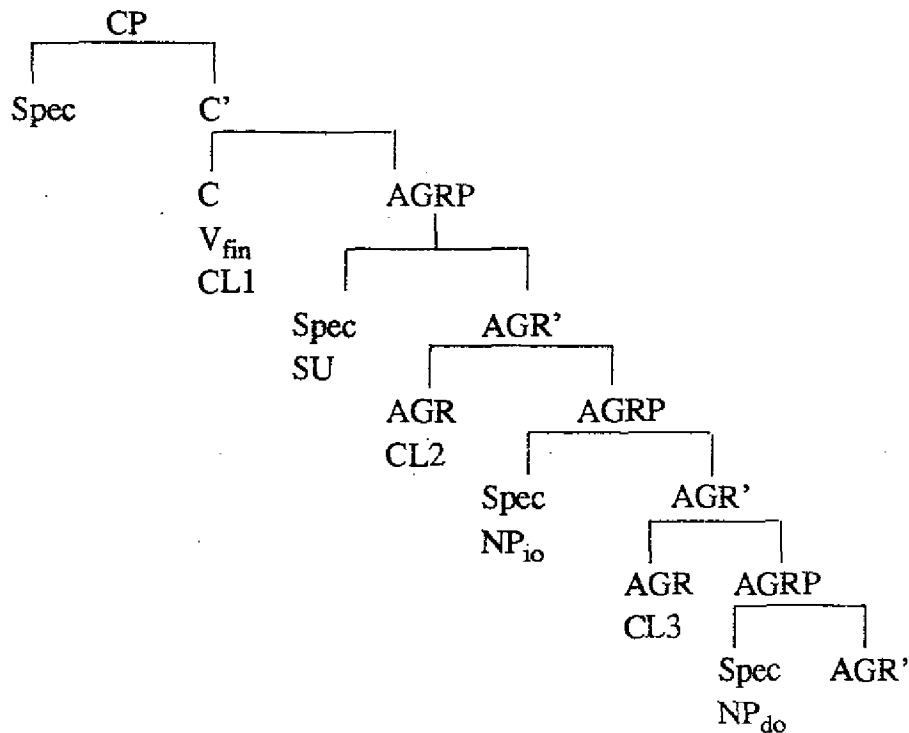
Each NP position is a specifier position of - recursive - AGR and, following Rizzi (1991), such NP positions are A-positions.[15]

I assume that the clitic first scrambles to [Spec, AGRPx] like the analogous NP. From there the clitic moves to the governing AGR_x-1, the head of the next functional projection up.[16] By head to head movement it then can move to higher functional heads, AGR_x-2 etc.

It is clear that one head-medial functional projection is insufficient to accommodate the WF clitics. The question then remains whether the inflectional AGR morphology of the finite V should be located on one of these abstract recursive AGRs. In the spirit of Cardinaletti and Roberts (1991) we could argue for a head-final 'base AGRP' which hosts the verbal AGR-morphology, which does not host clitics and to which the V-head moves.

I propose that Zwart's proposal for one head-medial functional projection to hosts clitics be revised on two scores for WF: (i) there are head-medial functional projections, (ii) the base AGRP may still be head-final. On the basis of these revisions I shall examine the two analyses of V2 in relation to the clitic data in WF.

4.2 Non-subject-initial V2

Both analyses of V2, the 'V outside AGRP' analysis and the asymmetric analysis, assume that V moves to C in non-subject initial V2. If we assume AGR recursion as in (59) nothing needs to be added: C is occupied by the complementiser in subordinate clauses and by the finite V in root clauses. The clitic positions correspond to the heads: C and the recursive medial AGR.

4.3 Subject-initial V2

The distinction between the competing analyses of V2 concerns subject-initial V2 illustrated in (60) for non-doubled subjects and in (61) for doubled subjects.

