What do Reduced Pronominals Reveal about the Syntax of Dutch and German?*

Part 1: Clause-Internal Positions

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Abstract

We show that reduced personal argument pronouns in Dutch and German surface in a proper subset of the positions accessible to full argument DPs. Therefore, we argue for a unified syntactic analysis, which takes both types of DPs to be subject to the same phrase structural principles and the same positioning rules, namely, XP-scrambling and XP-'topicalization'. Our argument here rests a.o.t. on the observation that the case against DP-permutability in Dutch has been overstated. As far as syntax proper goes, we suggest that a simple 'filter', banning the scrambling of deaccented DP-objects across the subject is responsible for restrictions on Dutch word order. Our theory has the virtue of providing a unified account for reduced and full DPs in both Dutch and German. We further argue that degrees of constituent permutability and frontability should be derived under a multifactorial account, drawing on independently motivated principles from the syntax-discourse interface and (morpho-)phonology as they interact with the system of pronouns. It follows that, as far as syntax goes, reduced pronouns in Dutch and German must not be treated as 'special clitics'. Neither should they be analyzed as bare X°-categories. Thus, no syntactic argument for the existence or directional orientation of functional heads can be based on these elements. In developing our account, we draw heavily on colloquial variants of 'Standard German'. Along the way we pay considerable attention to various methodological issues.

* This article has originally been conceived together with Gärtner & Steinbach (to appear), which now contains the second half of our argument. For comments, suggestions, and criticisms we would like to thank Peter Eisenberg, Gisbert Fanselow, Caroline Féry, Paul Law, Juliane Möck, Gereon Müller, Inger Rosengren, Matthias Schlesewsky, Tonjes Veenstra, Ruben van de Vijver, Ralf Vogel, and Christian Wartena, as well as audiences at UPotsdam, UStuttgart, UVienna, the "Graduiertenkolleg Ökonomie und Komplexität" at HUBerlin, the 1999 DGfS Workshop on Clitics at UKonstanz, and the 2001 DGfS Workshop on "Dialektsyntax" at ULeipzig. Thanks to everyone who invited us. Common disclaimers apply.

to appear in Linguistische Berichte

1 Introduction

Ever since Chomsky (1981:52) postulated the phrase structure rules in (1) for English clauses, the question as to how OV- and V2-languages fit into the GB-picture has been intensively debated.

(1) a. S' → COMP S
b. S → NP INFL VP

Especially languages like Dutch and German, which instantiate both the OV- and the V2-property, have come into focus. Chomsky (1981) envisaged the optionality of subject NPs for Semitic languages (ibid.:27), (2a), and the absence of INFL for Japanese (ibid.:128), (2b):

(2) a. S → (NP) INFL VP
b. S' = S = V' → XP* V [XP ∈ {NP, S'}]

Against the theoretical background of (1) and (2), two major controversies over the syntax of Dutch and German have orbited around the issues in (3).

(3) a. Position of fronted constituents
b. Existence and position of INFL

The existence of clause-initial complementizers necessitates at least one functional position at the left periphery of these languages. In accordance with the analysis of English, this position is usually identified with COMP. Given the availability of COMP at the left periphery, it is natural to try to analyze V2 as the positioning of an XP and a finite verb in a structured COMP-node. This is the well-known approach taken by den Besten (1983, 1989) and refined within the X-bar-theory of Chomsky (1986) by various people (cf. a.o. Grewendorf 1988), as illustrated in (4).

(4) a. CP → (XP) C'
b. C' → C° IP

With respect to (3b), four prominent options arise: (i) INFL is absent, as in Japanese, accounted for by (2b), (ii) INFL is 'conflated' with COMP as argued for by Platzack (1983), (iii) INFL is to the right of VP, or (iv) INFL is to the left of VP, as in (1b) and (2a). While Haider (1993) pursues (i), a considerable number of generative linguists advocate option (iii) (see a.o. Platzack 1986 and Grewendorf 1988). It was Travis (1984) who developed line (iv) by postulating the phrase structure rules in (5) in addition to the ones in (4) for German.

(5) a. IP → NP I'
b. I' → I° VP

(4) and (5) form the basis of the so-called 'asymmetry analysis' (cf. Vikner & Schwartz 1996), according to which subject-initial V2-clauses are IPs and non-subject-initial V2-clauses CPs. This is exemplified in (6).[1] [2]

(6) a. [CP [C' [C° ∅][IP Ralf [I' [I° [V° trank]$_1$ I°][VP Bier t$_1$]]]]] [G]
Ralf^{NOM} *drank* *beer*^{ACC}
'Ralf drank beer'
b. [CP [Bier]$_3$ [C' [C° [I° [V° trank]$_1$ I°]$_2$ C°]][IP Ralf [I' t$_2$ [VP t$_3$ t$_1$]]]]

As pointed out by Schwartz & Vikner (1989) and Vikner & Schwartz (1996), this kind of analysis raises two important questions: (i) what are the grammatical differences between clause-initial subjects and nonsubjects and (ii) what could be independent evidence for the existence of clause-internal INFL, given that it doesn't seem to be a landing site in complementizer-initial clauses, as shown in (7).

(7) a. [CP [C' [C° ob] [IP Ralf [I' [I° ∅] [VP Bier trank]]]]] [G]
whether *Ralf*^{NOM} *beer*^{ACC} *drank*
'whether Ralf drank beer'
b.* [CP [C' [C° ob] [IP Ralf [I' [I° [V° trank]$_1$ I°] [VP Bier t$_1$]]]]]

Interestingly, wrt both these issues, structures containing reduced pronominals have been appealed to as empirical support for the asymmetry analysis. Thus, Zwart (1991:80) notes that the subject-object asymmetry in (8) can elegantly be explained by assuming that "clitics (or, more generally, unstressed elements) cannot move to [Spec,CP]." (8a') and (8b') show that phrase structural asymmetry. (Traces have been omitted).

(8) a. 'K zag hem [D]
I^{SU} *saw him*^{DO}
'I saw him'
a'. [CP [C' [C° ∅] [IP 'K [I' [I° zag] hem]]]]
b.* 'M zag ik [D]
Him^{DO} *saw I*^{SU}
'Him I saw'
b'.* [CP 'M [C' [C° zag] [IP ik]]]

Likewise, split-INFL analyses paved the way for a more principled approach to the positioning of reduced pronominals in the Germanic OV-languages. The following quote from Zwart (1997:116), summing up work by a.o. Jaspers

[1] Whether or not (6a) should involve an (empty) CP-shell varies on theory-internal grounds.

[2] In this article we will use the following abbreviations for the languages we consider: [D] = Dutch, [F] = French, [G] = German, [WF] = West Flemish, [He] = Hessian, [Su] = Suebian, and [Zh] = Zurich German. In the glosses of German, Hessian, Suebian, and Zurich German examples, we use the superscripts NOM, ACC and DAT for arguments bearing nominative, accusative, and dative case, respectively, while in the Dutch and West Flemish ones we use SU, DO and IO for arguments bearing the GFs subject, direct object and indirect object. We apologize for our fairly loose usage of GF terminology throughout.

(1989), Haegeman (1993), and Zwart (1991, 1992, 1993), sketches the basic idea behind this approach. "First, I will discuss the nature of the weak pronouns in Dutch and conclude that they are syntactic clitics [. . .]. Second, I will argue that the distribution of the clitics in Dutch and West Flemish shows that clitics must be associated with Agreement heads [. . .]. It then follows from the distribution of the clitics that there are functional heads to the left of the VP in Dutch and West Flemish."

Simplifying somewhat, (9a), displaying a reduced pronoun in sentence-internal position, would receive the structural analysis in (9b).

(9) a. Gisteren heeft Jan 'm gezien [D]
Yesterday has Jan^{SU} *him*^{DO} *seen*
'Yesterday Jan saw him'
b. [$_{CP}$ Gisteren [$_{C'}$ [$_{C°}$ heeft] [$_{IP}$ Jan [$_{I'}$ [$_{I°}$ 'm I°] [$_{VP}$ gezien]]]]]

While the intuitive appeal of such an approach is obvious, working out the details has proven more difficult than expected. None of the proposals has remained unchallenged. Thus a.o. Schwartz & Vikner (1989), Vikner & Schwartz (1996), and Gärtner & Steinbach (1994, 1997) raise various technical and empirical objections. See also Zwart (1994) for a reply. We will deal with the ones concerning reduced pronominals in section 3 and Gärtner & Steinbach (to appear).

However, for the sake of clarification, we would like to abstract away from minute detail for a moment. It seems to us that one of the major controversies can be roughly characterized as follows. Current work in generative syntax is pursued under two opposite perspectives on phrase structure. Call them 'special-purpose positioning' (*SPP*) and 'multi-purpose positioning' (*MPP*) respectively.

(10) a. SPP: special-purpose positioning
b. MPP: multi-purpose positioning

SPP assumes that grammatical properties project into syntax in isolation. Thus, for example, agreement-object features can project agreement-object phrases, topic features topic phrases, and distributivity features distributivity phrases (cf. for the latter Beghelli & Stowell 1997). In contrast to this, MPP assumes syntactic properties to either project collectively or to take syntactic categories to be distributional abstractions from grammatical features altogether. The latter point of view implies that structuralist conceptions of syntax continue to have at least *some* theoretical impact. Thus, the possibility of positional categories, formed at least partly on the basis of linear order, is not discarded. Since we do not want to elaborate on this here, we refer the reader to the discussion of elements occupying the COMP-position in German V-final clauses in Kathol (1997). See also Stechow & Sternefeld (1988).

There is an important distinction between SPP and MPP, formulated in (11).

(11) a. SPP is in need of 'weakening' principles
b. MPP is in need of 'strengthening' principles

(11a) tends to be true because, to the extent that optionality isn't built into the phrase-structure rules, SPP predicts word order to be fairly rigid. (11b), on the other hand, is a consequence of less fine-grained restrictions on word order inherent in the MPP view.[3]

In the light of these distinctions, the remainder of this article, as well as Gärtner & Steinbach (to appear), will be devoted to the following two things, namely, (i), we will criticize SPP approaches to the kind of data in (8) and (9), and (ii), we will instead be advocating a version of MPP with respect to the landing sites of reduced pronominals. This is based on the intuition that, when applied to the syntax of Dutch and German, our system of 'MPP-plus-strengthening-principles' yields greater insight into the grammatical phenomena discussed than 'SPP-plus-weakening-principles'. We will ultimately draw the conclusion that reduced pronouns do not provide evidence for the existence of head-initial functional projections between COMP and VP in Dutch and German and that reduced pronouns do not provide distributional evidence for an 'asymmetry analysis' of verb second. More specifically, in section 2, we will discuss the pronominal systems of Dutch and (colloquial variants of) German. We then show that syntactic distribution doesn't warrant any 'special clitic' status for reduced pronouns (section 3). Instead, an XP-scrambling approach is defended in the present article. Uniform XP-fronting to Spec,CP is then motivated in Gärtner & Steinbach (to appear), which also introduces additional ('strengthening') conditions on the fronting of reduced pronouns, responsible for microdistributional differences.

2 Dutch and German personal pronouns

When transposing to German arguments from Standard Dutch that are built on the pronoun facts in (8) and (9), one faces an immediate problem. There is no variant of 'Standard German' that contains a comparably large set of 'weak' personal pronouns showing similar behavior to the Dutch ones in (13). These 'weak' pronouns correspond to the 'strong' forms in (12).[4]

[3] Of course, the two concepts should be taken to be idealized extreme ends of a scale, allowing for degrees, that is, mixed approaches. Obviously, skillful definition of features could translate an MPP-analysis into an SPP counterpart. Whether the reverse holds in any non-trivial sense is not so clear.

[4] The slots indicated by colon are 1.SG through 3.PL and the ones indicated by comma encode masculine (M), feminine (F), and neuter (N) gender respectively, where required. For basically the same paradigm see Geerts et al. (eds.) (1984:163, 164, and 167) and Berendsen (1986:36). For just the object paradigm see also Everaert (1986:32). The form *'t* is often written as *het*. This may actually lead to spelling pronunciations, as noted by Berendsen (1986:97fn1). It is unclear to us whether this would justify the inclusion of *het* among the 'strong' forms. Wherever an apostrophe appears in writing, a schwa may be pronounced, depending on the phonotactic surrounding. The case of *'r* in German, pronounced [ɐ], is an exception. For the sake of brevity we leave out a number of alterna-

(12) *Dutch 'strong' personal pronouns* (Zwart 1997, p.117)
a. subject: {ik ; jij ; hij, zij, -- ; wij ; jullie ; zij}
I you he she we you they
b. object: {mij ; jou ; hem, haar, -- ; ons ; jullie ; hen}
me you him her us you them

(13) *Dutch 'weak' personal pronouns* (ibid.)
a. subject: {'k ; je ; ie, ze, 't ; we ; -- ; ze}
b. object: {me ; je ; 'm, 'r, 't ; -- ; -- ; ze}

In order to achieve comparability, one has to turn to regional variants of colloquial German.[5] In this article we concentrate on south-western variants of German for the following reasons. First, we only have native speaker intuitions about the ones regionally related to Hessian and Suebian dialects. Secondly, the underlying south-western Rheno-Franconian and Alemannic dialects form an especially interesting group insofar as they consistently distinguish accusative and dative morphology in the pronominal system.[6] As will be documented in detail in section 3, this property seems to result in an enhanced word order flexibility of the superimposed colloquial variants, which is only latently present in other varieties of German, 'Standard German' among them. In the following, we refer to our colloquials as 'Hessian' and 'Suebian'.[7] The Hessian system of personal pronouns is given in (14)-(16) below.[8]

tive and additional forms like second person forms of polite address. For the full picture and discussion see Geerts et al. (eds.)(1984:163-177).

[5] For the description of these colloquial variants, see Munske (1983). The ones we will be looking at are formally very close to the dialects discussed in more detail by Abraham & Wiegel (1993), Bayer (1984), and Cooper (1994). Those works also contain methodological remarks on the relevance of dialect research for generative grammar. See also the introduction to Abraham & Bayer (eds.)(1993), and, last but not least, Chomsky & Lasnik (1977) for an insightful discussion of similar issues.

[6] See Howe (1996:271, 273), where the pertinent maps are provided.

[7] Given that Hessian and Suebian in the sense just indicated overlap with Standard German to a very considerable degree, data from (Standard) German will be considered whenever finer distinctions do not yield deeper insights. Likewise, we (boldly) extrapolate our results to 'German', aware that a lot of further research will be necessary. Thus, our usage of the term 'German' might be considered controversial.

[8] For the sake of brevity, we take the term 'pronoun' to henceforth stand for 'personal pronoun' unless indicated otherwise. We put *es* among the reduced pronouns as a variant of *'s* since, being schwa-initial, it shows clear signs of reduction (cf. Hall 1998). See Gärtner & Steinbach (to appear) for discussion. In this area, the German writing system seems to have a certain influence on pronunciation. Thus, some speakers of German realize *es* with an /e/ instead of a schwa.

Where non-obvious, the pronunciation of reduced forms is as follows: the vowel of *de* and *se* should be rendered as schwa, while the one in *der* and *mer* approximates /ɐ/. *'m* and *'n* are schwa-initial in certain phonetic contexts, while *'r* is realized by something close to just /ɐ/. We'll deal with phonology in Gärtner & Steinbach (to appear). The one major divergence of Hessian from Standard German concerns 1.PL.NOM *wir*, which becomes *mir*. The resulting syncretism with 1.SG.DAT, preserved under reduction seems to have important syntactic consequences (see Gärtner & Steinbach (to appear)). Suebian, which we will consider alongside with Hessian, has *i*, *mi*, and *di* as 1.SG.NOM, 1.SG.ACC, and 2.SG.ACC neutral pronouns, respectively. The corresponding reduced pronouns arise from replacing /i/ by schwa. The Suebian 2.SG.NOM reduced pronoun is phonologically empty. See

(14) *Hessian prominent pronouns*
a. NOM: {ISCH ; DU ; ER, SIE, -- ; MIR ; IHR ; SIE}
b. ACC: {MISCH ; DISCH ; IHN, SIE, -- ; UNS ; EUSCH ; SIE}
c. DAT: {MIR ; DIR ; IHM, IHR, IHM ; UNS ; EUSCH ; IHNE}

(15) *Hessian neutral pronouns*
a. NOM: {isch ; du ; er, sie, -- ; mir ; ihr ; sie}
b. ACC: {misch ; disch ; ihn, sie, -- ; uns ; eusch ; sie}
c. DAT: {mir ; dir ; ihm, ihr, ihm ; uns ; eusch ; ihne}

(16) *Hessian reduced pronouns*
a. NOM: {'sch ; de ; 'r, se, 's/es ; mer ; 'r ; se}
b. ACC: {m'sch ; d'sch ; 'n, se, 's/es ; -- ; -- ; se}
c. DAT: {mer ; der ; 'm, 'r, 'm; -- ; -- ; --}

The reason for making three distinctions in the Hessian paradigm has to do with a comparability issue once again. One of the crucial differences between 'strong' and 'weak' pronouns in Dutch is illustrated in (17) (Zwart 1997:119).

(17) a. Je leeft maar een keer [D]
you^{SU} *live but one time*
(i) 'You (= addressee) have but one life'
(ii) 'One has but one life'
b. Jij leeft maar een keer
you^{SU} *live but one time*
(i) 'You (= addressee) have but one life'
(ii) * 'One has but one life'

While the 'weak' pronoun in (17a) supports an additional idiomatic (generic) interpretation, (17b), containing the 'strong' counterpart of that pronoun, is unambiguous. The exactly corresponding distinction is made in Hessian in terms of stress, as shown in (18).

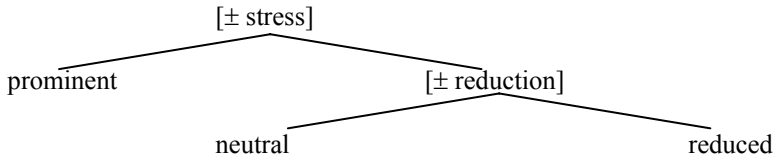
(18) a. Du lebst nur einmal b. DU lebst nur einmal [G]

The segmentally complete unstressed pronoun in (18a), which we are going to call a *neutral* pronoun, gives rise to the readings of (17a), while its stressed counterpart, called a *prominent* pronoun henceforth, gives rise to just the one reading of (17b). Given that Hessian has a third layer of pronominal forms, formally close to the Dutch 'weak' forms, we propose the following system of personal pronouns for Hessian (and Suebian).[9]

Cooper (1994:94f) for detailed discussion of this *pro-drop*-phenomenon in the related Zurich German dialect. Finally, the Suebian neutral 3.SG.F.DAT form is *dera*, the reduced counterpart of which becomes *ra*.

9 Standard German possesses only a single reduced item, namely, *es*.

(19)



The reduced forms, as for example the one in (20), pattern with the neutral ones wrt the issue in (17) and (18) since they support both readings.

(20) weil de ja nur einmal lebst [He]
because *you*^{NOM} *indeed* *but once live*

In order to systematize terminology, we will extend the schema in (19) to Dutch.[10] Thus, the forms in (12) will be called *neutral* and the ones in (13) *reduced*. The term 'reduced pronoun' will henceforth be abbreviated as *RP*. Dutch *prominent* pronouns are derived from their neutral counterparts by phonological stress.[11]

Now, having said all of this, we must come back to the syntactic issues sketched in section 1. More specifically, we have to ask why syntacticians should worry about RPs. This leads us to the extremely slippery area of 'cliticization'. Recall that Zwart (1997:116) concluded from the 'nature' of Dutch RPs that they must be 'syntactic clitics'. That conclusion actually rests on two quite heterogeneous pillars, the first of which we will have to spend some time on, in order to put the subsequent syntactic and phonological debate of section 3 and Gärtner & Steinbach (to appear) into proper perspective. Thus, the observation has repeatedly been made that Dutch RPs are not just "phonologically reduced

[10] Geerts et al. (eds.) (1984) also use the term 'reduced' for the Dutch 'weak' forms in (13). Everaert (1986:32) calls the forms in (12) 'stressed' and the ones in (13) 'unstressed'. Cardinaletti & Starke (1999:153, 163) offer empirical arguments from French against taking [– stress] as a defining property of 'deficient' pronouns. We take this as evidence that their theory cannot insightfully be applied to Germanic reduced pronouns. The crucial examples only illustrate the diverging phonological status of schwa in French, being part of the lexical representation of French reduced pronouns while it looks more like the output of phonological reduction in Germanic. Other phonological differences between French on the one hand and Dutch and German on the other concern the assignment of stress under focusing (Féry p.c.) correlated with the fact that Dutch and German as opposed to French are "stress-shift languages" (Ladd 1996).

[11] Should a 'strong'/'weak' distinction be desirable in describing facts like the ones in (17), we can project that distinction onto our system in the following way.

(i) Dutch	(ii) German
a. strong = {prominent} ∪ {neutral}	a. strong = {prominent}
b. weak = {reduced}	b. weak = {neutral} ∪ {reduced}

A similar difference between Dutch and German exists in the domain of reflexive pronouns (see Everaert 1986, Steinbach 1999, 2002). Starke (1996), Cardinaletti (1999), and Cardinaletti & Starke (1999) suggest a different tripartition of pronominal forms, based primarily on observations about Italian. It remains to be seen how to integrate their system with ours. One of their key diagnostics for 'deficiency', based on reference to animate objects has been shown to be problematic for German in Gärtner & Steinbach (1997). For reasons of space we skip the demonstration that Hessian and Dutch RPs behave exactly alike wrt to the 'Kayne-tests', as discussed in detail for example by Haegeman (1993).

forms of corresponding strong forms" (Berendsen 1986:19). Otherwise, the term 'phonological clitic' might be more appropriate, presupposing, of course, that the term 'clitic' can be given a satisfactory theoretical basis. Thus, phonology may be responsible for the following alternation in English (cf. Berendsen 1986:19).[12]

(21) a. Marsha met him b. Marsha met 'm

This could mean that, given the right phonotactic context, somewhere in the PF-component phonological reduction rules can turn the neutral form *him* into its RP counterpart. One crucial argument against such an approach to Dutch RPs comes from the behavior of 3.SG.M.SU pronouns, as illustrated in (22).

(22) a. dat hij wandelt c. dat ie wandelt [D]
b.* dat he wandelt *that he*^{SU} *walks*

While regular phonological reduction could be responsible for pairs like *jij* > *je*, *zij* > *ze*, and *wij* > *we*, in the case of *hij* the output *he* would be phonologically ill-formed (van de Vijver p.c.; cf. Zwart 1997:118). However, rather than tolerating such an arbitrary gap, Dutch fills up the paradigm of RPs with *ie*, which in all likelihood derives from the weak demonstrative *die* (Zwart 1997:33fn28). This is in contrast with English, where the neutral pronoun *me* simply lacks an RP-counterpart (*me* > ?). Thus, it must be assumed that the Dutch pronominal system contains a grammaticalized slot for RPs. This has to go along with some kind of lexical storage.[13] Yet, the conclusions that can be drawn from this are

[12] Take main stress to fall on the verb. *'M* would be pronounced with an initial schwa.

[13] Another piece of evidence would be the existence of RP *'t* (*het*), which lacks a neutral counterpart altogether. The weak demonstrative *dat* has to do duty in filling the gap, without apparently having lost its demonstrative properties. One needs to be careful, however, not to overinterpret this kind of evidence. Thus, it is doubtful whether one and the same form like 2.PL.OB *ons* is both a neutral pronoun and an RP. Zwart (1997) diverges on this point from Geerts et al. (eds.) (1984), Berendsen (1986), and Everaert (1986) in allowing a gap in the paradigm. As far as phonological shape is concerned, this form is clearly not reduced. Conversely, given that German *es* belongs to the RPs under all likelihood, one would have to take there to be a grammaticalized slot of RPs in the pronominal system of Standard German as well.

We actually believe that we are looking at two systems in transition, where writing systems further the grammaticalization of RPs in Dutch while hampering the same process in German.

As for the semantic effects arising at the boundary between neutral pronouns and RPs in Dutch, like generic interpretation of *je* in (17), there are two ways of looking at them. Given lexical storage there is no problem with listing such readings item by item. On the other hand, the 'interpretation' of pronouns is known to be sensitive to the shape of the entire system, given that the system is closed. Thus, generic and idiomatic readings may simply require the 'weakest' possible form to be inserted, 'stronger' ones being blocked. See Williams (1997: section 1) for the possibilities of blocking even across grammatical levels. See also Kameyama (1999), whose 'Complementary Preference Hypothesis' does a similar job closer to the syntax-discourse interface. Similar means, deriving principles B and C as 'elsewhere' cases from principle A, have been established – pace Hestvik (1992) – for binding theory by Luigi Burzio, as summarized in Gärtner (1991). In the domain of Dutch and German reflexives and their various interpretations, Steinbach (1999 and 2002) fruitfully explores related interactions of stress and blocking. A typical case in point would be the inherent reflexive reading of (i).

still fairly weak. "Since these clitics are stored in the lexicon, they can potentially be adjoined [. . .] in the syntactic component, and in the phonological component" (Berendsen 1986:21).[14] Clearly, what no theory of 'clitics' can do without is an account for why they seem to require phonological material to 'lean on', that is, they require a π-host.[15] In this respect, Dutch and English (and German) RPs behave alike. Thus, *met* in (21b) and *dat* in (22c) are the respective π-hosts of *'m* and *ie*. This requires some kind of integration of the RP into one of the phonological constituents containing the π-host (see Gärtner & Steinbach (to appear)), which would be called *π-adjunction* in Berendsen's terms. However, nothing follows from this as for the question whether or not there should be a special *syntactic* operation in addition, call it *σ-adjunction*, which could feed or complement phonology.[16]

Indeed, the existence of *σ-adjunction* would seem to depend on nothing short of proper *syntactic* argumentation. This, however, is only the second pillar the above diagnosis is based on (see section 3 and Gärtner & Steinbach (to appear)). The first – controversial – one seems to be part of an attempt to provide *independent* motivation for the necessity of *σ-adjunction*. This is built on the following rather problematic reasoning. RPs are not just the result of phonological reduction. Thus, they cannot be 'simple clitics' but must be 'special clitics' in the terminology of Arnold Zwicky, as laid out in detail by Klavans (1982) and

(i) Wij schamen ons [D]
We ^{SU} shame us ^{DO}
'We are ashamed'

Rather than saying that *ons* is a reflexive RP, one could say it is a neutral personal pronoun that is not blocked by any more specific, i.e. 'more reflexive' and 'weaker', form in the 1.PL.OB cell. This alternative may look less compelling in this specific case. However, filling up every arbitrary gap occurring in any pronominal system of the world's languages by this kind of lexical proliferation would have a distinctly baroque flavor to it.

What the blocking perspective predicts is that there should be cases of 'unblocking' in certain contexts. Thus, Edwin Williams (p.c.) pointed out that both unstressed and stressed *you* can carry the generic reading in (ii).

(ii) If you want to get things done, then YOU have to do them.

Similar effects can be replicated in German. Thus in a doctor-patient setting, doctors can refer to patients by means of a 1.PL.DAT neutral pronoun contained in the set phrase in (iiia). As soon as there are two patients in the same room and each patient can be assumed to be able to hear what is being said to the other, the doctor, having used (iiia) to talk to the first patient already, must use (iiib), containing the same pronoun, but narrowly focused, to address the next patient.

(iii) a. Wie geht 's uns denn heute [G]
How goes it ^{NOM} us ^{DAT} then today
'So, how are we doing today?'
b. Und, wie geht 's UNS heute?
And, how goes it us today

[14] It looks as if in this quote Berendsen must take *and* to stand for logical nonexclusive disjunction. We skip the third possibility, namely, adjunction in the lexicon. Berendsen himself takes lexical adjunction to be the hallmark of affixation strictly distinct from 'cliticization'.

[15] Nespor & Vogel (1986:145) remind us of "the original meaning of the term 'clitic' from the Greek κλινω 'to lean'."

[16] Modern theories of the syntax-phonology mapping would clearly allow a number of different relations to hold between σ-adjunction and π-adjunction (cf. a.o. Berendsen 1986, Nespor & Vogel 1986, Booij 1996, and Hall 1998). See Gärtner & Steinbach (to appear) for some discussion.

Berendsen (1986:19ff). 'Special clitics', however, have 'special syntax' *by definition*! Thus, *by nature*, Dutch RPs would seem to require special *syntactic* treatment in terms of σ-adjunction to a σ-host. Of course, the deficient link in this argument is the nature of Zwicky's categories.

"A striking feature of this type of work […] is that in its argumentation it does not in the first place distinguish between phonological, morphological and syntactic characteristics of clitics. Secondly, this work is relatively pre-theoretical in that the inventories appear to be its main aim rather than the stimulating context of a theory which predicts certain inventories rather than others" (Berendsen 1986:20).[17]

Zwicky's inventory captures the generalization that grammaticalized or lexicalized 'clitics' tend to develop special syntactic behavior. This, however, is a rough-edged sword in two ways. First, no reason is given why there couldn't be such forms which happen *not* to show 'special syntactic behavior'. Thus, the categorization imposes a false alternative on linguistic analyses of 'clitics'.[18] Secondly, a theoretical characterization of what would count as 'special syntax' is pretty much absent.[19] Thus, we are strongly inclined to think that this first pillar of the proof that Dutch RPs are 'syntactic clitics' by 'nature' is leaning heavily on the second one, namely, *syntax-internal* demonstration that Dutch RPs need σ-adjunction to a σ-host over and above π-adjunction to a π-host. It is the latter kind of discussion that we will be occupied with in the remainder of this article, as well as in Gärtner & Steinbach (to appear). We will try to show that such a demonstration, if possible at all, is on the wrong track wrt (most) systems of Germanic RPs, the Dutch one among them.

3 The Pros and Cons of (Special) 'Clitic'-Syntax: Clause-Internal Positions

We already indicated that, as such, the term 'special syntax' is less informative than required for settling the subtle issues we are dealing with here. Let us, therefore, explore some of the potential ways to understand that term before we

[17] See Bayer (1984:266fn36) for a similarly negative assessment wrt the distinction between affixes and clitics.

[18] Such a narrow alternative is indeed what Zwart (1997:118) seems to feel forced to assume, as the following quote indicates. "The question arises whether the weak pronouns are phonologically reduced variants of the strong pronouns (*simple clitics*, in terms of Zwicky 1977) or elements with a syntactic status of their own (*special clitics* in terms of Zwicky 1977, henceforth referred to as *clitics* here)."

[19] As will become clear later, the rule of thumb that 'special clitics' do not "tend to occur in exactly the same syntactic positions as the unreduced stressable forms" (Klavans 1982:26f) is insufficient in the case of Germanic OV-languages for two reasons. First of all, an abstract hierarchical position need not always coincide with one and the same linear surface position in syntax, and secondly, phonological requirements of focus put additional constraints on the 'position' of inherently unstressed elements, as do the syntactic and phonological directionality-constraints on *en*- vs. *pro*-cliticization. For the latter see Gärtner & Steinbach (to appear).

go into Germanic syntax. Surely, distributional evidence would have to be taken as symptomatic for 'special syntax'. Thus, *bona fide* members of the class of 'special clitics', namely, French RPs, do differ from their DP (and neutral pronominal) counterparts wrt word order possibilities, as (23) illustrates.

(23) a. Je connais la sœur de Zazie
I know the sister of Zazie
b.* Je la sœur de Zazie connais
c.* Je connais la [F]
I know her
d. Je la connais

However, the order of surface strings is only a small part of what generative syntax is about. Thus, one would like to derive the pattern in (23) from deeper principles. Then, of course, the question arises, whether 'special syntax' automatically implies that something special is assumed about 'clitics' at such a deeper level. Consider the following two – fictional – accounts of (23). Suppose French object RPs can adjoin to I°. Suppose further that there is no XP-landing site between the position of the subject and the finite verb in French syntax. Under these assumptions, (23b) could not arise for want of a landing site for DP-movement, while (23d) would be perfectly well-formed. This is shown in (24a) and (24b), respectively.

(24) a.* $[_{IP}$ Je $[_{?P}$ [la sœur de Zazie$]_1$ $[_{VP}$ connais t_1]]]
b. $[_{IP}$ Je $[_{I'}$ $[_{I°}$ [la$]_1$ I°] $[_{VP}$ connais t_1]]]

Crucially, there would now have to be an X-bar theoretic difference between full-fledged DPs and object RPs, the latter being just X°-elements. Insofar, special syntactic assumptions would be made for 'special clitics'.

A more 'surfacey' (and more complete) account of the same pattern could go as follows. Assume in the spirit of (one version of) the Minimalist Program (Chomsky 1995) that, universally, objects have to check structural Case in Spec,AgrOP. Assume further that the features for this operation in French are weak. Assume in addition a copy-theory of movement plus a chain-based construal of the strong/weak-distinction, according to which the checking of weak features means that the foot of the chain is spelled-out at PF. Imagine, finally, that French RPs contain some inherent feature [+cl], which inverses the spell-out mechanism such that the head of the chain is pronounced instead of the foot. This, is illustrated in (25a) and (25b) respectively.

(25) a. $[_{AgrSP}$ Je [AgrS° $[_{AgrOP}$ [~~la sœur de Zazie~~] [AgrO°
$[_{VP}$ connais [la sœur de Zazie]]]]]]
b. $[_{AgrSP}$ Je [AgrS° $[_{AgrOP}$ [la $]^{[+cl]}$ [AgrO° $[_{VP}$ connais [~~la~~ $]^{[+cl]}$]]]]]

This time, 'special syntax' would boil down to the feature [+cl], possession of which influences spell-out operations at the PF-interface. Let us call what can be inferred from distributional evidence like (23) 'special concrete syntax' (SCS) and what can be postulated along the lines of (24) and (25) 'special abstract syntax' (SAS). One might then expect there to exist four types of analyses for 'clitic' systems, as shown in (26).

(26) a. [+ SCS/ + SAS] b. [+ SCS/ – SAS]
c. [– SCS/ + SAS] d. [- SCS/ – SAS]

While following Jaspers (1989), Zwart (1997) takes Dutch to instantiate (26a),[20] we insist on (26d) for both Dutch and German. In fact, reviewing the two already mentioned areas crucially involved in our debate, namely, clause-internal argument positioning (sections 3.1 to 3.4) and fronting (Gärtner & Steinbach (to appear)), we find that clear distributional evidence – of the kind available for French RPs – is lacking for the Germanic OV- and V2-languages under consideration. Given this, we suggest a unified (MPP-) account of the syntactic behavior of RPs, neutral pronouns, prominent pronouns, and full-fledged DPs. We assume that they all are XPs in syntax, their positioning being regulated by XP-scrambling and XP-fronting.

3.1 Scrambling

At least since Lenerz (1977), it is well-known that word order in what is descriptively called the 'middle field' (henceforth MF) of German clauses, that is, clause-internal positions to the right of COMP and to the left of the verbal cluster, is regulated to a considerable degree by 'soft', i.e. violable, principles.[21]

[20] See Grohmann (1997) for German. Chomsky (1995:208) pursues what looks like a version of (26c), treating English reflexives in terms of '*cliticization*$_{LF}$'. For an LF-treatment of pronouns, see also Hestvik (1992). A purely PF-based treatment of special word order effects might be considered an instance of (26b).

[21] Uszkoreit (1986:883) calls this phenomenon "partially free word order which arises through the interaction of potentially conflicting ordering principles." For a recent summary of and an OT-approach to these facts see Müller (1998a, 1999). In the following we will tacitly assume that generative theories of scrambling have to deal with (almost) the entire range of instantiations of constituent permutations in the MF of OV-languages like Dutch and German. This is in line with Müller (1998a:23), who pointed out what many others – even before the 'scrambling-glasnost' initiated by Diesing (1992) – have more or less explicitly been trying to get across (cf. a.o. Höhle 1982 and Reis 1987). Namely, that "it is indeed the exception rather than the rule for a VP-internal word order in German not to be grammatical at all." In this article, we interpret Müller's term 'VP-internal' as ranging over the entire MF. We'll come to the position of subjects in section 3.4 and Gärtner & Steinbach (to appear). We thus fully agree that "[c]lause-internal word order in scrambling languages often exhibits degrees of markedness, rather than complete wellformedness or illformedness, and this fact is still in need of an explanation" (Müller 1998a:1f). Emphasis here, should be put on the term 'degrees'. A lot of the literature on scrambling is working with a dichotomy of unmarked ('neutral') and marked. Theories of scrambling are then – often implicitly – limited to 'neutral' cases only. Seldom, however, are these two terms defined in a satisfactory way, Höhle (1982) being an exception. If a more solid definition is given – e.g. in terms of maximal focus projection, i.e. the ability to be used a.o.t. in so-called 'null-contexts' – that definition is usually not adhered to in distributing * or √ among the example sentences. For reasons that will become clear in the text, we consider any such attempt as inadequate. We will thus not withdraw any example on the charge of its being 'contrastive' or 'emphatic' unless (i), we are given a proper definition of these terms, (ii), we are given a theoretically sound motivation why examples falling under the hypothetical definition of (i) should be left out of consideration and (iii), it is demonstrated that advocates of such a hypothetical position themselves actually apply the required distinction in a consistent way to syntactic phe-

For example, other things being equal, thematic (or backgrounded) elements precede rhematic (or focused) ones. Likewise, definite items precede indefinite ones, and 'heavy' elements follow light ones.[22] On all three counts, it is unsurprising that personal pronouns – unless focused – will show a preference for the left region of the MF. (27) illustrates the most extreme case, namely, adjacency to COMP.[23]

(27) a. … dass se dem Hans heut e' Buch geschenkt hat [He]
… that she^{NOM} *the Hans*^{DAT} *today a book*^{ACC} *given has*
'that she gave Hans a book today'
b. ... dass 'r de Hans heut e' Buch geschenkt hat
... that her^{DAT} *the Hans*^{NOM} *today a book*^{ACC} *given has*
'that Hans gave her a book today'
c. ... dass se de Hans heut (net) getroffe hat
... that her^{ACC} *the Hans*^{NOM} *today (not) met has*
'(It is not the case) that Hans met her today'

Among RPs, however, positions further to the right are by no means unavailable, at least for the object ones.[24]

nomena. For the precarious status of these notions see Ladd (1996), and for progress on the semantics of 'contrastive focus' see van Deemter (1999), and Schwarzschild (1999).

An automatic consequence will be that, when one analyzes the 6 permutations of SU, IO and DO in the MF, one actually faces at least 10368 sentence *types*, given that each of the three arguments can be (i), focussed, I-topicalized, or deaccented (× 27), (ii), definite or indefinite (× 8), and (iii), a pronominal or a full DP (× 8) [6×27×8×8 = 10368]. Adding the presence or absence of an adverbial in each of the four slots before, between or after the arguments (×16), we arrive at 165888 sentence types. We ignore the fact that such adverbials come from 5 different classes, but refer the reader to Frey & Pittner (1998). All in all, we think that linguists are still only in the early stages of developing a satisfactory account of 'scrambling'. It will become clear below that syntacticians alone are unlikely to be successful in this task.

[22] For heaviness see the theory of 'syntactic weight' developed in Hawkins (1992) and Uhmann (1993) for a critique of that approach. The three conditions we give, to be construed as defaults, are very rough first approximations, as the careful analysis in Reis (1987) shows. Later, we will be more specific, where possible. A full discussion is beyond the aim and scope of the present article. Some authors have felt the need to add an explicit ordering principle, stating that pronominals precede non-pronominals (cf. Lenerz 1977, Müller 1998a, 1999). We believe this condition belongs to the syntax-discourse interface, and derives from 'centering theory', as discussed by Kameyama (1999). Objections against the latter kind of approach, as have been vented by a.o. Reis (1987) most crucially concern non-referential pronouns showing similar leftward tendencies. As far as these are solid findings, we suggest that unification with the treatment of idioms should be sought. Another factor, which we are going to appeal to later, is formal syncretism.

[23] This position could be called the 'Wackernagel-position' of the clause, Wackernagel's observation having been "that clitics have a tendency to occur in the second position" (van Riemsdijk 1999:15). For an apparently different interpretation of that term see Jaspers (1989).

[24] For more data see Grohmann (1997) and Cooper (1994, 1999). In keeping with our conjecture concerning dialectal areas (section 2), the Zurich German facts largely coincide with the Hessian ones. One of the problems with finding fully acceptable RPs in positions further to the right has been the almost exclusive use of *that*-complement clauses in test examples. These, if taken out of context, tend to be construed as being rhematic. Sentence-initial conditionals do not receive such an interpretation. This has an 'uncluttering' effect – impressionistically speaking – on the intonational shape of the clause, which among other things allows 'light' elements to be inserted more freely at

(28) a. Wenn de Hans se heut wieder net trifft, dann … [He]
if the Hans^{NOM} *her*^{ACC} *today again not meets, then ...*
'If once again Hans doesn't meet her today, then …'
b. Wenn de Hans 'r heut endlich mal e' Buch schenkt, dann …
if the Hans^{NOM} *her*^{DAT} *today finally once a book*^{ACC} *gives, then ...*
'If finally Hans gives her a book today, then …'
c. Wenn de Hans heut se wieder net trifft, dann ….
if the Hans^{NOM} *today her*^{ACC} *again (not) meets, then ...*
'If once again Hans doesn't meet her today, then …'
d. Wenn de Hans heut 'r e' Buch schenke würd, dann …
if the Hans^{NOM} *today her*^{DAT} *a book*^{ACC} *give would, then*
'If Hans were to give her a book today, then …'
e. Wenn die Maria 's Buch 'm heut wieder net gibt, dann …
if the Mary^{NOM} *the book*^{ACC} *him*^{DAT} *today again not gives, then*
'If once again Maria doesn't give the book to him today, then …'
f. Wenn die Maria 'm Peter 's wieder net gibt, dann …
if the Mary^{NOM} *the Peter*^{DAT} *it*^{ACC} *again not gives, then ...*
'If once again Maria doesn't give the book to Peter, then …'

Given the striking parallel between these facts and the (re-)ordering possibilities of full DPs in German,[25] we suggest that the 'best' theory of *scrambling* (incorporating assumptions about discourse, information structure, and phonotactics) is adequate for both domains at the same time. We therefore assume that RPs in the MF are positioned by a scrambling operation. By the same token, no X°-positions in that clausal region have to be relied on in our account. This means that RPs do not furnish evidence in favor of head-initial functional projections between COMP and VP.

Proponents of an X°-approach to RP placement in Germanic OV-languages have primarily concentrated on Dutch and West Flemish. One of their central goals has been to account for observation (29).

(29) Clause-internally, non-prominent argument pronouns in Dutch and West Flemish never occur in positions lower than the ones accessible to their full (definite, unfocussed) DP-counterparts.