60   a.   Valère ee Marie die boeken gisteren gegeven
            Valère has Marie those books yesterday given

      b.   Valère ee *ze ze* gisteren gegeven
            Valère has her/them them/her yesterday given

      c.   Valère ee *ze* Marie gisteren gegeven
            Valère has them Marie yesterday given

      d.   Valère ee Marie *ze* gisteren gegeven
            Valère has Marie them yesterday given

In (60) we have two clitic positions only: one to the left and one to the right of the IO. It looks as if we have lost the position corresponding the one GF, the subject.

In (61) this is not the case: each NP with a particular GF, SU, IO and DO, has one clitic position to its left.

61   a.   Z-ee zie Marie da geid gisteren gegeven
            she has she Marie that money yesterday given
            'she gave Marie the money yesterday.'

      b.   z-ee *t* zie Marie gisteren gegeven
               1
            she has it she Marie yesterday given

      c.   z-ee zie *t* Marie gisteren gegeven
                2

      d.   z-ee zie Marie *t* gisteren gegeven
                 3

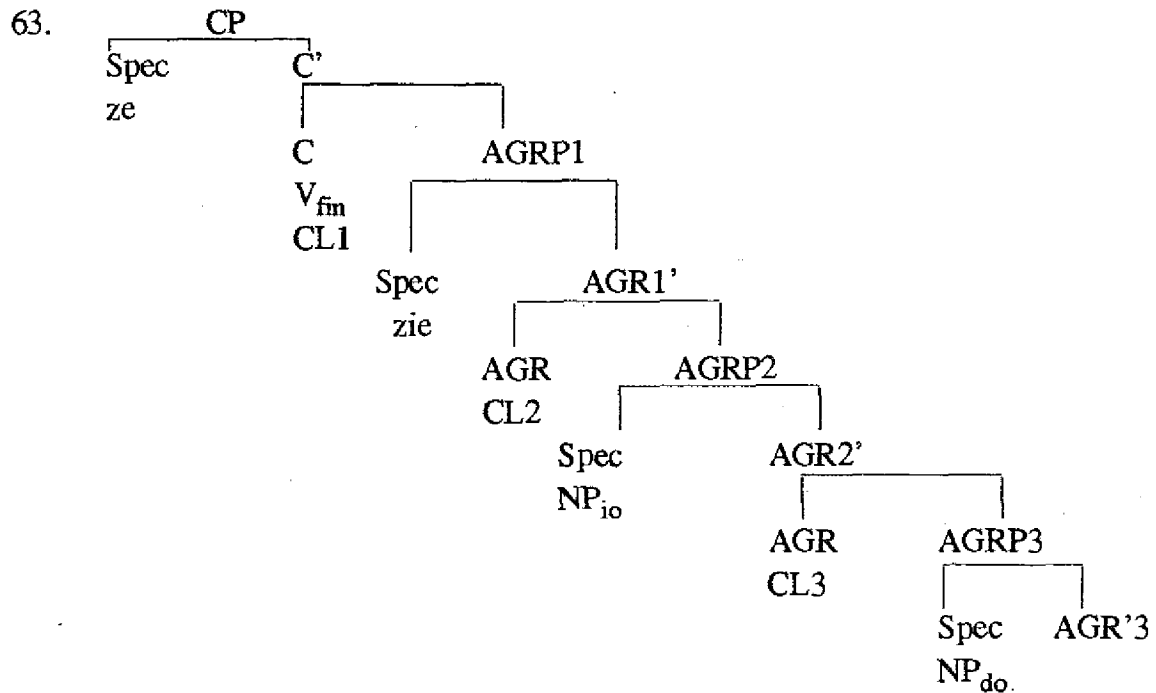e. z-ee *t* zie *ze* gisteren gegeven

f. z-ee *ze* zie *t* gisteren gegeven

4.3.1. The V outside AGRP analysis

In the V outside AGRP analysis of (60), the subject NP moves to [Spec, CP] and the finite V is under C:

62. [CP ^{NP}subji [$_C$Vfin CL1 t_i CL2   NP   CL3
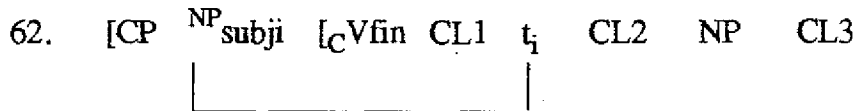
The fact that there appear to be only two clitic positions in (60) above follows: positions 1 and 2 cannot be distinguished any longer since the intervening trace has no phonetic content. As before, adverbial material occurs to the right of position 3.