Starting from the clause-structure in (30), this falls out directly, if non-prominent argument pronouns are placed in their respective agreement projections (cf. Zwart 1997:194, 276).

various places. Further research will have to deal with phonological phrasing in German, and the conditions on where to fit in RPs.

[25] For the latter see a.o. Lenerz (1977), Höhle (1982), Uszkoreit (1986), Reis (1987), Jacobs (1988), Stechow & Sternefeld (1988), Grewendorf & Sternefeld (eds.) (1990), Vikner (1990, 1994), Webelhuth (1990), Diesing (1992), Fanselow (1993, 2001), Haider (1993), Rosengren (1993), Bayer & Kornfilt (1994), Müller (1995, 1998a, 1999), Meinunger (1996), Frey & Pittner (1998), and Haider & Rosengren (1998), Choi (1999).

(30) $[_{CP}\ [_{C'}\ C°\ [_{AgrSP}\ [_{AgrS'}\ AgrS°\ [_{TP}\ [_{T'}\ T°\ [_{AgrIOP}\ [_{AgrIO'}\ AgrIO°\ [_{AgrDOP}\ [_{AgrDO'}\ AgrDO°\ [_{VP}\ ]]]]]]]]]]$

This approach often goes along with the assumption that scrambling in Dutch and West Flemish can adequately be dealt with in terms of A-movement to specifiers of Agr-phrases. The observation that scrambling in these languages tends to be order-preserving (SU < IO < DO) would count as crucial support for such a hypothesis.[26] [27]

[26] See Vikner (1990). Given the behavior of Dutch 'PP-objects', which pattern with 'NP-objects' wrt clause-internal positioning, Vikner (1990:4.21) calls an A-movement approach into question. Neeleman (1994:409) argues that scrambling via A-movement at least cannot be Case-driven. Webelhuth's (1990) classical argument against reducing scrambling to A-movement, built on the alleged capability of scrambled NPs to license parasitic gaps, continues to divide the community. Thus, parasitic gaps are taken by Mulder & den Dikken (1991) to be crucial evidence for an adjunction approach to scrambling, while its relevance is dismissed by Zwart (1993:319), who conjectures that "scrambling induced parasitic gaps are not really parasitic gaps." For further critical remarks see Fanselow (2001). As far as we can see, Hessian (and also Suebian) RPs scrambled across the subject can license what used to be called parasitic gaps, as (i) shows (*'n = den Brief* / 'the letter').

(i) weil 'n$_1$ de Hans [ohne t$_1$ aazugucke] t$_1$ weggeworfe hat [He]
because him^{ACC} the Hans^{NOM} without to-look-at thrown-away has
'because Hans threw it away without looking at it'

[27] Müller (1998a:36) suggests that the apparent order-preservingness of Dutch scrambling can be captured by an OT-constraint called 'Parallel Movement', which is defined as follows:

(i) PAR-MOVE (Müller 1998a:15)
"[I]f α c-commands β at level L_n, then α c-commands β at level L_{n+1} (where α and β are arguments)"

If PAR-MOVE is indeed applicable and if the relevant syntactic levels to be optimized by PAR-MOVE are D- and S-structure, the base-order of the Dutch VP requires IO to precede DO. This would seem to commit Müller's theory to the prediction that anaphor binding in Dutch differs from German (cf. Müller 1997). There the contrast between (ii) and (iii) is taken as crucial evidence for a DO<IO base-order (cf. ibid.:6).

(ii) dass er die Gäste$_1$ einander$_1$ vorstellte [G]
that he^{NOM} the guests^{ACC} each other^{DAT} introduced
'that he introduced the guests to each other'

(iii) *dass er den Gästen$_1$ einander$_1$ vorstellte
that he^{NOM} the guests^{DAT} each other^{ACC} introduced
'that he introduced the guests to each other'

(iii) is considered a case of IO-scrambling over the DO-anaphor. Scrambling under that view must not create new binding possibilities. Broekhuis (1992:85), however, provides the following piece of evidence for Dutch.

(iv) hij heeft die mensen$_1$ elkaar$_1$ aanbevolen [D]
he^{SU} has the people$^{IO/DO}$ each other$^{DO/IO}$ to-ordered
'He recommended the people to each other'

There are two main interpretations of these cases. a) This is indeed an IO binding a DO reciprocal. That is reported to be the position of Daalder & Blom (1976), "based on the implicit assumption that the direct object cannot precede the indirect object in Dutch" (Broekhuis 1992:85,fn7). Position a) would be fully in support of Müller's approach if the D-structure of Dutch differed from the German one in that IO c-commands DO at that level. b) Rejecting the implicit premise of position a), one can take *die mensen* to be a DO binding an IO. That is the interpretation of Broekhuis (ibid.) also confirmed by Wartena (p.c.). If true, this would imply – pace Müller (1998a) – that scrambling *can* create new binding relations. Alternatively, (iv) would represent the unscrambled base order of Dutch, as a consequence of which the IO < DO default order is a result of scrambling rather than parallel movement.

Obviously, placing non-prominent pronouns in the specifiers of the respective Agr-projections would already suffice to derive (29).[28] This is clearly adequate for *neutral* pronouns in West Flemish, given that "[p]ronouns pattern essentially with NPs" (Haegeman 1993:142). However, there are "three elements whose distribution cannot be equated to that of the other pronouns" (ibid.). Thus, "[u]nlike the related pronoun, IO clitic *ze* can precede the subject, and DO *ze*, *t*, and *er* can precede IO or subject" (ibid.). Although Haegeman (1993) develops an X°-account for these elements, she takes it to be "unlikely that these clitic positions correspond to the traditional functional heads posited in the literature" (ibid.:147).[29] Crucially, the additional 'clitic'-heads are immunized against interaction with finite verb movement by assuming the latter to be able to either excorporate from or skip such X°-positions (ibid.:149). Thus, one loses one of the crucial independent criteria for clause-internal pronominal X°-positions, namely, non-trivial interaction with the one *bona fide* X°-element, the finite verb.[30]

Although we hesitate to try to extend our account of German to West Flemish, we will offer some speculations in Gärtner & Steinbach (to appear) as for the exceptional behavior of the 'clitic' elements mentioned above.

Zwart (1997), on the other hand, takes both Dutch and West Flemish 'clitics' to be amenable to a treatment in terms of obligatory overt adjunction to Agr°.[31] Again, generalization (29) falls out directly, provided that adjunction to AgrS', AgrIO', and AgrDO' is banned. Deriving additional positions and regulating the interaction with finite verb-movement, though, leads to a system that, as we will show, overgenerates quite seriously. While Dutch DO-'clitics' seem to be unable to follow a full-DP IO, (31a) (ibid.:124), their West Flemish counterparts can do so, (31b) (ibid.:129).

(31) a.??dat Jan Marie 't gegeven heeft [D]
that Jan^{SU} *Mary*^{IO} *it*^{DO} *given has*
'that Jan has given it to Mary'
b. da Jan Marie 't gegeven eet [WF]

[28] Obligatory (indirectly Case-driven) overt placement of RPs in Spec,Agr is advocated for Dutch by Corver & Delfitto (1999) as a first step in the licensing of such elements. They assume that RPs undergo an additional overt X°-movement step. However, they only "focus on the question why clitic/weak pronouns move at all, and not so much on the question where they get moved to" (ibid.:848,fn2). Thus "[w]hat is relevant to us is that clitic placement involves head movement to some head category in which 'familiarity' is encoded" (ibid.:fn7). The theory-independent evidence they provide to show "that movement of weak pronouns should be distinguished from scrambling of full nominal phrases" (ibid.:805) does not substantially differ from what will be discussed below. We conclude that their approach can be translated back into our XP-movement approach to 'clitics'.

[29] Haegeman's account is left somewhat vague, in that various options concerning the exact number and position of clitic phrases and additional X°-movement steps are left open. For a critique see Zwart (1992).

[30] See Vikner & Schwartz (1996:48f) for a fuller discussion of this point.

[31] Zwart (1997:267) actually cautions readers that he is providing no more than a 'tentative approach'. Note that, for the sake of brevity, we use his term 'clitic' instead of our term RP where we directly relate his theory.

For (31b), it is assumed that the "object clitic remains in AgrO" (ibid.:275). Given that in both languages the derivation of (31) requires overt F(v)[32]-to-AgrDO°, AgrDO°-to-AgrIO°, AgrIO°-to-T°, T°-to-AgrS°, and AgrS°-to-C° movement, the distinction has to be made by allowing West Flemish to strand the direct object 'clitic' (DO-CL) in AgrDO° or AgrIO°, while the same item has to be pied-piped at least up to T° in Dutch. Looking only at 'clitics', however, one observes that the Dutch DO-CL can surface behind an IO-CL, as illustrated in (32a).[33]

(32) a.? dat Jan 'r 't gegeven heeft [D]
that Jan^{SU} *her*^{IO} *it*^{DO} *given has*
'that Jan has given it to her'
b. dat Jan 't 'r gegeven heeft

Given that stranding in AgrIO° has just been ruled out for Dutch DO-CL, an extra assumption is called for. Indeed, DO-CL is allowed to adjoin to IO-CL by short X°-movement after it has been pied-piped by AgrDO°-to-AgrIO° movement. The resulting structure looks like (33) (ibid.:279).

(33) $[_{AgrIO°}\ [_{IO\text{-}CL}\ \text{DO-CL}_1\ \text{IO-CL}\ ]\ [_{AgrIO°}\ [_{AgrDO°}\ t_1\ [_{AgrDO°}\ \text{F(v)}\ \text{AgrDO°}\ ]]\ \text{AgrIO°}\ ]]$

(33) is supposed to underlie both examples in (32), given that "[…] Morphology interprets these clitics as a cluster, i.e. as a complex without clear hierarchical organization. As a result, we expect the ordering of the clitics to be determined by other factors […]" (ibid.:279).

[32] F(v) designates the formal features of the finite verb. The actual positioning of the morphology-visible lexical content of the verb, LC(v), is a separate operation in Zwart's system. See Gärtner & Steinbach (to appear).

[33] There is said to be a "slight preference" for (32b) over (32a) (ibid.:124). See Abraham & Wiegel (1993) for data showing similar asymmetries in double-object RP clusters of some southern Germanic languages. However, such a contrast is lacking from Hessian, Suebian, and Bavarian (for the latter see Bayer 1984). In fact, the preference may be due to purely phonological constraints (cf. Gärtner & Steinbach (to appear)). Thus, van de Vijver (p.c.) finds (i) and (ii) unobjectionable.

(i) dat Jan 'm 't gegeven heeft
that Jan^{SU} him^{IO} it^{DO} given has
'that Jan has given it to him'

(ii) dat Jan ze 't gegeven heeft [D]
that Jan^{SU} them^{IO} it^{DO} given has
'that Jan has given it to them'

Jaspers (1989:243), on the other hand, stars the counterpart of (i). Likewise, variants of (32b) are degraded for some speakers, as (iii) shows (van de Vijver, p.c.).

(iii) ??dat Jan 't ze gegeven heeft [D]
that Jan^{SU} it^{DO} them^{IO} given has
'that Jan has given it to them'

A consequence of putting the word order variation in (32) to the X° status of RPs would appear to be that Dutch *neutral* pronouns have to be X° categories as well. Thus, note the following alternation, pointed out by Geerts et al. (eds.)(1984:984).

(iv) a. Lever hem mij uit
Deliver him^{DO} me^{IO} out
'Turn him over to me'

b. Lever mij hem uit [D]
Deliver me^{IO} him^{DO} out
'Turn him over to me'

The chances for working out such an analysis in an insightful fashion seem to us even more bleak than the ones for the X°-approach to RPs rejected in the following.

Relative to the subject in embedded clauses, Dutch shows a preference for putting object clitics into an immediately right-adjacent position, as already shown in (32). Separation by a sentence adverbial is reported to be acceptable only where that adverbial carries stress, as indicated in (34) (ibid.:123).[34]

(34) a.? dat Jan GISteren 'r gekust heeft [D]
that Jan^{SU} *yesterday her*^{DO} *kissed has*
'that Jan kissed her yesterday'
b. dat Jan 'r gisteren gekust heeft

While (34b) is taken to be derived by pied-piping the 'clitics' into AgrS° (cf. ibid.:271), (34a) would seem to require some (optional) stranding of DO-CL in T°, again sticking to the assumption made above that AgrDO° and AgrIO° are not available 'clitic'-stranding sites in Dutch, and sticking to the condition that there be no adjunction of adverbs to AgrS'.[35]

One of the most striking differences between Dutch and West Flemish wrt 'clitic' positioning concerns the slot between C° and subjects in Spec,AgrSP.[36]

(35) a.* dat 'r Jan gekust heeft [D]
b.* Gisteren heeft 'r Jan gekust
c. da 't Jan Marie gisteren gegeven eet [WF]
that it^{DO} *Jan*^{SU} *Mary*^{IO} *yesterday given has*
'that Jan gave it to Mary yesterday'
d. Gisteren ee ze Marie Valère getoogd [WF]
Yesterday has them^{DO} *Mary*^{SU} *Valère*^{IO} *shown*
'Yesterday, Mary showed them to Valère'

Thus, Dutch 'clitics' must be stranded in AgrS° (or T°) while their West Flemish counterparts may be pied-piped by AgrS°-to-C° movement. Again this has to be stipulated.[37]

[34] That in fact both slots around a temporal adverbial are accessible for 'clitics' in Dutch is suggested by (i), which Vikner & Schwartz (1996:58,fn42) attribute to Ad Neeleman.

(i) dat Jan 't gisteren 'm eindelijk gegeven heeft [D]
that Jan ^{SU} it ^{DO} yesterday him ^{IO} finally given has
'that yesterday Jan finally gave it to him'

[35] AgrIO° may be missing in (32). Stranding of DO-CL in T° is less straightforward than might be expected. The result of AgrDO°-to-T° looks like (i):

(i) [T° [AgrDO° DO-CL [AgrDO° F(v) AgrDO°]] T°]

Since T°-to-AgrS° has to pied-pipe F(v), (ibid.:252f), an intermediate step is necessary to create a constituent that includes T° and F(v) while excluding DO-CL. Two options seem to arise: a) short F(v)-to-T° targeting the lowest T° and then moving the resulting [T° F(v) T°] structure, or b) short DO-CL-to-T° targeting the highest T° projection and then moving the lower T°-remnant. We would be inclined to think that b) is the more likely option under Zwart's morphosyntactic approach, since it keeps the functional information of verbal morphology (represented by AgrDO° and T°) available in one head.

[36] (35a)/(35b) are given in Zwart (1997:35), (35c) (ibid.:276), and (35d) in Zwart (1992:80).

[37] Note that "dialects spoken in the South of the Netherlands" seem to pattern with West Flemish (see Zwart 1997:35fn31,32). This may be in keeping with our conjecture concerning dialectal boundaries (see section 2).

Such a stipulation looks especially suspicious for Dutch, given the well-known ban on scrambling to the front of (definite, unfocused) subjects of transitive constructions, illustrated in (36).[38]

(36) a.* dat de boeken Jan niet koopt [D]
that the books^{DO} *Jan*^{SU} *not buys*
'that Jan doesn't buy the books'
b.* Gisteren heeft het boek Jan gelezen
Yesterday has the book^{DO} *Jan*^{SU} *read*
'Yesterday, Jan read the book'

Clearly, from our perspective of treating RP placement and XP-scrambling alike, the patterns in (35a)/(35b) and (36) look like a missed generalization if the former examples have to be filtered out by forcing AgrS°-movement to C° to strand X°-'clitics'.[39]

Crucially, if *'r* in (34b) is located somewhere inside AgrS°, it must be made sure that short DO-CL-shift of the type applied inside AgrIO°, as we've seen in (33) above, does not lead to unwelcome orders if applied inside AgrS° under the presence of a subject 'clitic'. The kind of configuration we have in mind looks as follows (cf. Zwart 1997:271, 272 example (57) and 274 example (59)):

(37) $[_{AgrS°}$ SCL $[_{AgrS°}$ $[_{T°}$ $[_{AgrO°}$ OCL $[_{AgrO°}$ F(v) AgrO°]] T°] AgrS°]]

[38] (36a) is taken from Neeleman (1994:395), (36b) is due to van de Vijver (p.c.). As is clear from Neeleman (1994) the scrambled objects in (36) must be deaccented.

[39] The generalization we're after has been made explicitly in Hinterhölzl (1999:15fn3). Thanks to the author for pointing this out to us. It is also latently present in Vikner (1994:510), where it is suggested that (i) and (ii) could be ruled out by assuming that "[o]bject shift cannot adjoin to IP: A-movement cannot cross an A-position (IP-spec) […]."

(i) *dat deze man Peter nooit voordien gezien heeft [D]
that that man ^{DO} Peter ^{SU} never before seen has
'that Peter never before has seen that man'

(ii) *Waarom heeft 't Jan gekocht
Why has it ^{DO} Jan ^{SU} bought
'Why has Jan bought it'

The A-movement approach is, however, discarded on independent grounds without giving another account instead. Neither are the implications (ii) might have for the cliticization controversy mentioned. Note, incidentally, that the same questions arise for CL-stranding in AgrS° as they did for CL-stranding in T°. See footnote 35. Deriving the right order for DO-CL and the complementizer in C°, as required for West Flemish, is also more complicated than one might expect. Thus, iterated X°-movement proceeding by left-adjunction would yield the following complex C°-node for West Flemish (33c) (cf. Zwart 1997:274).

(iii) [C° [AgrS° [T° [AgrDO° DO-CL [AgrDO° F(v) AgrDO°]] T°] AgrS°] C°-LC(c)]

On a strict interpretation of Kayne's (1994) LCA, mapping asymmetric c-command onto linear precedence, one would expect DO-CL to precede C°, given Kayne's definition of c-command, which yields the following results for X°-complexes: if X° adjoins to Y°, then X° precedes Y°. Thus, we get F(v)<AgrDO°, DO-CL<AgrDO°, AgrDO°<T°, T°<AgrS° and AgrS°<C°. By transitivity, DO-CL precedes C°. Note also that without further assumptions DO-CL and F(v) would be unordered wrt each other. Given that the order in (35c) is the opposite of the one just computed, an additional assumption is needed. Zwart (1997) develops a procedure that orders constituents on the basis of the labels defined by the operation Merge. The exact algorithm is somewhat hard to recover from the text, so we cannot assess its adequacy.

If OCL-to-SCL took place in analogy to DO-CL-to-IO-CL in (33), it is not easy to see how COMP < OCL < SCL-orders like (38) can be prevented.[40]

(38) a.* dat 't ze gezien heeft [D]
that it^{DO} *she*^{SU} *seen has*
'… that she saw it'

b.* dat 'r je gezien hebt
that her^{DO} *you*^{SU} *seen have*
'… that you saw her'

c.* dat 'm 'k gezien heb
that him^{DO} *I*^{SU} *seen have*
'… that I saw him'

Thus, while the X°-approach looks extremely dubious for Dutch and West Flemish, prevented from massive overgeneration by mere stipulation, it is most likely on the wrong track wrt Hessian, where (object-) RP placement targets the *bona fide* scrambling positions. In terms of Zwart's (1997) X°-approach, this would mean that object 'clitics' can always either be stranded or be pied-piped by finite F(v)-movement. Such a state-of-affairs appears to be equivalent to complete non-interaction of the finite verb and object RPs in the MF. Obviously, then, no *empirical* argument in favor of X°-positions to the left of VP below C° can be derived from this domain of grammar.

We therefore disagree with Grohmann (1997:181fn17), who states that "the more [word order; H.M.G. & M.S.] possibilities there are, the harder a unified analysis becomes." Quite on the contrary, we suggest that RP placement in (southern variants of) German is a subcase of scrambling. Thus, the *more* word order possibilities there are, the *easier* the account gets.

At the same time we agree with Zwart (1997:277) "that the Minimalist Program is ill equipped to deal with optional movement phenomena."[41] This need not be construed as a weakness of the MP, but could simply imply that 'stylistic phenomena', scrambling among them, lie outside its scope altogether.

Interestingly, though, a closer look at Dutch suggests that the only real 'clitic-puzzle', i.e. something that requires a non-trivial account, is posed by (35a)/(35b). Thus, the relative unacceptability of (31a) can be challenged, that is, some speakers of Dutch find that sentence acceptable as indicated in (39b) (van de Vijver p.c.). If so, the picture emerging for IO<DO-orders would be as in (39). For (39a) see Zwart (1997:32).

[40] As already indicated in footnote 35, T° would seem to be available as an intermediate attachment site, given the analysis of stranding. Note that we are not saying that there is no solution for all of this. We are just trying to convey our intuition that it may well be difficult to keep the combinatorial possibilities of the X°-internal approach to 'clitics' (pied-piping, stranding, short-shift, and morphological LC(v) placement) under control in an insightful fashion. We'll come back to structures like (37) in Gärtner & Steinbach (to appear).

[41] Assuming optional Σ-features (Σ = 'scrambling') on Agr-heads, to be checked via adjunction to AgrP (Grewendorf & Sabel 1997:62), while technically feasible, raises the follow-up question as to what motivates insertion of Σ. A successful account of scrambling in German and Dutch seems to require an interface-oriented approach that allows for at least some competing (violable) principles. See a.o. Reinhart (1997), Neeleman & Reinhart (1998), and Müller (1998a, 1999).

(39) a. dat Jan Marie het boek gegeven heeft [D]
b. dat Jan Marie 't gegeven heeft

Within Zwart's system, the well-formedness of (39b) would indicate that – contrary to what had to be assumed above – DO-CL *can* be stranded in AgrDO° or AgrIO°. This state-of-affairs we again interpret as evidence for the non-interaction between the finite verb (features) and 'clitics'.

Now the opposite order in (40) (Zwart 1993:130f), i.e. DO<IO, is taken to show the crucial contrast.[42]

(40) a.??dat Jan het boek Marie gegeven heeft [D]
b. dat Jan 't Marie gegeven heeft

However, whatever is responsible for the degraded status of (40a), DO < IO orders are not ruled out in principle. Thus, Koster (1986:5) reports on examples like (41), which are unobjectionable.[43]

(41) Hij gaf het boek Marie cadeau [D]
He^{SU} *gave the book*^{DO} *Mary*^{IO} *present*
'He gave Mary the book as a present'

What seems to be going on in (41), is familiar from scrambling in German. The default position of clausal nuclear stress in German is on the final constituent in the MF (cf. a.o. Höhle 1982, Jacobs 1988, 1993, Stechow 1991, and Krifka 1998). As long as the MF-constituents are in their canonical order, stress on the final one, call it Ω, leads to an information-structual ambiguity, in so far as semantic focus can be attributed to Ω or any constituent containing Ω. If a larger constituent containing Ω is interpreted as focus, focus is said to have 'projected' and Ω is called the 'focus exponent' (henceforth FE). Adverbs and pronouns cannot serve as FE. Exclusively stressing an adverb or a pronoun is therefore

[42] Although (40a) is conspicuously absent from Mulder & den Dikken (1991), their theory would seem to predict this kind of example to be straightforward. In fact, they appear to provide at least four alternative derivations for such a string. First, simple scrambling of DO across IO.

(i) dat Jan het boek$_1$ Marie t$_1$ gegeven heeft [D]

Second, short scrambling of IO plus scrambling of DO across the landing site of IO.

(ii) dat Jan het boek$_1$ Marie$_2$ t$_2$ t$_1$ gegeven heeft [D]

(ii) satisfies Pesetsky's *Path Containment Condition*, which the authors adopt (ibid.:73). Third, base-generating IO as a 'concealed' PP below the base position of DO.

(iii) dat Jan het boek [$_{PP}$ ∅ Marie] gegeven heeft [D]

Fourth, applying short scrambling to DO in (iii), as illustrated in (iv).

(iv) dat Jan het boek$_1$ t$_1$ [$_{PP}$ ∅ Marie] gegeven heeft [D]

[43] Interestingly, Koster (1986) considers the equivalent of (40a) to be just "somewhat unnatural", i.e. it receives only one question mark. V2-order does not influence the point at issue here. Thus, judgments and analyses will be the same for the V-final variant of (39), as Wartena (p.c.) informs us. Further examples of "surprising" DO-IO-inversions are given in Zwart (1997:32).

(i) dat Jan het boek Marie terug gegeven heeft [D]
that Jan^{SU} the book^{DO} Mary^{IO} back given has
'that Jan gave the book back to Mary'

Since the analysis of (i) may be even more complicated than the analysis of (41), we – reluctantly – refrain from providing it here for the sake of brevity.

interpreted as narrow focus (cf. Schwarzschild 1999 for potential complications). On the other hand, internal arguments of the main clausal predicate constitute the canonical FE, as illustrated in (42).

(42) a. A: Warum sind denn hier alle so aufgeregt? [G]
Why are then here all^{NOM} *so upset*
'Why is everybody so upset over here?'
b. B: Weil ein Zoowärter einem Kind eine TaRANtel gegeben hat
because a zoo-keeper^{NOM} *a child*^{DAT} *a tarantula*^{ACC} *given has*
'because a zoo-keeper gave a child a tarantula'

One of the (many) motivations for scrambling is to narrow the focus by removing backgrounded material from the focus domain (cf. a.o. Jacobs 1988, Rosengren 1993, Reinhart 1997, Haider & Rosengren 1998, and Neeleman & Reinhart 1998). Thus, reordering DO and IO in (43b) makes the result pragmatically somewhat 'odd' in the context provided by (42a) (= 43a).

(43) a. A: Warum sind denn hier alle so aufgeregt? [G]
b.# B: Weil ein Zoowärter eine Tarantel einem KIND gegeben hat
'because a zoo-keeper gave a tarantula to a child'

After scrambling DO over IO, focus would fall on IO in Ω-position, which is semantically interpretable as focus on IO or on the remnant constituent [IO V°]. Crucially, many PPs and secondary predicates can serve as FE when they surface in Ω-position. Thus consider (44).

(44) a. A: Warum sind denn hier alle so aufgeregt? [G]
b. B: Weil ein Zoowärter einem Kind eine Tarantel
because a zoo-keeper^{NOM} *a child*^{DAT} *a tarantula*^{ACC}
als GeSCHENK gegeben hat
as present given has
'because a zoo-keeper gave a child a tarantula as a present'

The facts in (42)-(44) we consider to be the key to an analysis of (40) and (41).[44] Scrambling the FE of (40a) leaves IO in Ω-position. This leads to a narrowing of focus as in (43b). Concomitantly, (40a) – if taken out of the blue – will appear 'marked' to many a linguist's ear, for at least two reasons. First, it is compatible with fewer contexts, where search for an appropriate context – the accomodation of common ground knowledge – could potentially account for degraded acceptability. Secondly, there is a competing DP < PP structure in Dutch,

[44] Judging from Gussenhoven (1984) and Zwart (1997), we have no reason to believe that stress assignment in Dutch should significantly differ from German. It seems, by the way, as if there existed a contextually equivalent alternative of (44b) in which main stress is placed on DO, as shown in (i):

(i) Weil ein Zoowärter einem Kind eine TaRANtel als Geschenk gegeben hat [G]

In this case, *als Geschenk* is felt to form a closer union with the main verb, which is semantically light. See Jacobs (1993) for the outlines of a general theory of such 'integration'-phenomena.

which can express the same thing as (40a), but without scrambling, as illustrated in (45).

(45) dat Jan het boek aan MaRIE gegeven heeft [D]

The PP counts as an FE here. Its semantic focus could be PP itself or the partial constituent [PP V]. Apparently, Dutch speakers prefer to avoid scrambling but rather put stress on PP than on IO-DP. This leads to the one or two question marks for structures like (40a) in the cited literature.[45]

Things are different wrt (41). *Cadeau* serves as FE, whether or not DO has scrambled. The effect of scrambling – an exact analysis of which would lead us too far afield here[46] – is thus much less perceptible, and the example is judged acceptable. We thus conclude that Dutch *does* allow scrambling of DO over IO. The operation only renders the resulting string 'more marked' (cf Müller 1998a, 1999).[47] Likewise, it is no surprise that RPs should be much more scrambling-prone, given that they can't serve as FE in the first place. Consequently, we will extend our analysis of Hessian/German to Dutch and claim that the positioning of RPs in the MF is a subcase of XP-scrambling in *both* languages.

Recall that we already suggested to derive the generalization wrt the ill-formedness of (35a)/(35b) and (36) from a single constraint on scrambling. To

[45] Although we believe that our account is along the lines things should be pursued, further research on the Dutch MF is clearly needed. Thus, note the following contrast pointed out by Corver & Delfitto (1999:806).

(i) a. dat ik het boek gisteren *(aan) Marie gegeven heb [D]
b. dat ik 't gisteren (aan) Marie gegeven heb

[46] There is no evidence that the argument presented here is affected by the more complicated derivation of predicate positions in terms of small clauses and PredP, as proposed by Zwart (1993:IV.2.3.). That such an analysis is not without problems is pointed out by Gärtner & Steinbach (1994:3.2.1). Zwart (1997:102, fn 15) abandons one of the most problematic aspects of the original analysis, namely, overt V°-to-Pred° movement. The exact distributional properties of the new analysis are not addressed.

[47] The following alternation, presented in Broekhuis (1992:82), points in the same direction.

(i) dat ik Jan de boeken aangeboden heb [D]
that I ^{SU} Jan ^{IO} the books ^{DO} to-offered have
'that I offered Jan the books'
(ii) dat ik de boeken Jan aangeboden heb

Likewise, Wartena (p.c.) informs us that (iii) and (iv) can have constant GF-assignment under reordering ('elkaar' = IO, J.O. = DO)

(iii) Zij$_i$ hebben elkaar$_i$ Johannes Ockeghem aanbevolen [D]
They ^{SU} have each other ^{IO} J.O. ^{DO} to-ordered
'They recommended J.O. to each other'
(iv) Zij$_i$ hebben Johannes Ockeghem elkaar$_i$ aanbevolen

GF-assignment (IO/DO) in (iv) seems to be ambiguous, as Veenstra (p.c.) points out to us.

It is hard to decide whether scrambling or (genuine) base-generation is the right approach in the case of verbs like 'aanbevelen' ('recommend'), 'aanraden' ('recommend'), and 'afraden' ('dissuade') (see den Besten 1985:60fn1 and Meinunger 1996 for remarks on similar cases in German). For our purposes it is sufficient to note that Dutch MF-orders are more liberal than often assumed in debates on 'cliticization', i.e. that the case for 'clitic' syntax is vastly overstated. See Vogel & Steinbach (1998) for more work on the base-positions of dative DPs. Further empirical evidence in the same direction is indirectly provided by Geerts et al. (eds.)(1984:988) and directly by Verhagen (1986:204).

flesh this out in more detail, we adopt the proposal by Grewendorf & Sabel (1997) to implement scrambling in terms of a scrambling feature Σ, optionally assigned to an X°-member of the (extended) verbal projection and checked by adjunction to the maximal projection of that head.[48] To capture information-structural effects, it will be necessary to distinguish various instances of Σ. If a scrambled item is deaccented, we take it to have checked Σ^{deacc}. If it is I-topicalized, we take it to have checked $\Sigma^{I\text{-}top}$.[49] Restricting discussion to these two choices for the moment, we propose the following constraint on AgrS°/I° in Dutch.

(46) AgrS°/I° in Dutch cannot be assigned Σ^{deacc}

The pattern in (35a)/(35b) follows immediately, given the requirement on $\Sigma^{I\text{-}top}$ to be checked by an element that bears a special accent (L*H), a condition incompatible with the unstressed status of RPs.

(36) also falls out directly as long as the scrambled DO is deaccented. Thus, DO < SU order is possible as soon as another stress pattern is assigned. This has been observed by Neeleman (1994:395f). (47b) is due to Zwart (1997:29).

(47) a. dat zulke boeken zelfs Jan niet koopt [D]
that such books^{DO} *even Jan*^{SU} *not buys*
'that such books even Jan doesn't buy'

b. dat MaRIE de jongens vaak KUSsen [D]
that Mary^{DO} *the boys*^{SU} *often kiss*
'(that) as for Mary, the boys often KISS her'

DO in both (47a) and (47b) has checked $\Sigma^{I\text{-}top}$. This operation goes along with putting the mentioned L*H accent somewhere inside DO, which gives rise to special pragmatic inferences (cf. Büring 1999). At the same time, an I-topicalized element requires a narrow(er) focus to show up somewhere in its c-command domain. In (47a) this is the focus on *Jan* 'bound' by the focussing particle *zelfs* (*even*). In (47b) focus is on the stressed verb.

Taking adverbs like *vaak* to be attached at the left periphery of VP, we have to assume at least for (47b) that the subject is not in its base position, but in Spec,AgrSP. Consequently, I-topicalization of *Marie* can be taken to have been adjunction to AgrSP, licensed by the checking of $\Sigma^{I\text{-}top}$ in AgrS°. The relevant partial structure would look like (48).[50]

(48) $[_{CP}\ [_{C'}\ dat\ [_{AgrSP}\ MaRIE\ [_{AgrSP}\ de\ jongens\ [_{AgrS'}\ AgrS°\{\Sigma^{I\text{-}top}\}\ [_{TP}\ ]]]]]]$

[48] For our purposes, V° and I°, triggering scrambling to VP and IP, will ultimately be sufficient. In order to yield the correct word-order effects, Σ must not be pied-piped under verb-movement, i.e. it has to be checked before the head it is attached to can move.

[49] See Jacobs (1997), Molnár & Rosengren (1997), Krifka (1998), and Büring (1999) for recent literature on I-topicalization. It must be considered an open issue whether scrambling of focused elements is an option, i.e. whether scrambling can check something like Σ^{focus} (cf. Müller & Sternefeld (1993) and Choi (1999)).

[50] Note that we analyze AgrSP as head-initial for expository purposes only (see Gärtner & Steinbach (to appear)).

The picture that emerges for Dutch and German scrambling is that the two languages differ minimally wrt the presence [D] vs. absence [G]/[He] of constraint (46). At the same time, it seems to us that X°-approaches to the same field of data will have a hard time providing an account that is both insightful wrt the 'markedness' of certain structures and as parsimonious in syntax-internal assumptions.[51]

[51] It would take us too far afield to give a more elaborate account of to what extent examples such as (28) are compatible with the ordering principles mentioned earlier. Suffice it to say that we are not claiming that these examples are statistically as frequent as their counterparts displaying 'higher' pronoun positions. We are only saying that the more insightful theory of German clause-structure, i.e. a version of MPP-plus-strengthening-principles, rules these examples in and looks for an explanation of frequency effects elsewhere. See Gärtner & Steinbach (to appear) for discussion of more urgent cases.

Note, however, that there are remaining areas of 'optional' constituent placement in German, regulated – if at all – by factors of co-text and individual speaker preferences. The alternations in (i) and (ii) would seem to be clear cases of this kind of 'optionality'.

(i) a. dass 'n de Hans gesehe hat [He]
that him ^{ACC} the Hans ^{NOM} seen has
b. dass de Hans 'n gesehe hat
'that Hans saw him'

(ii) a. Da$_1$ hab isch net [t$_1$ mit] gerechnet
there have I ^{NOM} not with reckoned
b. Da$_1$ hab isch net gerechnet [t$_1$ mit]
'I didn't expect that'

See also our conclusion in 4. Our analysis might have to be complicated if it turned out that subjects in Dutch have more positions available to them, as usually assumed in the literature. However, there is little reason to assume such a complication not to affect competing accounts in exactly the same way. Lenerz (1993:144) comes to a similar conclusion wrt Standard German neutral pronouns, while doubting the applicability of a scrambling approach to RPs in Dutch and West Flemish. For Standard German see also Haider & Rosengren (1998). While Starke (1996:416) claims that neutral pronouns in Standard German occupy XP-positions, his fairly vague usage of the term "rigid placement" ("feste Positionierung") (ibid.:418f) does not allow us to draw any strong conclusions as to where he stands on the scrambling issue. Cardinaletti (1999) and Cardinaletti & Starke (1999) do not seem to essentially differ from Starke's (1996) analysis.

On the basis of the contrast in (iii), Müller (1998b) argues that the Standard German RP *es* should not be treated by scrambling.

(iii) a. dass [t$_1$ zu lesen]$_2$ es$_1$ keiner t$_2$ versucht hat [G]
that to read it ^{ACC} no one ^{NOM} tried has
'that no one tried to read it'
b. *dass [t$_1$ zu lesen]$_2$ [das Buch]$_1$ keiner t$_2$ versucht hat
that to read the book ^{ACC} no one ^{NOM} tried has
'that no one tried to read the book'

Note first of all, that this would not vindicate an X°-approach to RPs, given that weak demonstrative *das* seems to pattern with *es*, as shown in (iv).

(iv) dass [t$_1$ zu lesen]$_2$ das$_1$ keiner t$_2$ versucht hat [G]
that to read that ^{ACC} no one ^{NOM} tried has
'that no one tried to read that'

In addition, we don't consider the theory underlying the conjecture that (iiia) cannot be scrambling to be as solid as necessary for it to be taken as decisive. Thus, (iiib) is ruled out on the basis of the postulation that a constituent cannot be α–extracted from an α-moved constituent, for α = scrambling. However, pace Müller (1998b), (v) seems to allow a constituent to be I-topicalized from an I-topicalized constituent.

3.2 ECM

Let us now turn to the *prima facie* clearest case of RP placement in a position unavailable for an XP. Consider the following Dutch ECM-constructions (Zwart 1992:74).

(49) a. dat Jan ['t]$_1$ gisteren Piet t_1 heeft zien doen [D]
that Jan^{SU} *it*^{DO} *yesterday Piet*^{SU} *has seen do*
'that yesterday Jan saw Piet do it'
b.* dat Jan [de afwas]$_1$ gisteren Piet t_1 heeft zien doen
that Jan^{SU} *the dishes*^{DO} *yesterday Piet*^{SU} *has seen do*
'that yesterday Jan saw Piet do the dishes'

This contrast, however, does not carry over to German, since examples like (50) are fairly acceptable.[52]

(50) ? wenn du [ihren Kindern]$_1$ die Mutter t_1 abends [G]
if you^{NOM} *her children*^{DAT} *the mother*^{ACC} *in the evening*
etwas vorsingen hörst
something^{ACC} *sing hear*
'if you hear the mother sing a song to her children in the evening …'

The corresponding version with RPs sounds most natural, if embedded in a larger piece of discourse. Thus (51a) and (51b) should constitute a textual sequence.

(51) a. Was is denn mit den alte Zeitunge? [He]
What is then with the old newspapers
'What's the matter with the old newspapers'
b. Lass [se]$_1$ misch t_1 gleich zum Altpapier bringe
Let them^{ACC} *me*^{ACC} *immediately to the waste paper take*
'Let me take them immediately out to the waste paper bin'

Again, we conclude that at least for German the positioning of RPs and full DPs coincides.[53] Thus, no X°-approach to 'clitics' is called for and no empirical argument in favor of head-initial functional phrases between CP and VP can be built on these grounds. The same case might be harder to argue for Dutch. However, according to Veenstra (p.c.) (52) is acceptable as well.

(v) dass [t_1 zu LESen]$_2$ [DIESes Buch]$_1$ KEINer t_2 versucht hat [G]
that to read this book^{ACC} no one^{NOM} tried has
'that this book, no one tried to read'

[52] Lenerz (1993:142) presents the following example to argue the same case.

(i) wenn du [das Buch]$_1$ eine Kundin t_1 lesen siehst, [G]
if you^{NOM} the book^{ACC} a female customer^{ACC} read see
die dir verdächtig vorkommt
who^{NOM} you^{DAT} suspicious appears
'if you see a female customer that looks suspicious to you read the book …'

Since the ECM-subject is an indefinite here, the example may not be fully comparable to (49b).

[53] See also Cooper (1994:90) for Zurich German.

(52) dat Jan [dat liedje]$_1$ gisteren Piet t_1 heeft horen zingen [D]
that Jan^{SU} *that song*^{DO} *yesterday Piet*^{SU} *has heard sing*
'that yesterday Jan heard Piet sing that song'

We conclude that some kind of scrambling across ECM-subjects must be available even in Dutch, which can then be applied to the RP in (49a) as well.[54]

3.3 VP-Fronting

VP-fronting is another area of syntax standardly assumed to give indirect evidence for the structure of the MF in Dutch and German. Applying this diagnostic to RP placement, though, is not as common as one might wish.[55] Zwart (1992:77fn8), however, presents the following Dutch example.[56]

(53) ['r gegeven] heb ik 't niet [D]
her^{IO} *given have I*^{SU} *it*^{DO} *not*

Now, a direct movement approach to VP-fronting would postulate a VP-trace to the right of *niet* in (53) (cf. den Besten & Webelhuth 1990). In the light of the foregoing discussion, at least two important questions arise. First, how is the RP within the fronted constituent licensed? Secondly, what is the structure of the 'VP-less' MF? To answer the first question, Zwart (1991:84) suggests "that some functional projection is preposed along with the VP". The example actually discussed there is (54).

(54) ['t 'm geven] (dat) deed ik zelden [D]
it^{DO} *him*^{IO} *give that do I*^{SU} *seldom*

In keeping with our earlier discussion of generalization (29), we must assume the fronted constituent to be at least (a lower segment of) AgrIOP.[57] The IO-CL

[54] The quasi-idiomatic status of *de afwas doen*, resulting in reduced 'separability', might be responsible for the degraded status of (49b).

[55] It is conspicuously absent from the overview of Cardinaletti (1999).

[56] Note the object 'clitic' *'r* in absolute string-initial position. We'll come to potential restrictions on that phenomenon in Gärtner & Steinbach (to appear).

[57] The adverb *zelden* could be attached to a higher segment of AgrIOP or TP. The existence of examples like (i) forces another interesting conclusion on this kind of analysis.

(i) [geven] (dat) deed ik 't 'm zelden [D]
give that do I^{SU} it^{DO} him^{IO} seldom

If the 'clitics' are in AgrIO° in (i) as well, the adverb must be attached lower than that this time. AgrDOP or VP would be possible adjunction sites. Aware of this kind of optionality, Zwart (1997:91) assumes that "adverbs may be generated in various positions." Now, recall that the order adverb<RP in (34) went along with a narrowing of focus (i.e. number of compatible context types) while the order RP<adverb is perceived as 'more neutral'. Clearly, it cannot simply be high vs. low attachment of the adverb that causes this effect. Some relativity seems to be involved instead. Thus, it makes a difference whether or not the RPs are in the surface scope of the adverb. Otherwise, (54) would have to be as 'marked' as (34a), which it doesn't seem to be. Of course, principles of information structure distinguish the two examples. Thus, the adverb in (54) is most naturally construed as

within the fronted constituent of (53) and (54) seems to require the latter to be at least an AgrIOP. The lowest possible attachment site for negation or adverbials would have to be a (stranded) higher segment of AgrIOP, as indicated in (55) (Wartena p.c.).