The V outside AGRP analysis of V2 also handles the doubling in (61). In earlier work (Haegeman 1991b) I propose that the sentence-initial subject clitic *ze* in (61) is in [Spec, CP] at S-structure[17]; the doubling pronoun *zie* occupies [Spec, AGRP]; the finite V has moved to C. The clitic positions are distributed as represented in (59): 1 precedes the subject position, 2 follows it and precedes the IO; 3 follows the IO. (63) is a partial representation:

63.

```
         CP
  ┌───────────┐
 Spec        C'
 ze          ┌──────────┐
             C        AGRP1
             Vfin     ┌─────────┐
             CL1      Spec     AGR1'
                      zie      ┌────────┐
                               AGR     AGRP2
                               CL2     ┌────────┐
                                       Spec    AGR2'
                                       NPio    ┌────────┐
                                               AGR     AGRP3
                                               CL3     ┌────────┐
                                                       Spec    AGR'3
                                                       NPdo
```

Recall that the DO clitic may move from CL3 to CL2, and to CL1; the IO clitic may move from CL2 to CL1.

To sum up: to account for the multiple cliticization positions in WF i postulate a recursive head-medial AGRP whose head hosts clitics. Once this is adopted the 'V outside AGRP analysis' of V2 can deal with the data.

Let us turn to Zwart's asymmetric analysis of V2 and consider whether the asymmetric approach to V2 clauses is a viable alternative.

4.3.2. Zwart's AGRP analysis

According to Zwart (1991) sentences with sentence-initial clitic subject are AGRP and not CP. To account for the contrast between (64a) and (64b) he explicitly argues that 'clitics (or, more generally, unstressed elements) cannot move to [Spec, CP]' (1991: 80).

64 a. *'k* zag hem
        I-cl saw him
        'I saw him.'
    b. **'m* zag ik
        him saw I

In (61) the sentence-initial clitic is unstressed; a sentence-initial subject which is doubled by a post-verbal pronoun can never be stressed in WF:

65. *Zie ee zie Valère die boeken gegeven
     She has she Valère those books given

Zwart assumes that the clitic in the examples in (61) and in (64a) is in [Spec, AGRP] and not in [Spec, CP]:

> The proposed analysis predicts that subject initial sentences in Dutch are ambiguous between a non-topicalized and a topicalized construction. The verb can be either in COMP or in INFL. How can we disambiguate subject initial sentences? Obviously, topics must be stressed, so this could be the disambiguating factor. Subject initial sentences with flat intonation cannot host a d-word, cannot serve as an answer to a *wh*-question, and cannot be used as exclamatives. (1991: 89-90).

Sentences with topical sentence-initial subject have a tonic pronoun in first position:

91

66. ZIE ee Valère die boeken getoogd.
    SHE has Valère those books shown
    'SHE showed Valère those books.'

The sentences in (61) have to be analysed as in (67):

67.
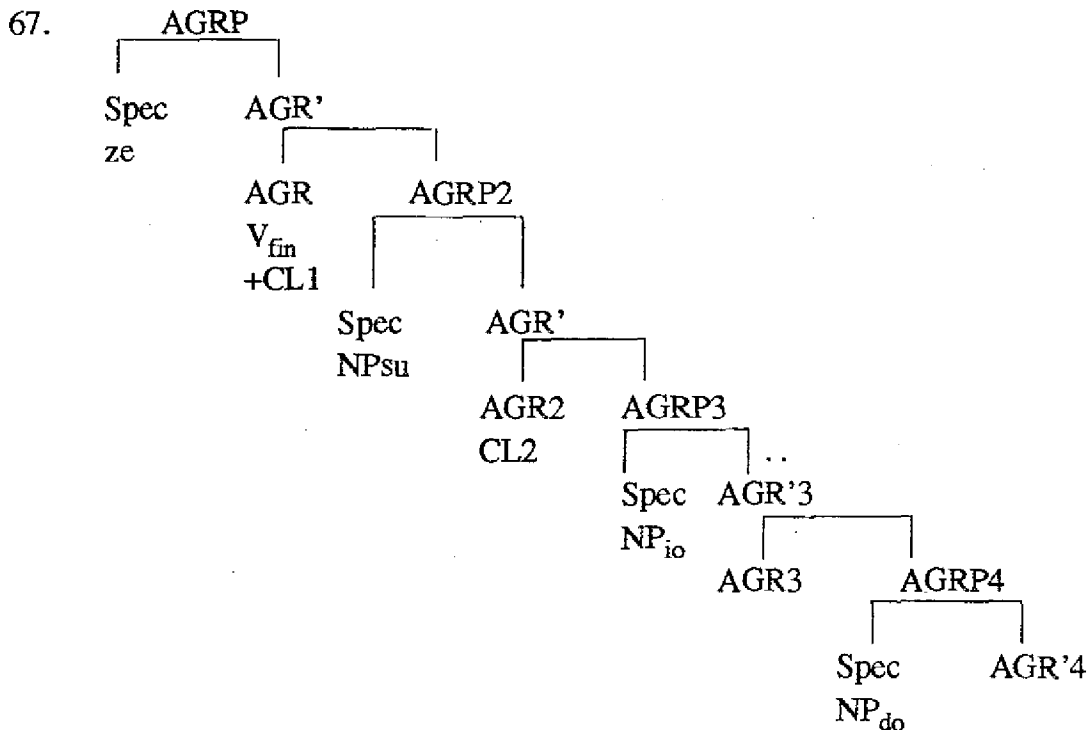
(67) raises a number of questions though. The subject clitic is in the canonical subject position, [Spec, AGRP]. Let us assume it cliticizes to AGR1 at PF. The doubling subject occupies the specifier position of AGRP2. Compared to (59) all argument NPs are 'lowered' by one AGRP in (67): the position occupied by IO in (59), [Spec, AGRP2], is occupied by the doubling subject, etc. As a result we need to postulate one more recursive head-medial AGRP to accommodate the argument NPs and the related clitics in subject-initial V2 sentences with clitic doubling. (67) is exactly like (59) with a relabelling of CP as AGRP1, of AGRP1 as AGRP2 etc.

In (67) the tonic pronoun in sentences with subject-initial clitic occupies [Spec, AGRP2]. However, it is subject to the same constraints as the tonic pronoun subject in subordinates and in inverted root clauses, which occupies [Spec, AGRP1]. For instance, the post-C or post-verbal subject pronoun in subordinates and in inverted root

clauses must be adjacent to C, the only intervening elements allowed being object clitics and the particle *tet*.

In subject-initial V2 clauses the post-verbal doubling pronoun must be adjacent to the finite V:

68   a.   da-se ze (*gisteren) tet (*gisteren) zie (gisteren) gekocht eet
          that she them yesterday *tet* yesterday she yesterday bought has
          'that she bought them yesterday.'
    b.   ee-se ze (*gisteren) tet (*gisteren) zie gisteren gekocht
          has she them *tet* she yesterday bought
          'Did she buy them yesterday?'
    c.   z'ee ze (*gisteren) tet (*gisteren) zie gisteren gekocht

If the adjacency requirement reflects a case-marking relation then in (61) AGR assigns Nominative to the NP it governs. The question arises why this should not be possible in non-subject-initial clauses. If AGR could generally assign Nominative, then structures such as (68d) should be allowed:

68   d.   *da [$_{AGRP}$ gisteren [$_{AGRP}$ [$_{AGR}$] [$_{AGRP2}$ Jan dienen boek gekocht eet]]]
          that yesterday Jan that book bought has

One could, of course, argue that whenever a root clause is a bare AGRP, AGR1 is assigned the case assigning properties of C, but that seems equivalent to saying that the highest AGRP IS CP.