(55) [$_{CP}$ [$_{AgrIOP}$ 'm gegeven]$_1$ heeft [$_{AgrSP}$ Jan het boek [$_{AgrIOP}$ niet t_1]]] [D]

The obvious question to ask wrt (55) is the following. How come, DO is attached higher than AgrIOP? The original assumption of a fixed AgrIOP $<_D$ AgrDOP hierarchy is clearly not sufficient. Two remedies suggest themselves immediately. Either one allows an extra short-scrambling of DO across IO before AgrIOP is fronted. This could be taken to be similar to the short DO-CL shift allegedly necessary to account for (32b). Alternatively, one could optionally base-generate AgrDOP higher than AgrIOP. Of course, this has not (yet) been proposed explicitly, so we are speculating here.[58] Anyway, we are inclined to think that both repair strategies would have an irrevocable flavor of *ad hoc*ness to them. Thus, even if one were not convinced by our more complicated argument in favor of the ('marked'/'virtual') existence of DO<IO-orders such as (35a) developed in section 3.1, one would have to allow such orderings in the Dutch MF after all, in order to properly analyze VP-fronting. Most importantly, the consequence of adopting either of the two strategies makes the Agr-approach to argument placement in the MF of Dutch and German virtually indistinguishable from 'traditional' scrambling analyses based on the cruder CP $<_D$ IP $<_D$ VP distinction of Chomsky (1986), which allow XP-objects – RPs among them, as we have argued – to freely adjoin to VP and IP. VP-fronting therefore provides another potentially strong argument in favor of our XP-plus-scrambling approach to the positioning of RPs in the MF of Dutch and German.

Of course, we cannot do justice to the complexities of (remnant) VP-fronting here but refer the reader to den Besten & Webelhuth (1990), Haider (1990), and Müller (1998b).[59]

part of the focus ('rhematic'), while the one in (34a) is most easily taken to be 'I-topicalized'. As already noted, the latter operation requires a special accent, which, as also already noted, we count among the typical effects of reordering phenomena in the MF.

[58] Note that altering the distribution of AgrOPs fairly freely is well-known from 'minimalist' analyses of verb-argument interspersals in participial and infinitival constructions (cf. den Dikken 1996, Zwart 1993: IV.2). See Bayer & Kornfilt (1994:29) for a critique of accounting for the scrambling of DO across SU in German by optionally reversing the order of AgrSP and AgrOP. See Iatridou (1990), Chomsky (1995:4.10), and Müller (1998b) for different versions of 'Agr-skepticism' and Thráinsson (1996) for a compromise.

[59] Whether or not VP-fronting can be reduced to Left-Dislocation in the sense that the fronted XP is base-generated rather than moved is an independent but difficult matter to decide. The following contrasts from German would seem to count against such a move (cf. Haider 1990).

(i) a. ? [Nobelpreisträger angerufen] haben mich nur selten [G]
Nobelprizewinners ^{NOM} called up have me ^{ACC} only rarely
'Only rarely did winners of the Nobel-prize call me up'

b. * [Nobelpreisträger angerufen], das haben mich nur selten
Nobelprizewinners ^{NOM} called up that have me ^{ACC} only rarely

3.4 Subject Positions

It should be clear from section 3.1 why in V-final clauses subjects, especially deaccented definite ones, show a strong tendency to surface in the leftmost position of the MF. Call this the 'α-position'. Such an effect is, of course, strongest for neutral and reduced pronominal subjects. In Dutch, principle (46) contributes further to this tendency. Nevertheless, from our perspective we expect exceptions to arise under 'favorable circumstances'. Thus, consider the alternations in (56).[60]

(56) a. weil 's 'm gefalle hat [He]
because it^{NOM} *him*^{DAT} *pleased has*
b. weil 'm 's gefalle hat
b. weil se (/)MIR NET(\) gefalle habbe
because they^{NOM} *me*^{DAT} *not pleased have*
d. weil (/)MIR se NET(\) gefalle habbe

In order to be able to say more about the inversion in (56b) and (56d), we have to discuss another more basic factor responsible for MF ordering. Let us begin with the triviality that, as soon as more than one argument of a clausal predicate is expressed, one has to precede the other. Normally, this order reflects the GF-hierarchy SU < IO < DO and/or case-hierarchy NOM < DAT < ACC.[61] The mapping of arguments into a position of these hierarchies depends, as is also well-known, on the semantics of the predicate, which implies certain semantic properties of its arguments, crucial ones stemming from the domain of animateness, agentivity, volition, and causation etc. In Germanic languages, arguments with more 'Proto-Agent entailments' are likely to surface as SU/NOM in active sentences, while the ones with more 'Proto-Patient entailments' are likely to become DO/ACC.[62] For 'psych-predicates' like 'gefallen', these semantic properties are more symmetrically distributed among the two arguments, which results in a much looser hierarchization. This manifests itself in enhanced permutability, as shown in (56), and free choice of which argument may serve as focus exponent in Ω-position.[63]

(ii) a. [Bücher lesen] tut der Hans
books^{ACC} read does the Hans^{NOM}
b. [Bücher lesen], das tut der Hans
books^{ACC} read that does the Hans^{NOM}
c. * [Bücher lesen] macht der Hans
books^{ACC} read makes the Hans^{NOM}
d. [Bücher lesen], das macht der Hans
books^{ACC} read that makes the Hans^{NOM}

Example (ii) is taken from Gärtner & Steinbach (1994:48,fn69).

[60] See Grohmann (1997:178) for more German examples.

[61] Note that these hierarchies differ from the ones concerning 'extractability' (cf. Keenan & Comrie 1977) and 'obliqueness' (cf. Pollard & Sag 1994 and Steinbach 2002).

[62] See Dowty (1991) and Kameyama (1999) for further details.

[63] See Höhle (1982), Reis (1987), and Jacobs (1993). We'll come back to this in Gärtner & Steinbach (to appear).

Although a lot of further research is required to integrate these facts into a full-fledged theory of Dutch and German word order,[64] it suffices here to point out that simplistic (SPP-) treatments of subject RPs in terms of COMP-oriented 'Wackernagelization' are non-obvious.

Nevertheless there seems to be a wide-spread opinion among syntacticians that more can be said about the positioning of neutral and reduced subject pronouns in the MF of Dutch and German. Thus, to the extent that right-adjacency to COMP is considered strict, a 'Wackernagel-effect' (henceforth WE) tends to be diagnosed. At the same time, there is an absence of insightful, comprehensive, and consistent syntactic analyses of that WE.

Proposals, of course, have been made. These vacillate between the assumption of specialized 'clitic' phrases between COMP and Spec,IP (cf. a.o. Tomaselli 1990, Platzack 1996, and Müller 1998a, 1998b, 1999), and syntactic adjunction of pronouns to C° (cf. Tomaselli 1990, Cooper 1994, and Zwart 1997). In fact, our approach would not exclude the addition of an extra 'strengthening principle' for neutral and reduced subject pronouns. However, we have not yet found a satisfactory formulation of such a principle, a fact that correlates with the as of yet absence of satisfactory phrase structural SPP-style analyses. Since an analysis of subject pronouns has to be consistent with their ability to surface in the initial position of V2-clauses, we will have more to say about them in Gärtner & Steinbach (to appear).

4 Conclusion

We have provided substantial evidence that RPs in Dutch and German can access exactly the same clause-internal syntactic positions as their (deaccented, definite) full DP counterparts. It follows that they should not be conceived of as 'special clitics'. Therefore, (Agr-based) X°-approaches to the positioning of these elements appear to be on the wrong track. Indeed, we have argued that the few more explicit proposals of this kind of approach lead to serious empirical, technical, and conceptual problems. These shortcomings can only be patched up by means of unilluminating *ad hoc* ('weakening') principles.

Thus, contrary to what is occasionally claimed in the literature,

(57) RPs do not provide evidence for the existence of head-initial functional projections between COMP and VP in Dutch and German.

More specifically, we suggest that all Dutch and German RPs are XPs. In addition we rely on a barriers-style phrase structure (Chomsky 1986), built on a CP $<_D$ IP $<_D$ VP-hierarchy. MF word order variation in these languages is largely due to XP-scrambling, construed as adjunction to VP and IP. The most attractive aspect of treating RPs on a par with their full DP counterparts is that

[64] See Sternefeld (1985) on the status of GFs, den Besten (1985, 1989) and Primus (1999) on 'ergativity', and Vogel & Steinbach (1998) on dative case and argumenthood.

the syntactic topology of Dutch and German can be stated in the most general way. Thus, the fact that, in the Dutch MF, definite subjects cannot be preceded by any other deaccented argument, RPs included, can be made to follow from a single principle. We suggest that (46) serves that purpose.

(46) AgrS°/I° in Dutch cannot be assigned Σ^{deacc}

Zooming in on the 'microdistribution' of RPs, we observe that they follow a number of additional constraints. Globally, RPs have a leftward tendency in the MF. The well-known word order principles in (58) already warrant that.

(58) a. Thematic (or backgrounded) elements precede rhematic (or focused) ones
b. Definite items precede indefinite ones
c. 'Heavy' elements follow 'light' ones

Locally, RSPs are by far the best candidate for the initial position of the MF, which we call 'α-position'. Thus, in addition to the principles in (58), there must be some linearization principle making reference to the GF- and/or case-hierarchy implied by the (semantics of the) clausal predicate. We showed that RSPs most easily appear in non-α-position if the clausal predicate implies a flattened (or reorderable) hierarchy.

All in all, this unifies studies of RPs with studies of 'free word order' in the German (and Dutch) MF. Thus, progress on the RP issue, we believe, hinges on urgently needed research into the following familiar questions: How exactly do the above principles interact, that is, how much genuine competition/ cumulativity is there? And, can these principles be reduced, e.g. to discourse-semantic and phonotactic principles? We insist that even RP placement in German and Dutch, which is regularly taken to be the most likely candidate for 'special syntax' must find substantial explanation from beyond "the limits of syntax."[65]

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[65] Gärtner & Steinbach (to appear) provides a case study of RP-frontability. It is argued there that the behavior of RP is also fully compatible with the 'traditional' assumption that V2 invariably targets a functional position outside IP, the specifier of which is accessible to XPs irrespective of their grammatical function or categorial status. Furthermore, a multifactorial symmetry analysis is developed, which demonstrates the lines along which, we think, further research on Dutch and German RPs should be pursued.

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What do Reduced Pronominals Reveal about the Syntax of Dutch and German?*

Part 2: Fronting

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Abstract

We show that reduced personal argument pronouns in Dutch and German surface in a proper subset of the positions accessible to full argument DPs. Therefore, we argue for a unified syntactic analysis, which takes both types of DPs to be subject to the same phrase structural principles and the same positioning rules, namely, XP-scrambling and XP-'topicalization'. Our argument here rests a.o.t. on the observation that the case for a subject-/nonsubject-asymmetry wrt fronting into Spec,CP has been overstated. Instead we diagnose what we call 'Conditional Symmetry'. We thus suggest that a more insightful account can be developed if Dutch and German possess exactly one target-position for fronted XPs. We further argue that degrees of constituent permutability and frontability should be derived under a multifactorial account, drawing on independently motivated principles from the syntax-discourse interface and (morpho-)phonology as they interact with the system of pronouns. It follows that, as far as syntax goes, reduced pronouns in Dutch and German must not be treated as 'special clitics'. Neither should they be analyzed as bare X°-categories. Thus, no syntactic argument for the existence or directional orientation of functional heads can be based on these elements.

* This article has originally been conceived together with Gärtner & Steinbach (forthcoming), which now contains the first half of our argument. For comments, suggestions, and criticisms, we would like to thank Peter Eisenberg, Gisbert Fanselow, Caroline Féry, Paul Law, Juliane Möck, Gereon Müller, Inger Rosengren, Matthias Schlesewsky, Tonjes Veenstra, Ruben van de Vijver, Ralf Vogel, and Christian Wartena, as well as audiences at UPotsdam, UStuttgart, UVienna, the "Graduiertenkolleg Ökonomie und Komplexität" at HUBerlin, the 1999 DGfS Workshop on Clitics at UKonstanz, and the 2001 DGfS Workshop on "Dialektsyntax" at Leipzig. Thanks to everyone who invited us. Common disclaimers apply.

to appear in Linguistische Berichte

1 Introduction

The behavior of reduced pronominals (henceforth RPs) in Dutch and German has been argued to have a bearing on two major controversies in syntactic theory, which can be formulated as in (1).

(1) a. Position of fronted constituents
b. Existence and position of INFL

In Gärtner & Steinbach (forthcoming) we have dealt with (1b), arguing that a "standard" XP-approach to RPs is superior to "special clitic theories". Hence, we reject RP-based arguments for lefthand INFL or Agr°-heads between VP and COMP. Here we will address issue (1a).

In Gärtner & Steinbach (forthcoming) we already noted that the controversy over "the position of fronted constituents" in Dutch and German has to come to grips with examples like (2).[1] [2] [3]

(2) a. 'K zag hem
I^{SU} *saw him*^{DO}
'I saw him'
b.* 'M zag ik
Him^{DO} *saw I*^{SU}
'Him I saw'
[D]

These can be replicated in Hessian (and other southern German dialects), as shown in (3).

(3) a. 'Sch glaub 'm net
I^{NOM} *believe him*^{DAT} *not*
b.* 'M glaub isch net
Him^{DAT} *believe I*^{NOM} *not*
[He]

Further evidence in the same direction is provided by the Standard German pattern in (4).[4]

[1] See also Geerts et al. (eds.)(1984:174), Everaert (1986:33), and Weerman (1989:62).

[2] In this article we will use the following abbreviations for the languages we consider: [D] = Dutch, [F] = French, [G] = German, [He] = Hessian, [Su] = Suebian, and [Zh] = Zurich German. In the glosses of German, Hessian, Suebian, and Zurich German examples, we use the superscripts NOM, ACC and DAT for arguments bearing nominative, accusative, and dative case, respectively, while in the Dutch and West Flemish ones we use SU, DO and IO for arguments bearing the GFs subject, direct object and indirect object. We apologize for our fairly loose usage of GF terminology throughout.

[3] The pronominal forms we are considering here are listed in (i) for Dutch and (ii) for Hessian. For our views on the pronominal system and the appeal to colloquial variants of German such as "Hessian", see Gärtner & Steinbach (forthcoming: section 2).

(i) a. subject: {'k ; je ; ie, ze, 't ; we ; -- ; ze}
b. object: {me ; je ; 'm, 'r, 't ; -- ; -- ; ze}
(ii) a. NOM: {'sch ; de ; 'r, se, 's/es ; mer ; 'r ; se}
b. ACC: {m'sch ; d'sch ; 'n, se, 's/es ; -- ; -- ; se}
c. DAT: {mer ; der ; 'm, 'r, 'm; -- ; -- ; --}

[4] See a.o. Travis (1984:122) and Haider (1984:75). For Dutch *het*, see Travis (1984:127f) and Berendsen (1986:97,fn1), and Travis (1984:117) for Yiddish *es*. The same contrast arises for expletive *es*, depending on whether it replaces a subject – or a nonsubject clause.

(4) a. Es hat den Kohl gefressen [G]
It^{NOM} *has the cabbage*^{ACC} *eaten*
'It ate the cabbage'
b.* Es hat der Wolf gefressen
It^{ACC} *has the wolf*^{NOM} *eaten*
'The wolf ate it'

Travis (1984) and Zwart (1991a, 1993, 1997) take this kind of example as independent empirical evidence for the 'asymmetry analysis' of Germanic V2. Such an analysis assumes that movement of the finite verb in declarative subject-initial V2-clauses targets AgrS° (INFL), the subject being able to remain in its designated position, Spec,AgrSP (Spec,IP). Nonsubject-initial declarative V2-clauses, on the other hand, require the finite verb to move to C° (COMP), while the fronted constituent ends up in Spec,CP. Under these premisses, (2a) and (2b) are roughly analyzed as (5a) and (5b) respectively.[5]

(5) *Asymmetry Analysis*
a. $[_{AgrSP}$ 'K $[_{AgrS°}$ zag$_1$ $]$ $[_{TP}$ hem t$_1$ $]$ $]$
b.* $[_{CP}$ 'M$_2$ $[_{C°}$ zag$_1$ $]$ $[_{AgrSP}$ ik $[_{AgrS'}$ t$_2$ t$_1$ $]$ $]$ $]$

The more 'traditional' so-called 'symmetry analysis' of V2 assigns a uniform structure to both (2a) and (2b). Accordingly, the finite verb invariably targets C° and one XP – subject or nonsubject – must fill Spec,CP, as den Besten (1983) a.m.o. argues.[6] This rival analysis of (2a) and (2b) would roughly look like (6a) and (6b) respectively.

(i) a. Es leuchtet uns ein, dass … [G]
It ^{NOM} *shines us* ^{DAT} *in that …*
'It makes sense to us that … '
b. *Es hat Hans eingesehen, dass …
It^{ACC} *has Hans* ^{NOM} *realized that …*
'Hans realized that …'

That "([s]tressed) pronouns appear in the root [Spec,CP] positions, clitics don't," belongs to the diagnostic "properties" that "confirm [. . .] clitic status" according to Haegeman (1993:144). This would apply to the fronted RPs in (2b), (3b), and (4b). As long as no stronger than terminological conclusions are drawn, we have no objections. To the extent, however, that 'special clitic syntax' is made responsible for such facts, we urge adherents of such an approach to apply their theories to the following contrast in English as well.

(ii) a. HIM, Marsha met b. * 'M Marsha met

For discussion of RPs in Germanic SVO-languages see Josefsson (1992) and Platzack (1996). Curiously, Haegeman (1993) does not apply the same test to subject RPs.

5 The CP layer of (5a) may be absent according to Zwart (1997:159).

6 There are a number of variants of this analysis that diverge on independent grounds. Thus another so-called 'asymmetry analysis' by Reis (1985) takes only complementizer-initial clauses to be of category CP, while V2-clauses are invariably analyzed as IP. Stechow & Sternefeld (1988) discuss a so-called 'difference hypothesis', become wider known as 'split-COMP analysis' (Müller 1995). According to that view IP is dominated by two projections, CP and TopP, the former hosting complementizers and WH-elements while the latter provides landing sites for sentence-initial non-WH XPs and the finite verb.

(6) *Symmetry Analysis*
a. [$_{CP}$ 'K$_2$ [$_{C°}$ zag$_1$] [$_{IP}$ t$_2$ hem t$_1$]]
b.* [$_{CP}$ 'M$_2$ [$_{C°}$ zag$_1$] [$_{IP}$ ik t$_2$ t$_1$]]

Clearly, the asymmetry-analysis presupposes the existence of (at least) two head-initial functional projections on top of VP, while the symmetry analysis requires only one. Thus, which of the two analyses is more successful will have obvious consequences for the second phrase structural controversy as well, namely, "the existence and position of INFL" (=1b). Likewise, generalizations holding equally for fronted subjects and nonsubjects are less straightforwardly stateable in terms of the asymmetry analysis. In fact, it was originally considered one of the virtues of a minimalist asymmetry-analysis that in the "theory of Economy of Derivations and Representations [. . .] linear notions such as 'second position' are meaningless. [. . .] A 'second effect' shows up whenever both the head and the specifier position of a functional projection are filled in overt syntax" (Zwart 1991b:32f). We take it that the notion of 'highest specifier' is equally considered to be epiphenomenal. To the extent that that view is still implicit in asymmetry analyses, it constitutes one of the problematic 'hidden assumptions', given that there are many generalizations one has to make about the 'highest specifier' of Dutch and German V2 declaratives. (See Vikner & Schwartz (1996); and Gärtner & Steinbach (1994, 1997) for facts independent of the RP issue.)

In the following, we will provide evidence that the symmetry analysis should be considered correct, while the asymmetry analysis suffers from technical, conceptual, and empirical defects (section 2). Section 3 is devoted to an exploration of syntax-external principles on which can be built an alternative account for the asymmetry effects that originally gave rise to asymmetry analyses.

2 The Pros and Cons of (Special) 'Clitic'-Syntax: Fronting[7]

Although (5) is suggestive of a principled distinction between fronted reduced subject and object pronouns (henceforth abbreviated as RSPs and ROPs, respectively), the question arises as to what it is exactly that prohibits (2b)/(5b), while allowing (2a)/(5a). According to Travis (1984:119) the following constraint does the trick.[8]

(7) *Restriction on Topicalization*
Unstressed pronouns may not topicalize

[7] See Gärtner & Steinbach (forthcoming: sections 2 and 3) for our view on the "special clitic (syntax)" issue and the distinction between "special-purpose positioning" (SPP) and "multi-purpose positioning" (MPP), which we will keep referring to.

[8] Haider (1984) assumes that for (individually) fronted non-nominative NPs "the licensing context is focusing." This account is subject to the same objections as (5).

To the extent that the term 'unstressed' covers both neutral pronouns and RPs, (7) is easy to falsify, as has been pointed out by Lenerz (1993:120) for Standard German (8a), which is easily replicable for Dutch, as (8b) illustrates.