One question that remains is what blocks the object clitics from appearing sentence-initially in (64b). Zwart, following Travis (1984), assumes object clitics cannot appear in [Spec, CP]. To account for this I follow Rizzi (1991) who defines A-positions as follows:

69.   A positions:
       (i)   Theta positions
       (ii) Spec/Agr.

In the structure (59) the positions occupied by the subject NP, by the IO NP and by the DO NP are specifiers of AGR, hence A-position. When the finite V moves into C, C will also dominate agreement. Following Rizzi (1991 and class lectures) I assume that the [Spec, CP] of V2 sentences is potentially both an A-position and an A'-position. As an A'-position, [Spec, CP] is occupied by a topicalized element - including
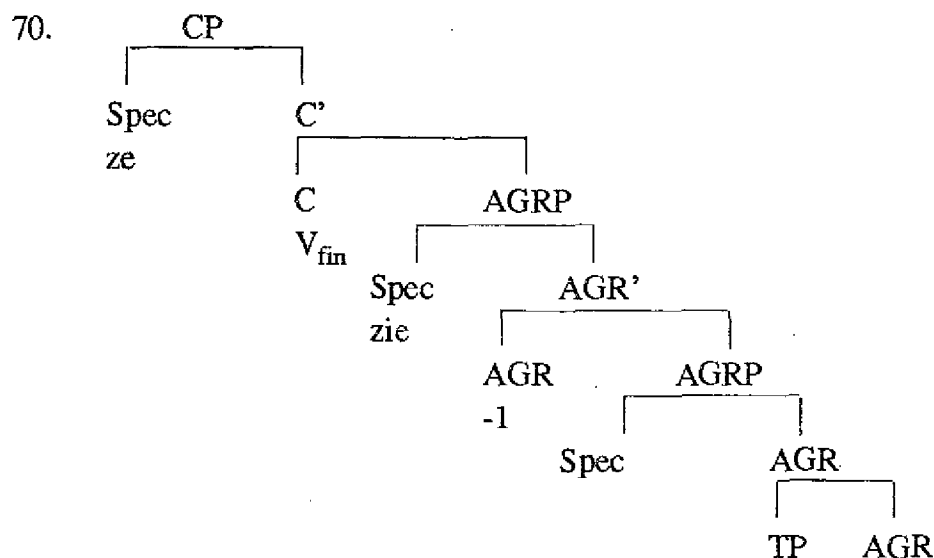
tonic pronouns and NPs - or a *wh-* constituent. When [Spec, CP] is occupied by a clitic, it has to be an A-position, since clitics cannot be topics.

Under these assumptions the movement of the object clitic to [Spec, CP] across the subject NP in [Spec, AGRP1) results in an SSC violation: the subject NP is in an A position and interferes with the A-chain between [Spec, CP] and the object-trace. On the other hand, movement of the tonic pronoun DO or the DO NP to [Spec, CP] is licit: in this case [Spec, CP] can qualify as an A'-position and there will be no interference from the subject NP in the A-position with respect to the A'-binding of the object trace.

On the basis of the examples of pronoun-clitic doubling in WF we conclude that Zwart's proposal that subject-initial root clauses are AGRP does not offer any advantages over the V outside AGRP approach.