(8) a. Dich KENN ich doch [G]
b. Jou KEN ik toch [D]
you know I surely
'I surely know what you're up to'

(8) instantiates (an idiomatically extended use of) so-called 'Verum-focus' (Höhle 1992), i.e. the focusing of the veridicality of a sentence. For V2 clauses this requires the main accent to fall on the finite verb, while everything else is backgrounded and thus deaccented. Obviously, the 'unstressed' neutral object pronoun *dich*/*jou* can be fronted under such circumstances, in direct violation of condition (7). Let us therefore consider a slight reformulation of (7), such as (9).

(9) *Restriction on Topicalization*
RPs must not topicalize

Recall further that we take Standard German *es* to be an RP (cf. Gärtner & Steinbach (forthcoming: section 2)). Then the contrast in (2)-(4) would fall out straightforwardly, if we assumed in addition that fronted RSPs are not 'topicalized'.

Of course, it would now be desirable to give an independent characterization of what it means to be 'topicalized', at least for Dutch and German. However, it is hard to see how such a characterization could – terminology notwithstanding – be derived from the domain of information-structure.[9] Thus, the asymmetry analysis seems to have to be based on a trivialized version of (7)/(9), namely (10).

(10) *Restriction on Fronting*
RPs must not be put into Spec,CP

Given the well-formedness of (2a), (3a), and (4a), condition (10) would trivially presuppose some kind of asymmetry analysis of Germanic V2-clauses. RSPs could be taken to stay in Spec,AgrSP in compliance with (10), provided, of course, that AgrSP is head-initial. The unenlightening nature of (10) considerably weakens the independent *empirical* support for an asymmetry analysis, purportedly derivable from contrasts like (2). Thus, without much ado one could change the term *RP* in (10) into *ROP* and pursue a symmetry analysis instead.

[9] See a.m.o Reinhart (1981), Dowty (1991), Drubig (1992), Gärtner & Steinbach (1994, 1997) and Büring (1999) for reasons to believe that subjects are '(default) topics' under any sensible pragmatic construal of the term 'topic'. See a.m.o. Drubig (1992) and Prince (1998) for the pluri-functionality of fronting, even in English.

This might be one of the reasons why Zwart (1997) takes a different line on the asymmetry issue.[10] Let us emphasize (again) that Zwart (1997) only provides "the bare outlines of an approach to cliticization" (ibid.:282). The reason we nevertheless go through the following lengthy excercise is to (a), convey the flavor of X°-based approaches to 'clitic'-placement in Germanic and to (b), dispel the impression that developing such an approach is simply a matter of a few definitions or that X°- and XP-based approaches to this problem are just notational variants.

Note that up to now, constraints on the fronting of RPs are formulated in a way that takes them to be XPs. Zwart's theory, however, is based on the assumption that "clitics are generated in X°- specifier positions of functional heads" (ibid.:282), i.e. 'clitic'-placement is a matter of X°-internal syntax (and postsyntactic morpho-phonology).[11] Zooming in on the details of this approach, we have to make an X°-internal distinction first. Take X° in (11a) to be a functional head, instantiated by AgrDO° in (11b) (cf. ibid.:268ff).

(11) a. $[_{X^\circ}$ N $[_{X^\circ}$ V X°]] b. $[_{AgrDO^\circ}$ DO-CL $[_{AgrDO^\circ}$ F(v) AgrDO°]]

The higher attachment site hosts elements (like pronominal 'clitics') that check *nominal* (=*N*-) features against X°. The lower projection hosts elements (like the formal features of the finite verb, F(v)) that check *verbal* (=*V*-) features against X°. Let us call the positions NAS ('nominal attachment site', corresponding to the term 'X°-specifier' in the earlier quote) and VAS ('verbal attachment site') respectively. As we are going to see, at least two VASs seem to be allowed for placing the finite verb. However, it is required that, wrt one X°, every NAS (of X°) c-commands every VAS (of X°). N-feature checking can occur either X°-internally, as in (11b) or through a YP-specifier of X°, as illustrated in (12).

(12) $[_{AgrDOP}$ DO $[_{AgrDO'}$ $[_{AgrDO^\circ}$ F(v) AgrDO°]]]

(2a) would now be treated as follows. Movement of the verbal features, F(v), which are pied-piped by AgrDO° and T°, and attachment of the subject-'clitic' target AgrS°, as shown in (13).

(13) $[_{AgrS^\circ}$ SU-CL $[_{AgrS^\circ}$ $[_{T^\circ}$ $[_{AgrDO^\circ}$ F(v) AgrDO°] T°] AgrS°]]

Given that there is no C-projection and no more features to be checked, (13) should be 'spelled-out' (as part of a larger clause structure). However, "Morphology will not be able to interpret isolated formal features" (Zwart 1997:182). Apparently, F(v) needs some kind of lexical support. For (13), this support is going to be provided by a Last Resort raising of LC(v), the 'lexical categorial

[10] Zwart (1997) supersedes (at least) two earlier versions of asymmetry analyses, on which accounts for the contrast in (2)-(4) were based. Vikner & Schwartz (1996), Platzack (1996), and Gärtner & Steinbach (1994, 1997) thoroughly criticize and reject these earlier versions. See Zwart (1994) for a reply.

[11] We have already pointed out the disadvantages of such an approach wrt M(iddle)F(ield)-placement of RPs in Gärtner & Steinbach (forthcoming: 3.1).

features' of the finite verb, which were stranded inside VP when F(v) raised to AgrS° earlier (ibid.:182f). LC(v), being of verbal provenance, must target a VAS. In fact, "the LC-features of the verb adjoin above the highest V-position in the head adjunction structure" (ibid.:272). (13) would thus be transformed into (14).

(14) $[_{AgrS°}$ SU-CL $[_{AgrS°}$ LC(v) $[_{AgrS°}$ $[_{T°}$ $[_{AgrDO°}$ F(v) AgrDO°] T°] AgrS°]]]

LC(v) determines the actual spell-out position of the finite verb. Consequently, V2 in subject-initial-declaratives hosting an RSP in AgrS°, such as (2a) and (3a), crucially involves structures like (14).

Turning next to what prohibits (3b), we have to make a little detour. Zwart (1997:279) observes that French yes/no-questions differ from their Dutch and West Flemish (and Hessian) counterparts insofar as the former allow, while the latter disallow, sentence-initial ROPs, as illustrated in (15) (ibid.:279f).[12]

(15) a. L' as tu vu? [F]
It have you seen
'Have you seen it?'
b.* 'N hat de Hans gesehe? [He]
Him^{ACC} *has the Hans*^{NOM} *seen*
'Has Hans seen him?'

It is conjectured that this difference "is a matter of proclisis versus enclisis, rather than a matter of pied piping versus stranding" (ibid.:280). Both French (15a) and Hessian (15b) coincide wrt the structure of the C°-node, given in (16).

(16) $[_{C°}$ LC(v) $[_{C°}$ $[_{AgrS°}$ … DO-CL … F(v) …] C°]]

However, only French can avail itself of an additional application of 'clitic-raising', which targets an NAS of C°. Thus, (16) would be the basis for the well-formed Hessian yes/no-question in (17).

(17) Hat 'n de Hans gesehe? [He]
Has him^{ACC} *the Hans*^{NOM} *seen*
'Has Hans seen him?'

The underlying structure of French (15a), however, is (18).

(18) $[_{C°}$ DO-CL$_1$ $[_{C°}$ LC(v) $[_{C°}$ $[_{AgrS°}$ … t_1 … F(v) …] C°]]]

[12] To speed things up, we use Hessian examples instead of West Flemish (or Dutch) ones. Unfortunately the analysis of Dutch in Zwart (1997) is confusing, because on the one hand it is observed that Dutch object 'clitics', as opposed to their West Flemish (and Hessian) counterparts, never reach C°, but have to be stranded in AgrS° the latest (ibid.:276). On the other hand, a number of structures (ibid.:271,(55)) and (ibid.:274,(59)) do show object 'clitics' attached inside a complex C°-node. These structures are mapped into Dutch (not West Flemish) sentences on the respective pages. So, in order not to misrepresent things, we keep mentioning Dutch even where only West Flemish and Hessian might in the end be at stake.

The question, of course, must be posed as to how principled an account this is. Thus, short X°-internal 'clitic-raising' as such must be available in Germanic OV-languages, in order to allow RPs to strand in the MF (ibid.:280), as discussed at length in Gärtner & Steinbach (forthcoming: 3.1). Why then should the same operation be prohibited in the C-domain of the same languages? Now, mention of the directionality of cliticization ('proclisis versus enclisis') is suggestive of Cooper's (1994:93) solution for the same kind of problem in Zurich German.[13]

(19) Object clitics in Zurich German can only cliticize to the left, as enclitics

Transposing (19) to Dutch, West Flemish, and German might be the key to an account for the ill-formedness of (2b), (3b), and (15b), although (4b) would seem to remain as a problem. However, we have presented evidence in Gärtner & Steinbach (forthcoming: 3.3) that at least for Dutch the equivalent of (19) cannot be generalized. Thus compare (20a) with Zurich German (20b) (Cooper 1994:92).[14]

(20) a. ['r gegeven] heb ik 't niet [D]
her^{IO} *given* *have I*^{Su} *it*^{DO} *not*
b.* [em aazlüüte] hät er gar nöd probiert [Zh]
him^{ACC} *call up* *has he*^{NOM} *even not tried*
'He not even tried to call him up'

Hessian seems to pattern with Dutch, as (21), the direct translation of (20b), shows.[15]

(21) a. ?['n AAzurufe] hat er gar net probiert [He]

Thus, while constraint (19) properly rules out (20b), a generalized version of it is too strong for Dutch and Hessian. It therefore looks as if nothing short of a stipulation like (22) can prevent the X°-approach to 'clitic'-placement from failing on the issue at hand.

(22) There is no 'clitic-raising' inside C° in Dutch, West Flemish, and Hessian

(22) is clearly necessary independently, in order to rule out unwelcome V3 structures like (23) from surfacing.[16]

[13] See Gärtner & Steinbach (1997) for an attempt to apply Cooper's idea to German. Note that her principle (19) is taken to apply at PF, Zurich German ROPs being considered "phonological clitics only" (Cooper 1994:90).

[14] Werner (1999:98) presents data that directly contradict Cooper's judgments, which heightens the prospects for a unified analysis.

[15] See Abraham & Wiegel (1993:27) for similar observations in Austrian dialects.

[16] (20) may also play a crucial role in ruling out the following derivation. Suppose C° in (16) bore an unchecked [+top]-feature, or whatever it is nonsubject constituents check in Spec,CP of declarative V2-clauses. Why couldn't 'clitic-raising' in (18) be triggered by the need to check that [+top]-feature? Of course, the unwelcome effect of such a derivation would be the generation of

(23) a.* [$_{CP}$ XP [$_{C'}$ [$_{C°}$ DO-CL$_1$ [$_{C°}$ LC(v) [$_{C°}$ [$_{AgrS°}$ t$_1$ F(v) …] C°]]] IP]]
b.* Heute 'n hat de Hans net gesehe [He]
Today him^{ACC} *has the Hans*^{NOM} *not seen*

Now, the example Zwart (1997:271) actually discusses is not (2a) but (24a), a (partial) structural analysis of which is given in (24b) (ibid.:273).

(24) a. 'k heb 't [D]
I^{SU} *have it*^{DO}
b. [$_{AgrS°}$ SU-CL [$_{AgrS°}$ LC(v) [$_{AgrS°}$ [$_{T°}$
[$_{AgrDO°}$ DO-CL [$_{AgrDO°}$ F(v) AgrDO°]] T°] AgrS°]]]

Again, one might wonder why short 'clitic raising' cannot apply in (24). In Gärtner & Steinbach (forthcoming: 3.1) we already noted that DO-IO 'clitic'-clusters in the Dutch M(iddle)F(ield) (and 'clitic'-stranding) are brought about by such an operation. By analogy, (25a) and (25b) threaten to be possible spell-outs of the structure in (25c) (cf. ibid.:273).[17]

(25) a.* 'k 't heb b.* 't 'k heb [D]
c. [$_{AgrS°}$ [$_{SU\text{-}CL}$ DO-CL$_1$ SU-CL] [$_{AgrS°}$ LC(v) [$_{AgrS°}$ [$_{T°}$
[$_{AgrDO°}$ t$_1$ [$_{AgrDO°}$ F(v) AgrDO°]] T°] AgrS°]]]

The – tacit – assumption seems to be that something like constraint (26) holds.

(26) There is no 'clitic-raising' inside AgrS° in Dutch, West Flemish, and Hessian

Like (22), (26) appears to be a necessary addition to an X°-theory of 'clitic'-placement, whose sole function is to X°-internally guarantee the V2-property. Otherwise, even (27) should be derivable.

(27) * Jan 't heeft [D]
Jan^{SU} *it*^{DO} *has*

Trying to unify (22) and (26) on the basis of (28) is not an attractive option for the asymmetry-analysis, given the view – mentioned earlier – that notions like 'second position', and, derivatively, 'highest specifier' are 'meaningless' (cf. Zwart 1991b:32f).

examples like (2b) and (3b). Thus, (22) might make the addition of constraints like (ia) or (ib), reminiscent of Travis's original 'restriction on topicalization', superfluous.

(i) a. [+top] must be checked by an XP in Spec,CP
b. RPs cannot bear the feature [+top]

[17] Additionally, for double-object structures that realize all the arguments as 'clitics' there would be the unacceptable permutations in (i) to worry about.

(i) a. * 'k 't 'm gaf b. * 'k 'm 't gaf c. * 't 'k 'm gaf [D]
d. * 't 'm 'k gaf e. * 'm 'k 't gaf f. * 'm 't 'k gaf

Haegeman (1993) would seem to steer clear of this kind of problem, since her 'clitic-heads' do not interact with the inflectional heads involved in verb-movement. See Gärtner & Steinbach (forthcoming).

(28) There is no 'clitic-raising' inside the highest clausal head in Dutch, West Flemish, and Hessian

Clearly, the framework laid out in Zwart (1997) is an instance of what we called a S(pecial)P(urpose)P(ositioning)-approach in Gärtner & Steinbach (forthcoming). (22) and (26) belong to the unilluminating weakening principles that tend to have to be added to this kind of approach. An XP-approach to the placement of RPs, like the one we already defended for clause-internal positions in Gärtner & Steinbach (forthcoming: 3.1), can avail itself of a single generalization for argument placement in OV-languages displaying the V2-property. Exactly one XP can access Spec,CP, a multi-purpose position. The other – non-extraposable – XPs have to stay in the MF. This generalization would follow under standard X-bar theory from the availability of exactly one specifier in the C-domain and a ban on adjunction to C' and CP. All of these things have to be assumed by the asymmetry analysis as well, both for the C-projection and its AgrS counterpart.[18] We can thus preliminarily conclude that the asymmetry analysis of V2 in Zwart (1997), based on an X°-approach to the placement of RPs, does not look like a serious rival to a symmetry analysis.[19]

Yet, our proposal to stick with the more traditional M(ulti)P(urpose) P(ositioning)-approach to Spec,CP discussed in Gärtner & Steinbach (forthcoming) doesn't seem to yield any interesting solution for the contrast in (2)-(4), as the structures in (6) indicate. In fact, it looks as if we would have nothing interesting to say about it. This is not so, however. But let us first have a closer look

[18] AgrSP must actually be an adjunction site as long as it is immediately dominated by C'. Again, stating the appropriate principle is not fully in the spirit of the asymmetry analysis. For more detailed discussion see Schwartz & Vikner (1989) and Vikner & Schwartz (1996).

[19] Another issue to be addressed by asymmetry analyses of V2 – irrespective of their view on RPs – is provided by the following well-known alternation presented in Koster (1987:257).

(i) a. dat het boek hem gegeven werd [D]
that the book SU *him* IO *given is*
b. dat hem het boek gegeven werd

Koster (1987:259) assumes that the subject in (ib) can remain in its base position inside VP, while the derived subject position is filled by an empty category. Translated into Agr-based clause structure this would look like (ii) We omit TP and AgrDOP.

(ii) [C' dat [AgrSP [NP e] AgrS° [AgrIOP hem AgrIO° [VP het boek gegeven werd]]]] [D]

The obvious question to be asked is why (iiia) is not a well-formed declarative sentence of Dutch, given the analysis in (iiib), predicted to be fine by asymmetrists.

(iii) a. *Werd hem het boek gegeven [D]
b. [AgrSP [NP e] werd$_1$ [AgrIOP hem t'$_1$ [VP het boek gegeven t$_1$]]]

Again, a generalization about Spec,CP and the availability of topic-drop (see section 3.1 and Gärtner & Steinbach 1997:section G), as well as the use of expletives would be a preferable line to pursue. However, as already noted, "second position principles", and thus, derivatively, "highest specifier principles," the latter to range over Spec,CP and Spec,AgrSP, would seem to go against the spirit of the "asymmetry analysis" (cf. Zwart 1991b:32f). The same kind of problem arises with every kind of "low subject effect". For further data see den Besten (1985) and Broekhuis (1992). On the issue of expletives see Vikner & Schwartz (1996). Another full set of difficult facts for an asymmetry analysis to handle, arising in the area of indefinite pronouns, has been discussed by Gärtner & Steinbach (1997:section F).

at some additional data. Interestingly, contrary to what the asymmetry-analysis might lead one to expect, there is a considerable number of RSPs that cannot occur sententence-initially either. For Dutch, this has been observed by den Besten (1983, 1989:27), Geerts et al. (eds.) (1984:175, 941) and Weerman (1989:63).

(29) a. dat ie niet kan komen
that he^{SU} *not can come*
'that he cannot come'

b.* Ie will niet komen [D]
He^{SU} *wants not come*
'He doesn't want to come'

For Hessian this effect seems to be fairly wide-spread.[20]

(30) a. Zu spät seid 'r
Too late are you^{NOM}
'You are too late'

b.* 'R seid zu spät [He]
You^{NOM} *are too late*

It looks as if phonological constraints on cliticization have to be taken into account after all. Thus one has to develop a theory why a.o. Dutch *ie* and Hessian *'r* do not procliticize while they do figure as enclitics. We'll come back to this in section 3.2.

Turning to ROPs, there is another surprise in store. As Weerman (1989:62) pointed out already, there are exceptions in Dutch to the ban on fronting these elements.

(31) 't hebben we 'm gisteren nog verteld [D]
it/that^{DO} *have we*^{SU} *him*^{IO} *yesterday yet told*
'We managed to tell him that, yesterday'

In addition, Geerts et al.(eds.)(1984:942) mention the following example.[21]

(32) Me dunkt dat hij daar wel wat eerder [D]
Me^{DO} *seems that he*^{SU} *there well what earlier*
aan had kunnen denken
at had can think
'It seems to me that he could well have thought about that somewhat earlier'

For Hessian, similar examples have been given by Gärtner & Steinbach (1994:38,fn61, 1997:3).[22]

[20] Examples from other Germanic languages, Swedish and Norwegian among them, abound. This has been documented in Gärtner & Steinbach (1997:7).

[21] Declaring (32) irrelevant on the basis that it is highly 'idiomatic' wouldn't seem to be consistent with the earlier claim that one of the key properties of Dutch RPs is to figure in idioms (see Gärtner & Steinbach (forthcoming: section 2)).

[22] In the light of (4) above, it may be objected wrt (31) and (33a) that the fronted ROPs do not derive from personal pronoun *het* and *es* but from the weak demonstratives *dat* and *das*. This has been proposed by Cooper (1994:93fn7). However, if *'s* derives from *das* in (33a), why can't *'m* in (3b) derive from its demonstrative counterpart *dem*? As (i) shows, such a process is fully regular in the domain of determiners, which are form-identical to the weak demonstratives.

(33) a. ’s hab isch net gewusst [He]
it^{ACC} *have I*^{NOM} *not known*
‘I didn’t know that’
b. mer habbe se de Giggel geklaut
me^{DAT} *have they*^{NOM} *the bike*^{ACC} *stolen*
‘They have stolen my bike’

Furthermore, the contrast in (4) may not be as solid either. Thus, *es* in Spec,CP can – under ‘favorable circumstances’ – receive an object interpretation, as illustrated in (34a) (Lenerz 1994:162) and (34b) (Beatrice Santorini p.c.).[23]

(34) a. Ihr Geld ist ja nicht weg, meine Damen und Herren. [G]
Your money^{NOM} *is indeed not away my ladies and gentlemen.*
Es haben jetzt nur andere
It^{ACC} *have now only others*^{NOM}
‘Indeed, your money isn’t gone, ladies and gentleman. It’s only that others have it now’
b. Das wissen nicht nur die Experten, es wissen auch die Laien
That^{ACC} *know not only the experts*^{NOM}*, it*^{ACC} *know even the laymen*^{NOM}
‘Not only the experts know that, even the laymen do’

Clearly, context factors and syntactic parallelism contribute to the well-formedness of (34). An even more striking example is (35).

(35) a. A: Wie ist denn das Kind zu dem Buch gekommen? [G]
How is then the child^{NOM} *to the book come*
‘How did the child get the book, by the way?’
b. B: Es hat ihm jemand geschenkt.
It^{ACC} *has him*^{DAT} *someone*^{NOM} *presented*
‘Someone gave it to him as a present’

In the context set up by question (35a), putting object *es* into Spec,CP appears to be unobjectionable.

(i) a. Das/ ’s Buch kannst de gleich weglege [He]
the book ^{ACC} *can you* ^{NOM} *immediately away-lay*
‘The book, you can put away at once’
b. Dem/ ’m Hans glaub isch net
The Hans ^{DAT} *believe I*^{NOM} *not*
‘I don't trust Hans’

[23] Susie Wurmbrand (p.c.) pointed out to us that the *es*-initial sentence of (34a) may be derived from the expletive-initial variant in (i).