5. Clitics and functional heads

I assume throughout that object clitics are hosted by functional heads the relevant heads for WF being C, and the recursive AGR. This analysis develops a recent proposal by Cardinaletti and Roberts, who introduce a double AGRP with the highest AGRP head-medial:

70.

$$
\begin{array}{l}
\text{CP} \\
\quad \text{Spec} \qquad \text{C'} \\
\quad \text{ze} \qquad\quad \text{C} \qquad\qquad \text{AGRP} \\
\qquad\qquad\quad \text{V}_{\text{fin}} \quad \text{Spec} \qquad \text{AGR'} \\
\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\quad \text{zie} \quad \text{AGR} \qquad \text{AGRP} \\
\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad \text{-1} \quad \text{Spec} \qquad \text{AGR} \\
\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\quad \text{TP} \quad \text{AGR}
\end{array}
$$

In this analysis there is one clitic position, indicated by 1 in (70): clitics are hosted by the higher AGR. The subject NP is free to occupy the specifier position of the higher AGR or of the lower AGR, producing the alternative orders in (71):

71   a.   da *ze Jan* gelezen eet
             that them Jan read has
             'that Jan has read them.'
    b.   da *Jan ze* gelezen eet
             that Jan them read has

As it stands Cardinaletti and Roberts' account may be adequate for standard Dutch but it is empirically inadequate for WF since it cannot accommodate the multiplication of clitic positions in WF. Moreover, the authors leave C unused as a host for clitics.

If Germanic clitics are like their Romance counterparts and are hosted by a functional head, the multiple clitic positions in WF provide evidence for unrestricted recursion of a head-medial functional projection which I identify as AGRP along the lines suggested by Roberts and Cardinaletti (1991): a number of abstract AGR-heads host clitics. In this view the base AGRP can still be head-final and host the V morphology. V moves to T and to the lowest AGR. The higher AGR heads host clitics.

Given the alternation between clitics and related NPs reproduced in (72) I have proposed that the NPs occupy the specifier positions of the recursive AGR. (72a) summarizes the data for ditransitives; (72b) for ECM patterns where the lower complement has a ditransitive V:

72   a. C CL_{su} NP_{su} CL_{io} NP_{io} CL_{do} DO
     b. C CL_{su1} NP_{su1} CL_{su2} NP_{su2} CL_{io2} NP_{io2} -
           CL_{do2} NP_{do2}

6. Summary.

This paper examines the position of clitics in WF on the assumption that they are hosted by functional heads. Two claims by Zwart (1991) are then evaluated:

1.   The Dutch IP is head-medial.

2. There is an asymmetry between two groups of V2 root clauses: those with sentence initial subject NPs are IP, those in which the finite V precedes the subject are CP.

The proposal that AGRP is head-medial (1) needs to be extended: we need a recursive head-medial AGRP. We could then distinguish the base AGRP whose head hosts the inflection of the V and may still be head-final, and the abstract recursive AGR-heads which host clitics.

If this type of AGRP recursion is adopted then Zwart's second claim relating specifically to the analysis of subject initial V2 offers no major advantages over the 'V outside AGRP analysis' of subject-initial V2 clauses.

Appendix

The analysis proposed has important consequences for the structure of infinitival clauses. This section is speculative and further research is needed.

Based on the discussion above, I assume that there are two types of heads that host clitics:

1. C (with the AGR features in finite clauses))
2. the head of the recursive head-initial AGRP.

I discuss the distribution of object clitics in infinitival clauses with Nominative subjects (1.), in extraposed infinitivals (2.), in topicalized infinitivals (3.), and in so-called raised VPs (4.) Given that all four infinitivals allow for clitics I conclude that they all involve AGRPs.

1. Infinitival clauses with Nominative subject.

Infinitival clauses in WF with a Nominative subject are introduced by the prepositions *mee* ('with') and *vu* ('for').

In such infinitivals the clitic positions are all available:

position 1 in front of the subject, position 2 to the immediate right of the subject and position 3 to the right of the IO:

1   a.   Mee *t* zie Jan al te geven een-me niks mee

              1

           with it she Jan all to give have we nothing any more
           'As she has given Jan everything, we have nothing left.'

    b.   Mee zie *t* Jan al te geven een-me niks mee

          2

    c.   Mee zie Jan *t* al te geven een-me niks mee

          3

From (1a)-(1c) I conclude that such infinitivals are functional projections involving the recursive AGRP.

2.   Extraposed infinitival clauses

In order to avoid confusion with so-called VPR patterns (cf. section 4.) I illustrate extraposed infinitivals introduced by *van*. We see that at least positions 2 and 3 are available. If we assume that such infinitivals have PRO subjects then we may also assume that position 1 is available: it will not be distinguishable from position 2.

2   a.   Valère peinst [van *t* Jan al te geven]

            1/2

          Valère thinks of it Jan all to give

          'Valère thinks of giving Jan everything.'

     b.   Valère peinst [van Jan *t* al te geven]

            3

If the clitic in position 2 is hosted by AGR, then the extraposed infinitival is again 'complete': *van* representing C, we have the full array of functional projections CP, and AGRP. In independent work on the syntax of WF negation (1991a) I arrive at the same conclusion.

3.   Topicalized infinitival clauses.

The data below suggest that yet again AGRP is available since position 2, to the left of the IO, can host clitics. This is borne out by the negation data (cfr. Haegeman 1991a).

3   a.   [*t* Valère al geven] willen-k ik nie

           2

          it Valère all give want I not

          'To give Valère everything I do not want.'

     b.   [Valère *t* al geven) willen-k ik nie

           3

(4) illustrate ECM constructions. Again the subject of the ECM clause patterns like an IO of the matrix domain.

4   a.   [*t* Valère al loaten pakken] willen-k ík nie
           it Valère all let take   want I not
           'To allow Valère to take everything, I do not want.'
    b.   [Valère *t* al loaten pakken] willen-ik nie

4.   VPR patterns

Against Jaspers (1989) and Zwart (1991), who follows Jaspers, I think that clitics positions 2 and 3 are available in VPR constructions (cf. (5) and (6) for examples). This suggests that the constituent affected by VPR may involve the head-medial AGRP. On the basis of independent research Van Den Wyngaerd argues that VPR affects a functional projection (his AGRP, our TP) and on the basis of the distribution of negation data I have argued (Haegeman 1991a) that NegP can be involved.

5   a.   dan-k willen [*der* vele an Valère geven)
                       3
           that I want der many to Valère give
           'That I want to give many to Valère.'
    b.   dan-k willen [*t*'al an Valère geven]
                      3
           that I want it all to Valère give
    c.   da Marie wilde *t* (al) nor euren boas stieren (cfr. Zwart 1991: 84)
           that Marie wanted it (all) to her boss send
           'that Marie wanted to send it (all) to her boss.'

6   a.   dan-k zoun willen *t* Valère al geven
                         2
           that I would want it Valère all give
    b.   dan-k willen *der* Valère vele geven
                     2

My judgements contrast with those of Jaspers with respect to (5c). I agree with him that the object clitic cannot stay in its VP-internal position:

7.   *da Marie wilde [nor euren boas *t* stieren]
        that Marie wanted to her boss it send

However, this is not a fact relevant for VPR. In general definite objects NPs and clitics are scrambled out of the VP: minimally the DO clitic moves to the lowest abstract AGR.

Notes

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Thanks to Luigi Rizzi, Sten Vikner and Jan Wouter Zwart for comments on an earlier version of this paper. Thanks are also due to Maria Teresa Guasti for discussing the cliticization data with me. Needless to say, they cannot be held responsible for the way I have used their comments and suggestions.

1 For discussion of scrambling and its interaction with cliticization see also Haegeman (in preparation).

2 The discussion groups together a number of analyses which have the same general outlines though they may differ substantially with respect to the details of the execution. I shall abstract away from these differences in execution and concentrate on the core assumptions.