(i) Es haben es jetzt nur andere
It have it ^{ACC} *now only others* ^{NOM}

One could indeed speculate that something like the Dutch *er-er*-contraction rule (cf. den Besten 1983, 1989) may then produce (34a) from (i). We do not think, though, that one has to go that far. See, however, section 3.1 below for some remarks on the role of ‘syncretism’ in the licensing of fronted ROPs.

Crucially, we take the existence of examples like (31)-(35) as evidence that syntax proper should not be in charge of banning the fronting ('topicalization') of ROPs in Dutch and German. The unilluminating *ad hoc*ness of attempts to formulate the necessary constraint further assures us that our point of view is justified. There being no absolut subject/nonsubject asymmetry in the domain of fronted RPs in the first place, it follows that no asymmetry-analysis of V2 is called for. Let us therefore call the more complicated picture emerging for fronted RPs 'conditional symmetry'.

(36) *Conditional Symmetry*
   a. RSPs can be fronted under conditions c_i, … , c_n
   b. ROPs can be fronted under conditions c_j, … , c_m

It crucially follows from all of this that no empirical argument in favor of head-initial AgrSP (IP) in the Dutch and German MF is forthcoming from this domain either (cf. Gärtner & Steinbach forthcoming).

Having said that, we immediately concede that the fronting of ROPs isn't anywhere nearly as frequent as the fronting of their subject counterparts. In keeping with what we called an MPP-approach to RP placement in Gärtner & Steinbach (forthcoming), we contend that these frequency effects can be put to – independently motivated, 'suprasyntactic' – 'strengthening principles'. Section 3 will be devoted to substantiation of this claim providing a case study of RP-frontability, i.e. our account for 'conditional symmetry', which demonstrates the lines along which, we think, further research on Dutch and German RPs should be pursued.

3 Fronting Reduced Pronouns: A Multifactorial Account

We are now going to add the 'strengthening rules' to our MPP-account of the fronting of reduced argument pronouns.[24] These principles correspond to the conditions appealed to in our empirical diagnosis from section 2, called 'Conditional Symmetry'.[25]

Section 3.1 concentrates on (negative) conditions for (36b), some of which constitute conditions for (36a) as well. Thus, RP-fronting can be blocked to the extent that the grammar offers one or both of the following functionally related strategies, namely, topic-drop and fronting of a weak demonstrative. On the positive side, frontability of RPs is enhanced if they are put first on the scale of unmarked argument order. An additional factor involved is morphological 'syncretism'. Section 3.2 adds (negative) conditions for (36a), derived from phonol-

[24] For the sake of brevity we concentrate on German/Hessian here. Clearly, a lot more research on Dutch is needed to construct the argument fully in parallel.

[25] Some of the conditions have been hinted at in our discussion of scrambling in Gärtner & Steinbach (forthcoming).

ogy. These crucially rest on a preference for phonological *en*- over *pro*cliticization.

3.1 Blocking and the Functional Paradox

Our first step will be to point out the triviality that German V2 declaratives require Spec,CP to be filled. In minimalist jargon, this means that the appropriate C° contains a strong TOP-feature.[26] Given that, at least in the Germanic V2-languages, TOP is category-neutral, the question arises as to which element should be fronted under which circumstances.

Concerning discourse conditions, to begin with, it has repeatedly been observed that fronted constituents can serve either an 'anchoring-function' or a 'furthering-function', to use Szabolcsi's (1981) theory-neutral terminology.[27] More specifically, fronted elements can either be deaccented, I-topicalized, or focused. Thus, much like Σ, the trigger for scrambling (cf. Gärtner & Steinbach (forthcoming)), TOP comes in three varieties, TOP^{deacc}, $TOP^{I\text{-}top}$, and TOP^{foc}. The choice of a particular instantiation of TOP is governed by pragmatic principles of discourse structuring. Fortunately, we can ignore $TOP^{I\text{-}top}$ and TOP^{foc} for the case at hand, given that RPs are incompatible with the required pitch accent.

Next, it is another well-known fact that the main discourse function of deaccented personal pronouns, reduced or neutral, is to pick up a salient (discourse) referent.[28] Since this function is independent of syntactic position, we have to dig even deeper and ask what the specific effect of *fronting* a deaccented personal pronoun could be. It is another triviality that fronting puts a constituent into a (locally) 'exposed' position. Thus, Spec,CP in German (and Dutch) could be called the 'α^{ex}–position' in analogy to the 'α-position' in the MF (cf. Gärtner & Steinbach (forthcoming)). From this 'exposure' we can derive what we tentatively call a 'functional paradox'.

(37) *Functional Paradox*
Fronted RPs have to keep the balance between 'high exposure' and 'low referential energy'

'High exposure' can be understood in the following two ways. First, arguments in α^{ex}–position serve as the 'subject' for the main clausal predication. It is this relation which speakers assert by using a V2 declarative. Secondly, adopting notions from centering theory, we can observe that expressions in α^{ex}–position

[26] Throughout, we have favored the more neutral term 'fronting' over 'topicalization'. Thus, the feature could be called FRONT instead. However, we stick to common usage for the sake of readability.

[27] For English this has been pointed out a.o. by Drubig (1992) and Prince (1998), for German see a.o. Haider (1984).

[28] See Bosch (1983) and Reinhart (1991) We gloss over the distinction between anaphora and deixis highlighted in Bosch (1983). Also, we abstract away from bound variable readings for the sake of brevity.

seem to be functionally equivalent to English subjects insofar as they normally determine which referents are most "salient in the *output* attentional state" (Kameyama 1999:312). Thus, choice of an element for the α^{ex}–position is one of the delicate tasks in fitting a V2 declarative into discourse.[29]

The second important causal factor in the 'functional paradox' can be explicated on the basis of centering theory as well. Thus, wrt the "nominal expression type hierarchy, [. . .] an entity realized by a higher-ranked phrase is normally more salient in the *input* attentional state" (Kameyama 1999:311f). RPs occupy one of the highest positions on that hierarchy. Inverting the perspective, we therefore suggest that picking up a salient referent consumes only little 'referential energy'.[30]

Now, interestingly, the grammar of German provides two alternative devices for resolving this paradox, namely, *topic-drop* and *weak demonstratives*. Take topic-drop first, illustrated in (38).

(38) a. ∅ komm gleich [He]
come soon
'I'm coming'

b. A: Was is 'n mit dem Kennedy?
What is then with the Kennedy
'What about Kennedy'

c. B: ∅ kenn isch net
know I^{NOM} *not*
'I don't know him'

Topic-drop, the zero-realization of a fronted constituent, constitutes the lowest position on the scale of 'referential energy'. At the same time, high exposure is eluded through a trick, at least as far as PF goes. Thus, the paradox seems to be avoided.

Clearly, using topic-drop competes with the fronting of RPs. What we therefore suggest is that the existence of structures like (38c) contributes to the *blocking* of structures like (2b), (3b), and (4b). More specifically (38c) seems to be preferred over (39).

(39) * 'n kenn isch net [He]

[29] Dowty (1991:564) reminds us that "in English and languages of similar typology, the grammatical relation 'subject' is a weak indicator of 'Topic'," the latter term to be construed in the 'aboutness' sense (cf. Reinhart 1981). For German, there is evidence that the α^{ex}–position is that indicator (cf. Haider 1984). Thus, in the terminology of Li & Thompson (1976), German has a number of properties typical of 'topic-prominent languages.' Dutch may be in between English and German in this respect. Clearly, conditions for the MF α–position are different. Thus, the task of computing the exact subordination relation for V-final clauses interferes with the internal establishing of predication and centering relations connected with arguments in that position.

[30] Clearly, a lot more research into Kameyama's EXP ORDER hierarchy is needed. Thus, in the same way as the behavior of stressed vs. unstressed pronouns in English is derived wrt a single position on that hierarchy called 'pronoun', refining the system-based interaction of RPs, neutral pronouns and weak demonstratives is required for a deeper understanding of the German and Dutch system. That English personal pronouns take over some of the demonstrative functions has been noted in Gärtner (1998, 2001).

Interestingly, topic-drop fails to be available in a number of environments. First, as discussed by Cardinaletti (1990:79), the null-pronominal supposedly occupying Spec,CP under topic-drop cannot be construed as a 1. or 2. person *object*. Neither, secondly, can it stand in for a dative, as (40) illustrates.[31]

(40) a. A: Un wieso hat den Asylante niemand geholfe? [He]
And why has the asylum-seekers^{DAT} *noone*^{NOM} *helped*
'Why didn't anyone help the asylum-seekers'
b.* B: ∅ hilft hier doch nie einer
helps here for-all-that never one^{NOM}
'No one ever helps them over here'

Even if the salient discourse referent is itself presented in dative case in the preceding discourse segment, zeroing a dative object via topic drop is ill-formed. Crucially, it should now come as no surprise that 1.DAT ROPs *can* be fronted. We have seen this in section 2. The example is repeated below as (41a). (41b) illustrates the same thing.

(41) a. Mer habbe se de Giggel geklaut [He]
Me^{DAT} *have they*^{NOM} *the bike stolen*
'They have stolen my bike'
b. Mer gefällt 's hier net
Me^{DAT} *pleases it here not*
'I don't like this place'

Clearly, (41a) and (41b) lack a competitor from the domain of topic drop, so we expect them to behave differently from (39) above.

Note furthermore that none of the more complex cases of ROP-fronting in (34) is rivaled by topic-drop, as (42) shows.

(42) a. A: Ihr Geld ist ja nicht weg, meine Damen und Herren. [G]
b.* A: ∅ haben jetzt nur andere.
c. A: Das wissen nicht nur die Experten.
d.* A: ∅ wissen auch die Laien.

This is due to the fact that topic-drop is restricted to colloquial registers of language use.[32] The examples in (42), however, clearly belong to the more formal

[31] This is pointed out in Sternefeld (1985:407,427). Cardinaletti (1990) discusses "categorial restrictions on pro" only wrt PPs, which are not allowed to be affected by topic-drop either, at least in German and Dutch. Zurich German seems to provide an exception in the area of instrumental PPs, as Cooper (1994:150) observes. That datives follow the same constraint would seem to force Cardinaletti's analysis to be modified in one of the following ways: (i) topic-drop is not contrained wrt category but grammatical function or (ii) datives are analyzed as hidden PPs. For the latter proposal wrt Dutch see Mulder & den Dikken (1991). Weerman (1989:54), however, shows that IO *can* undergo topic-drop in Dutch. This counts against strategy (i) and implies that Mulder & den Dikken's analysis must be rejected for Dutch indirect objects.

[32] An exception seems to be 'diary-drop', as discussed by Haegeman (1990).

register typical of public speeches. Even (35) may be slightly degraded, if topic-drop replaces the fronted ROP *es*.

(43) a. A: Wie ist das Kind zu dem Buch gekommen? [G]
b.? B: ∅ hat ihm jemand geschenkt

This could follow from the decreased accessibility of the intended referent *das Buch*, as opposed to the DP *das Kind*, the latter providing another salient discourse referent picked up by a personal pronoun.[33]

Turning to weak demonstratives, we get a similar picture. An alternative to (38c), showing no easily observable contextual differences, would be (44).

(44) Den kenn isch net [He]
that^{ACC} *know I*^{NOM} *not*
'I don't know him'

Moving up on the scale of 'referential energy' from an RP to a weak demonstrative resolves the functional paradox in the other direction. We suggest that (44) is another part in the 'conspiracy' against (39). In other words, the existence of (38c) and (44) together contribute to the blocking of (39).

Again, there is a curious constraint on the use of weak demonstratives. As is well-known, the paradigm of weak demonstratives lacks 1. and 2. person instances altogether. Once more, fronting of a 1. person ROP in cases like (41) is unsurprising, as there is no alternative to such a strategy. The availability of 3. person weak demonstrative *das*, on the other hand, contributes to the precarious status of examples like (4b), (34), and (35). For those speakers who judge these degraded, using weak demonstratives under fronting must be a strong preference.

Let us briefly summarize where our 'conspiracy-theory' stands at this stage. We suggest that there is a (weak) inverse correlation between the availability of topic-drop or weak demonstratives and the possibility of ROP-fronting. This is expressed in (45).

(45) a. Availability of topic-drop or weak demonstratives makes ROP-fronting less felicitous
b. Non-availability of topic-drop or weak demonstratives makes ROP-fronting more felicitous

Although (45a) and (45b) captures the observations made in this section so far, it cannot be formulated more strictly. Otherwise, one would expect (46a) and (46b) to hold.

(46) a. $[\ \mathrm{ROP}(x) \wedge x \in \{1., 2.\}\ ] \rightarrow \mathrm{frontable}(x)$
b. $[\ \mathrm{ROP}(x) \wedge x \notin \{1., 2.\}\ ] \rightarrow \neg\mathrm{frontable}(x)$

[33] This would be directly derivable from Kameyama's (1999:312) GF ORDER hierarchy.

Such a picture is too simplistic, though. Even if the frontable ROPs in (41) fall under (46a) and (46b), additional constraints complicate the picture. It is another well-known fact that word order of (DP-) arguments in German is influenced by something that could most neutrally be called 'verbal (or clausal) perspective'.[34] Here we are only interested in which argument should occupy the highest (most prominent) position, c-commanding its coarguments. Sidestepping the thorny issue of linking theory, we simply note that, in German, the default for this is (47).

(47) Nom < {Dat, Acc}

(47) – ultimately to be theoretically embedded in centering theory – we consider to play an important role in accounting for the fact that RSPs almost invariably go for the α-position in the MF (cf. Gärtner & Steinbach (forthcoming)). Likewise, we suggest that (47) accounts for the fact that among RPs, RSPs are the default candidate for the α^{ex}-position, i.e. they occur in Spec,CP most naturally. More specifically, the elements highest on the hierarchy induced by (47) can be fronted without the investment of extra 'referential energy'. This is due to the triviality that some XP has to be fronted in every German V2 declarative.[35] Conversely, the reordering of such a hierarchy, as most of the time necessary under ROP-fronting, does consume extra 'referential energy', a state of affairs in conflict with the reduced nature of RPs.

However, in the case of certain predicates, involving a shift of verbal (or clausal) 'perspective', (47) can be neutralized, i.e. the hierarchy of arguments can be altered. Thus, psych-verbs like *gefallen* allow the dative-experiencer to be the highest argument. Therefore, (41b) is expected not to run into the functional paradox. See also (48) for the instantiation of a psych-verb with an accusative object.[36]

[34] See also Gärtner & Steinbach (forthcoming). Dowty (1991:562ff) makes a strong case for the distinction between 'event- dependent' and 'discourse-dependent' definitions of thematic roles, the latter indirectly responsible for the ordering pattern we call 'perspective.' He suggests that that term be reserved for discourse-dependent notions. We compensate for our 'misuse' by prefixing 'verbal (or clausal)' to it.

[35] Further default candidates for α^{ex}-position are stage setting adverbials and the multi-purpose expletive *es*, the latter one of the indicators that German is a 'topic-prominent' language.

[36] It would be interesting to explore the relation between our views and the relativized minimality approaches to ROP fronting, as discussed in Vikner & Schwartz (1996). As (41a) shows, the hierarchy in (47) is likewise reorderable if a dative ROP and a nominative RSP differ wrt specificity of reference. Thus, in that famous example, the 1.SG.DAT ROP picks up a salient referent, 'chaining' or 'establishing' a center (cf. Kameyama 1999:312), while the 3.PL.NOM RSP, being used generically, contributes a referent of much lower attentional status, i.e. it doesn't chain a center, but establishes – a less salient – one instead. Where this picture is reversed, unacceptability results, as (i) shows.

(i) *Mer will se net zuhöre [He]
Me^{DAT} *want she*^{NOM} *not listen-to*
'She doesn't want to listen to me'

(48) ? m'sch JUCKT des net [He]
Me^{ACC} *itches this*^{NOM} *not*
'This doesn't bother me'

Even so, there are further subtleties ahead of us. Thus note that 2. person ROPs as opposed to their 1. person counterparts are degraded under fronting.[37]

(49) a.??Der habbe se de Giggel geklaut [He]
You^{DAT} *have they*^{NOM} *the bike stolen*
'They have stolen your bike'
b.??D'sch JUCKT des wohl net
You^{ACC} *itches that well not*
'That doesn't bother you, I guess'

Likewise, a number of further ROPs remain degraded under fronting, even if psych- predicates are used. This is illustrated in (50).

(50) a.* 'R / ??'M gefällt des net [He]
b.??'N / ?? Se juckt des net

As for the contrast between (49a) and (41a), one can note that only the latter contains a fronted ROP supported by 'syncretism'. Thus, looking at the paradigm of ROPs, we observe that the surface-form *mer* occurs not only in the 1.SG.DAT slot but also in 1.PL.NOM. Additionally, RSP *mer* is the Hessian realization of the frequently used 'generic' pronoun *man* ('one') from Standard German. Syncretism plays an equally important role in stabilizing the fronted ROP *'s* and *es* in (33a), (34), and (35), given that over and above the corresponding RSP, there is the widely used expletive of identical surface shape canonically occuring in α- or α^{ex}-position. Although appeal to syncretism may sound fairly speculative at this stage, some such factor may be far more important in accounting for RP positioning than is evident at this point. Gärtner & Steinbach (forthcoming) already noted that in West-Flemish there are "three elements whose distribution cannot be equated to that of the other pronouns" (Haegeman 1993:142). These are IO *ze* and DO *ze*, *t*, and *er*, which optionally occur in 'higher' positions. Crucially, each of these four ROPs is syncretically related to an RSP or expletive 'clitic'. Furthermore, it has regularly been observed that syncretism in pronominal systems is an important factor in licensing hybridization phenomena.[38]

Note, finally, that relying solely on syncretism in the licensing of fronted ROPs would be insufficient. Thus, syncretism doesn't seem to make a difference in the case of 3.SG.F.DAT *'r* as well as 3.SG.F.ACC. and 3.PL.ACC *se*. Although

[37] It is tempting to postulate a constraint banning fronted 2. person RPs across the board, since the RSP *de* is equally unacceptable in Spec,CP.

[38] See a.o. Gärtner (1998, 2001) on 'paradigm syncretism' linking relative pronouns and weak demonstratives and Vogel (2000) on 'case syncretism' governing the behavior of wh-relative pronouns in free relative clauses. The function of syncretism/analogy in language change is also widely recognized, as discussed by Howe (1996).

these forms possess a form-indentical counterpart in the RSP paradigm they are unacceptable in α^{ex}-position. This, however, is due to the fact already hinted at in section 3.2, that these specific RSPs themselves are unacceptable in that position. Recall that under 'conditional symmetry' as stated in (36a), RSPs too can only be fronted if they meet certain constraints. These constraints we suggest stem from the domain of phonology, to which we turn in the next section. (51) and (52) summarize the empirical findings so far.

(51) a. ROP^{DAT} = { mer ; der ; 'm , 'r, 'm ; -- ; --; -- } [He]
b. frontable: √ ?? ?? * ??

(52) a. ROP^{ACC} = { m'sch ; d'sch ; 'n , se , es / 's ; -- ; -- ; se } [He]
b. frontable: ? ?? ?? ?? √ √ ??

3.2 The phonology of cliticization

In the next subsection we will add phonological restrictions on procliticization that RPs must obey if they occupy sentence-initial position. Hence, the phonology of 'cliticization' provides further 'strengthening principles'. In 3.2.1 we will show that *en*cliticization is the preferred option in languages like Dutch and German. In section 3.2.2 we turn to fronted RPs.

3.2.1 Encliticization versus procliticization

It is well-known that RPs in Dutch and German are not phonological words. Berendsen (1986), Prinz (1991), Booij (1996), and Hall (1998) among others argue that RPs project at most a syllable node. According to Hall (1998:109), the reduced forms of pronouns[39] violate constraint (53), which governs the minimal size of a phonological word (π-word) in German.

(53) *Minimal word requirement:*
The π-word in German is minimally bimoraic

Moreover, RPs violate further well-formedness conditions on π-words. Thus they differ from π-words in that they can have short full lax vowels in word-final position ('Lax Vowel Constraint') and they are able to begin with a schwa ('Schwa Constraint'). Hence, an RP is not parsed as an independent π-word. Instead it must prosodically integrate into an adjacent π-word.

Unlike Romance 'clitics', German RPs can be integrated into quite different phonological hosts. This is illustrated in (54) for ROPs and in (55) for RSPs.

[39] Hall's terminology differs from the one proposed here. Following Kohler (1977), he calls RPs 'weak' and neutral pronouns 'strong'. All reduced forms of function words and possibly even all the neutral forms seem to violate constraint (53).

Enclitic ROPs can be π-hosted by complementizers (54a), nouns (54b), finite auxiliaries (54c), finite verbs (54d), adverbials (54e), or prepositions (54f).

(54) *Possible π-hosts for ROPs* [He]
a. …dass 'm de Hans heut die Meinung gesagt hat
...that him^{DAT} *the Hans*^{NOM} *today the opinion*^{ACC} *told has*
'… that Hans told him off today'
b. …dass de Hans 'm heut die Meinung gesagt hat
c. De Hans hat 'm heut die Meinung gesagt
d. De Hans sagt 'm heut die Meinung
The Hans^{NOM} *tells him*^{DAT} *today the opinion*^{ACC}
e. …dass heut 'm de Hans die Meinung gesagt hat
f. De Hans hat net mehr mit 'm gerechnet
The Hans^{NOM} *has not anymore with him counted*
'Hans didn't expect him anymore'

RSPs have a more limited distribution than ROPs. We argued in Gärtner & Steinbach (forthcoming) that unstressed, i.e. neutral or reduced, subject pronouns are the best candidates for the α-position in the MF. Therefore, they are expected to be adjacent to whatever occupies COMP.[40] This can be either a complementizer (55a), a relativizing DP (55b), a finite auxiliary (55c) or a finite verb (55d). Furthermore, adverbials (55e) and reduced (55f) or prominent object pronouns (55g) may intervene between COMP and an RSP.