3 Zwart does not introduce the split-INFL hypothesis. For him IP is head medial. I shall replace his IP by AGRP.

4 In work in progress I show that clitic movement and scrambling in WF are not to be distinguished in absolute terms. I argue there that clitics move as XPs (i.e. scramble) until they have reached the highest scrambling position from which they then cliticize to a functional head. Clitic movement is thus an extension of scrambling which is reserved to a particular morphological class.

5 If the movement of V-to-C passes through AGR then this will lead us to the conclusion that the cliticization is to a trace of the moved V, which may be problematic.
Alternatively, V may skip the AGR head. In this case cliticization is to the abstract AGR. Cfr. also Roberts and Cardinaletti (1991) for a discussion of cliticization to abstract AGR.

6 Perhaps V remains under T and the AGR inflection is lowered on V.

7 I briefly sketch their analysis in Section 5.

8 Cf. Haegeman (in preparation) for an account.

9 In fact (28d) is grammatical when *meiskes* has a specific reading. Cf. Haegeman (in preparation).

10 I cannot go into the distribution of clitics with respect to the indefinite subject. In WF indefinite subjects are excluded from the highest subject position and require *er*-insertion:

i. a. *da eentwien ze vandoage gezien eet
        that someone them today seen has
    b. dat-er ze eentwien vandoage gezien eet
    c. dat-er ze vandoage eentwien gezien eet
    d. ??? dat-er vandoage ze eentwien gezien eet

I leave the discussion of existential constructions for future work.

11 In fact, with a specific reading the indefinite NP can occur in the pre-adverbial position. Cf. Haegeman (in preparation).

The IO clitic must precede the DO NP:

i. a. da Jan Marie die boeken gisteren nie getoogd eet
        that Jan Marie those books yesterday not shown has
        'that Jan did not show Marie those books yesterday.'
    b. da-*ze*/*Marie Jan die boeken gisteren nie getoogd eet
        that her/*Marie Jan those books yesterday not shown has
i. c. da Jan *ze*/*Marie die boeken gisteren nie getoogd eet
    d. da Jan die boeken **ze*/*Marie gisteren nie getoogd eet

See Haegeman (in preparation) for an analysis.

12 This sentence tends to be rejected by native speakers. I think this is due to the processing load of four consecutive NPs. The other sentences in (39) with clitics replacing full NPs receive generally with approval.

13 For an analysis of the second and third restriction cf. Haegeman (in preparation).

14 One might propose that T also hosts clitics and corresponds to position 3, but even then we will be short of hosts for the clitics in ECM constructions. Moreover, if time adjuncts or sentential adverbs adjoin say to TP (cfr. Haegeman in preparation though) then the data in (i) suggest that T is not a host for a clitic since if this were the case the clitic should follow the time adverb.

i   a. da Jan Valère t gisteren gegeven oat
        that Jan Valère it yesterday given had
        'that Jan gave it to Valère yesterday.'
    b. *da Jan Valère gisteren t gegevn oat
        that Jan Valère yesterday it given had
    c. *da Jan gisteren Valère t gegeven oat

AGR_o is usually taken to head a projection which immediately dominates VP. In my analysis this means that it cannot be a host for a clitic: the position of AGR_o will be to the right of *nie* and clitics must appear to the left of *nie*.

ii a. da Jan Valère ze nie gegeven oat
        that Jan Valère them not given had
    b. *da Jan Valère nie ze gegeven oat.

15 See Haegeman (in preparation) for extensive discussion of this idea.

16 Presumably we need not state this. It will follow from Relativized Minimality (Rizzi 1990): an intervening head would block antecedent government.

17 The clitic moves as XP to [Spec, CP] where it satisfies the V2 constraint. Note that no other constituent can precede the clitic:

i.   *Gisteren z-ee zie Marie die boeken gegeven

           yesterday she has she Marie those books given

    b.   *Woarom z-ee zie Marie die boeken gegeven?

           why she has she Marie those books given

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