(55) *Possible π-hosts for RSPs* [He]
a. …dass mer 'm Hans heut die Meinung gesagt ham
...that we^{NOM} *the Hans* ^{DAT} *today the opinion*^{ACC} *told have*
'… that we told Hans off today'
b. …die Frau, dere Mutter mer die Meinung gesagt ham
...the woman whose mother^{DAT} *we*^{NOM} *the opinion*^{ACC} *told have*
c. Heut ham mer 'm Hans die Meinung gesagt
d. Heut sage mer 'm Hans die Meinung
Today tell we^{NOM} *the Hans* ^{DAT} *the opinion*^{ACC}
e. ?...weil heut mer 'm Hans die Meinung gesagt ham
...because today we^{NOM} *the Hans*^{DAT} *the opinion*^{ACC} *told have*
f. … weil mer 's hier gefällt
...because me^{DAT} *it here pleases*
'…because I like it here'
g. … weil (/)MIR se NET(\) gefalle
...because me^{DAT} *they*^{NOM} *not please*
'…because I don't like them'

To repeat, RPs are phonologically deficient elements that must be phonologically integrated into an adjacent π-word. We have already seen that in Dutch and

[40] Besides, subject pronouns cannot be π-adjoined to prepositions because in Dutch and German, subjects do not occur PP-internally for reasons of case.

German there aren't any special syntactic restrictions on the distribution or host of RPs. Hence, there is no evidence for a 'special clitic-syntax' and an analysis that simply assumes π-incorporation into or π-adjunction to an adjacent π-word would seem to be sufficient.

Now, many linguists working on RPs in Standard Dutch and Standard German or in different colloquial and dialectal variants of Dutch and German have claimed that enclitic forms interact more strongly with their hosts than proclitic ones.[41] They have tried to capture this asymmetry by assuming that only enclitics π-incorporate into the preceding π-word. Proclitics, on the other hand, cannot be π-*incorporated* into the following π-word. Instead, they either π-*adjoin* to the adjacent π-word or π-incorporate into the adjacent π-*phrase*.

It follows that rules whose domain are the prosodic word should exclusively apply to combinations of enclitics and their hosts, while being blocked in procliticization configurations. The clearest example for this asymmetry is resyllabification, the domain of syllabification being the π-word. This is illustrated in (56a).[42] Further rules that only apply under encliticization but not procliticization are schwa-deletion (56b),[43] /n/-insertion (56c),[44] and word-internal devoicing (56d).[45] Crucially, these rules do not apply under procliticization.[46] Resyl-

[41] Cf. Prinz (1991) for northern variants of German, Hall (1998) for Standard German, Berendsen (1986) for Standard Western Dutch, and Booij (1996) for Standard Dutch.

[42] See also Berendsen (1986) and Booij (1996) for similar data in Dutch. According to Berendsen (1986:48f), verb-forms followed by a schwa-initial RP have two different pronunciations in his variant of Dutch: a verb-final obstruent can either be voiced or voiceless, as shown in (i).

(i) a. he[b/p] [ə]r *have her*^{DO} b. gaa[v/f] ie *gave he*^{SU} c. laa[d/t] [ə]m *unload it*^{DO} [D]

He argues that schwa-initial RPs trigger resyllabification only optionally. Therefore, he takes them to be adjoined either to the π-word, annotated as ω, or to a prosodic category above the word level, which he annotates as ø. Resyllabification can be found only in the first case whereas final devoicing applies only in the second. This is illustrated in (ii).

(ii) a. $(\text{he.bəm})_{\omega}$ b. $((\text{hep})\ \text{əm})_{\text{ø}}$ [D]

[43] Hall (1998:120) accounts for this observation by means of the 'Prevocalic Schwa Constraint', which excludes ($_{\omega}$ …ə[-cons]…) if both the schwa and the following vowel belong to the same π-word. The configuration schwa+vowel is only grammatical when a π-word boundary occurs between the schwa and the vowel, as can be seen in (ia) for compounds and in (ib) for prefixed words. Proclitic RPs equal prefixes in this respect.

(i) a. ($_{\omega}$ Käse) ($_{\omega}$ auf) ($_{\omega}$ lauf) – [kɛ:zəaʊflaʊf] [G]
b. be($_{\omega}$ arbeiten) – [bəaʁbaɪtən]

[44] (56c) is from Suebian. Some variants of this dialect have /r/-insertion instead of /n/-insertion (cf. Haag-Merz 1995). See also Berendsen (1986) and Booij (1996) for similar examples of /n/- and glide-insertion in Dutch, and Cooper (1994:76f) on /n/-insertion in Zurich German.

[45] The generalization behind (56d) is that in German "within words […] a voiceless consonant+[sə] is occuring, whereas a voiceless consonant+[zə] is not. This phonotactic regularity holds within lexical words" (Hall 1998:128). Given that this test cannot be applied in procliticization configurations, it provides theory-internal evidence only (cf. also the following footnote).

In Dutch we find a voice-alternation with *d*-initial reduced determiners as is illustrated in (i), i.e. Dutch has word-internal devoicing and regressive voice assimilation (Berendsen 1986, Lahiri et.al 1990, and Booij 1996). The reduced *d*-initial pronoun /dər/ 'her' can either π-incorporate into the preceding π-word or land outside of it. In the latter case it either π-*adjoins* to the preceding π-*word* or it π-*incorporates* into the preceding π-*phrase*. π-incorporation triggers word-internal devoicing, whereas both consonants are voiced if the RP lands outside the π-word (Booij 1996:237).

labification is ungrammatical in this case, as is illustrated in (56a). The same holds for schwa-deletion in Dutch (56b) and /n/-insertion (56c). The examples in (56b) are taken from Booij (1996:226, 231) and the ones in (56a) and (56d) from Hall (1998) (cf. also Prinz 1991 and Haag-Merz 1995).[47]

(56) *Pro- and encliticization of RPs in Dutch and German*

		procliticization	encliticization	
a.	resyllabification:	'nAuto [n.au.to]/*[nau.to] *a car*	geht 'r [ge:.tʁ] *goes he*^{NOM}	[G]
b.	Schwa-deletion:	we eten [ʋəetən] *we*^{SU} *eat*	haalde 'm [haldəm]/*[haldəəm] *fetched him*^{DO}	[D]
c.	/n/-insertion:	d' Anna *[dənanna] *the Anna*	wo 'e [vonə] *where I*^{NOM}	[Su]
d.	word-internal devoicing:		kommt se [kɔmtsə] *comes she*^{NOM}	[G]

Apart from this asymmetry between pro- and encliticization, RPs in Dutch and German obey further phonological restrictions. Cliticization is, for example, unacceptable if the RP and the adjacent consonant of the π-host are homophonous. (57c) is due to den Besten (p.c.).

(57) a.* 'Sch schreib grad en Brief [He]
I^{NOM} *write just a letter*^{ACC}
'I'm just writing a letter'
b. Sie sehn 'n ??[nn]/[nən]
They^{NOM} *see him*^{ACC}
c.* 'K kus Marie [D]
I^{SU} *kiss Mary*^{DO}

(i) a. Ik mag d'r b. (ω mag d'r) [maxtər] [D]
I^{SU} *like her*^{DO} c. (ϕ (ω mag) d'r) [maɣdər]

Lahiri et.al. (1990) argue that speakers prefer the phonological representation that is faithful to the underlying lexical representation of the preceding verb, i.e. (ic).

46 This difference between pro- and encliticization is further confirmed by the following observation (cf. Kohler 1977). In German, apical plosives and nasals can be assimilated to the preceding and following adjacent labials and velars. There is, however, a crucial difference between progressive and regressive assimilation. Progressive assimilation applies within π-words whereas regressive assimilation applies across a π-word boundary. Hence, we expect assimilation of the RP [n] under both encliticization and procliticization. This is illustrated in (ib) and (iib) respectively. It looks as if the assimilation is only partial under procliticization, i.e. we only get feature-spreading of [+ labial] from [b] to [n] in (iib), the feature [+apical] remaining intact.

(i) a. Liebsch 'n Franz? (ω li:b.ʃ n) [Su]
(you) love the Franz ^{ACC}?
b. Ja, ich lieb 'n Franz (ω li:.bm)
Yes, I ^{NOM} *love the Franz* ^{ACC}
(ii) a. n' Hans lieb ich (ω n (ω hans))
the Hans ^{ACC} *love I* ^{NOM}
b. n' Bernd lieb ich (ω n/m (ω bɛnt))
the Bernd ^{ACC} *love I* ^{NOM}

47 We think that representing glottal-stops might ultimately be necessary to get a clearer picture of some of the processes.

Vowelless RPs like Dutch /k/ exhibit further coocurrence restrictions under encliticization. The reduced form /k/ can only be used if it forms a wellformed coda with the preceding consonant(s). According to Booij (1996) the schwa-initial 'allomorph' /ək/ must be used if the preceding consonant is [t], [x], or [p], because [tk], [xk], and [pk] are impossible codas in Dutch (Booij 1996:233).

(58) a. zal 'k [lk] b. moet 'k *[tk]/[tək] [D]
should I^{SU} *must* I^{SU}

Note finally that frequent combinations of π-host and enclitic interact more strongly than less frequent ones. The gemination in (59) can only be reduced in (59a) when the 1.PL.NOM. RSP /mɐ/ is π-hosted by the auxiliary *ham*[48] but not in (59b) where, homophonously, its 1.SG.DAT. ROP counterpart is π-hosted by the noun *Hamm* (Westphalian town). A similar asymmetry can be found in Dutch, as Booij (1996) argues.[49]

(59) a. gestern ham mer [ha.mɐ] zuviel gebabbelt [He]
yesterday have we^{NOM} *too-much talked*
b. weil Hamm mer [ham.mɐ]/*[hamɐ] gefällt
because Hamm^{NOM} *me*^{DAT} *pleases*

So far, we have established that in Dutch and German, enclitics interact more strongly with their π-host than proclitics. This difference is captured by different types of prosodic structures for pro- and encliticization. Booij (1996) and Hall (1998) analyze encliticization of RPs as π-incorporation into the preceding π-word as is illustrated in (60) (cf. also Prinz 1991).[50]

(60) *Enclitics*: $(\text{host} + \text{enclitic})_{\omega}$

[48] In Suebian the plural form of the auxiliary *haben* (have) is *hen*. In this case, encliticization triggers progressive assimilation of the final nasal:

(i) geschdern hem mer im Rebstöckle zviel trunke [Su]
yesterday have we ^{NOM} *in-the Rebstöckle too-much drunk*

[49] Prinz (1991) observes the following additional restriction that can be found in northern variants of German.

(i) a. *wohingegen də... b. weil də... [G]
whereas you ^{NOM} *because you* ^{NOM}

Encliticization is only grammatical in these variants of German if the final syllable of the host bears an accent. This restriction does not seem to hold in southern variants of German (cf. Haag-Merz 1995:129 for Suebian). Besides, morphologically complex complementizers like *wohingegen* cannot always be found in the southern variants of German that are under discussion.

[50] Hall (1998) argues that in German forms like /zɪ/ or /dʊ/ ending in a short full lax vowel, which are intermediate forms between neutral pronouns and RPs, must not π-incorporate into the preceding π-word. Otherwise they would violate the Lax Vowel Constraint (cf. above). Hence, Hall proposes the following alternative structure for encliticization.

(i) $((\text{host})_{\omega} + \text{enclitic})_{\phi}$

The voice-alternation in Standard Western Dutch mentioned by Berendsen (1986) would provide additional evidence for the assumption that some enclitics can optionally π-adjoin at the ϕ-level. In this dialect, all RPs can optionally π-incorporate into either the preceding π-word or π-phrase (cf. footnote 42 above). Note that Lahiri et. al. (1990) and Booij (1996) assume the same thing for encliticization of *d*-initial 'clitics' in Dutch.

RPs that contain a schwa or a full lax vowel and the German vowelless RPs with a nasal (i.e. /m/ and /n/) count as a syllable and thus π-incorporate into the last *foot* of their π-host. RPs like Dutch /k/ and /t/ or Hessian /s/ and /ʃ/, however, that consist of a [-nasal] consonant do not project a syllable and therefore are forced to π-incorporate into the last *syllable* of their π-host. As already mentioned, the latter option is only available if the RP and the final consonant of the π-host form a well-formed coda. Thus, encliticization is π-incorporation at the lowest possible level.

Procliticization, on the other hand, we analyze as π-incorporation into the following π-phrase, as argued by Hall (1998). Proclitic elements cannot π-incorporate into the following foot because feet are left-headed in Dutch and German. Left-headedness implies that the leftmost syllable of the foot must bear the accent. This, of course, excludes RPs from that position. Being unable to π-incorporate into or π-adjoin to the π-word, their lowest possible attachment site is the π-phrase as illustrated in (61).[51]

(61) *Proclitics*: (proclitic + (host)$_{\omega}$)$_{\phi}$

Because of the leftheadedness of Dutch and German, encliticization constitutes the optimal prosodic structure namely the one of type [sw]. Procliticization, on the other hand, results in a suboptimal prosodic structure ([ws]).

Further support for this encliticization preference comes from the fact that Dutch and German are 'stress-timed' languages (cf. Pompino-Marschall 1995:236f). Therefore, the boundaries of the relevant rhythmic constituent can be aligned with a ω- and/or ϕ-boundary in sequences of host+enclitic. Proclitic+host sequences, on the other hand, cannot align with the left edge of such a – necessarily stress-initial – rhythmic constituent. On the contrary, the boundary of this kind of constituent can even separate a proclitic from its host, an impossibility in the host+enclitic case (cf. Kohler 1977).

Last but not least, encliticization prevents the creation of schwa-initial phonological constituents as well as schwa-initial hiatus.

Summing up, the clear preference for encliticization in Dutch and German is not just an empirical coincidence but highly systematic and deeply rooted in the phonological systems of these languages.

Two further observations complete this picture. First, we would expect that an RP like Dutch /k/ should procliticize to the following π-word if by doing so it can avoid the forming of an illformed coda with the preceding word (see above).

[51] Booij analyzes procliticization as π-adjunction to the π-word as is illustrated in (i):

(i) (proclitic + (host)$_{\omega}$)$_{\omega}$

According to him, the intervening ω-node blocks the application of word-initial rules to the proclitic+host sequence in (i). One argument in favor of Hall's analysis is the distribution of schwa in German and Dutch. Booij's analysis predicts that sequences of proclitic schwa-initial RPs and their host form a π-word. However, structures like ($_{\omega}$ əs ($_{\omega}$ kɔmt)) 'it comes' or ($_{\omega}$ən ($_{\omega}$ man)) 'a man' seem to violate the 'Schwa Constraint' constraint already mentioned (cf. Hall 1998:118).

But even in this case, encliticization of the less-reduced schwa-initial form /ək/ wins out over procliticization as shown in (62), cf. Booij (1996:234).[52]

(62) a. (Dat) heb 'k aan
(That^{DO}*) have I*^{SU} *on*
'I wear that'
b. ($_\sigma$ he)($_\sigma$ pək)($_\sigma$ an) [D]
c.* ($_\sigma$ hep)($_\sigma$ kan)

Secondly, reduced forms of determiners *can* be used as proclitics, i.e. they can π-adjoin to the immediately following π-word of the NP they belong to, as (63a) illustrates. Encliticization is, however, the preferred option when the DP is embedded inside a PP. In this case, the reduced determiner encliticizes to the preposition, as (63b) and (63c) shows.

(63) a. 'M Hans
the Hans^{DAT}
b. hinter 'm Haus
behind the house
c. im Haus
in-the house
[G]

Combinations of preposition and reduced determiners like *in'm* are blocked by the lexicalized form *im* (cf. Prinz 1991 and Nübling 1995).

3.2.2 The phonology of fronted RPs

The preceding section provides us with a further factor in the conspiracy against RPs in α^{ex}-position. We have seen that proclitics are much more loosely integrated into their host than enclitics. The resulting degree of instability amounts to the (violable) principle in (64).

(64) Avoid procliticization

We are now going to appeal to this further condition in accounting for the fact that some RSPs, although they meet the criteria for fronting discussed in section 3.1, do not felicitously occur in α^{ex}-position. More specifically we want to derive the pattern in (65).

(65) *Frontability of Hessian RSPs*

	Hessian RSPs	frontability		
		√	??	*
a.	RSPs with syllabic sonorant /ɐ/:	mɐ		ɐ
b.	Consonant-initial RSPs containing /ə/:		də, zə	
c.	Consonant-final RSPs:	ʃ, s		

In order to derive the pattern illustrated in (65) we have to take the syntax-phonology mapping into account. Comparing the proclitic elements in the α^{ex}-position in (66) to the homophonous proclitic elements contained in morphological words (67a) or in a sentence-initial DP (67b) or VP (67c), we can observe that only in the latter contexts the proclitic element can π-incorporate into the following π-phrase.

[52] We come back to the phenomenon of reduction in 3.2.

(66) a.* ’r arbeitet [ʁaʁbaɪtət] [He]
he works
b.* de’ hast wiedermal nix verstande c.* ’n ruf isch net aa
you have again nothing understood *him call I not up*

(67) a. erarbeitet [ʁaʁbaɪtət] (morph. word) [He]
aquire-3.SG/2.PL.
b. de’ Hassan kommt morsche (DP)
the Hassan comes tomorrow
c. ?’n aazurufe hat er gar net probiert (VP)
him call up has he even not tried

These data suggest that some kind of phonological boundary must be postulated between the α^{ex}-position and the following C’-constituent. The absence of this boundary in the examples in (67) is due to the fact that the proclitic element bears a selectional relation to its host (bound morheme – stem in (67a), determiner – head noun in (67b) and complement – verb in (67c)).

What differentiates the elements in (65) is whether or not they are able to straddle that boundary. Thus the 3.SG.M.NOM. and 2.PL.NOM. form /ʁ/ is unable to project the required phonological constituent. /ʁ/ does not show the phonological independence necessary to surmount that boundary. The intermediate status of /zə/ and /də/ under fronting appears to result from the fact that for these elements the edge of reduction coincides with the edge of attachment. Under encliticization the same state of affairs is compensated by proper π-incorporation into the adjacent π-word. We know that procliticization doesn’t allow this. As a consequence speakers seem to try to compensate for the instable edge by – impressionistically speaking – lessening vowel reduction.[53] To the extent that this leads back to a form indistinguishable from the neutral pronoun, the degraded acceptability of fronted RP /zə/ and /də/ follows. In contrast to /zə/ and /də/ the element /mʁ/ is better equipped for the α^{ex}-position. First of all, reduction does not affect it at the edge of attachment. Secondly, the nasal segment /m/ is stronger than /s/ and /d/, preceding them on the sonority hierarchy. Both these properties in combination make /mʁ/ ‘fit for exposure’.

Finally, note that /ʃ/ and /s/ have a special status. It has frequently been observed that word-internally (alveo-)palatal fricatives can be added to an onset by a special rule (cf. a.o. Kenstowicz 1994:258f). The segmentally identical proclitics are parasitic on that process. [54]

This phonological account of the frontability of RSPs allows us to complete our account of ROPs developed in section 3.1. There we suggested that the

[53] This is further confirmed by the observation made by Nübling (1992) that in Bernese German, the vowel of enclitic forms is either reduced to schwa or completely deleted whereas most proclitic forms contain a short full lax vowel.

[54] Nevertheless, the difference between the status of /*s*/ and /ʃ/ as either part of the onset or as proclitic, π-adjoined to the π-phrase, can be clearly detected. For similar observations wrt Dutch see Berendsen (1986:80ff).

factor of syncretism with frontable RSPs contributes to the frontability of 1.SG.DAT /mɐ/ and 3.SG.N.ACC /s/. At the same time, syncretism with an RSP is useless in the case of 3.SG.F.ACC and 3.PL.ACC /zə/ as well as 3. SG.F.DAT *'r*. This is due to the fact that the corresponding RSPs themselves are unable to be fronted for purely phonological reasons.

4 Conclusion

In this article we argued that contrary to what is occasionally claimed in the literature,

(68) Reduced pronouns do not provide distributional evidence for an 'asymmetry analysis' of verb second.

Instead, their behavior is fully compatible with the 'traditional' assumption that V2 invariably targets a functional projection outside IP, the specifier of which is accessible to XPs irrespective of their grammatical function or categorial status. What microdistributional differences there remain between reduced pronouns and full DPs, on the one hand, and reduced object pronouns and reduced subject pronouns on the other hand, we put to independently motivated principles of (morpho-)phonology and discourse structure.

The conclusion arrived at here is fully in line with what has been argued in Gärtner & Steinbach (forthcoming), namely that

(69) RPs do not provide evidence for the existence of head-initial functional projections between COMP and VP in Dutch and German.

In sum, we believe that a standard XP approach to RPs that derives their positions by means of XP-scrambling and XP-fronting offers a more unified and therefore more attractive perspective than its 'special clitic'-based rivals.

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