

Towards a Syntactic Understanding of Prosodically Reduced Pronouns*

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Abstract: Prosodically reduced pronouns come in two forms, “weak” and “clitic,” both differing from non-reduced “strong” pronouns. Both of these also occur in Westgermanic dialects and exhibit different properties which cannot always be unambiguously disentangled. The theoretical framework presented here allows us a straightforward disambiguation: reduced pronominal elements in the left periphery must be clitics, while those below cannot. The functional head F^0 , encoding “point-of-view,” serves as the licensing position for clitics which are here taken to be heads; weak pronouns, maximal phrases in the overt syntax, cliticize at LF. Movement to F^0 is driven by the need to compensate for underspecified ϕ -feature information.

1 Introduction

The goal of this paper is to establish a syntactic mechanism for determining the clitic status of reduced pronominal elements in the Westgermanic, much in the spirit of recent work on object clitics in Western Romance by Uriagereka (1995). By means of a pronominal tripartition (à la Cardinaletti & Starke 1999), I aim at disambiguating weak from clitic pronouns on the basis of overt movement to “FP” which refers to Uriagereka’s position for certain Romance clitics, encoding a concept of “point-of-view,” expressed in a detailed C-layer (as articulated by Rizzi 1997, for example; cf. Cardinaletti & Roberts 1991).¹ My analysis builds on the syntax of S(PELL) O(UT)-clitics and L(OGICAL) F(ORM)-clitics, targeting F^0 ; an SO-clitic is a syntactic head, or X^0 , while an LF-clitic is an XP in the overt syntax and an X^0 in the covert part. In this sense, the tripartition can be cut down to a bipartition into (strong) pronouns and clitics, where the latter are either overt or covert clitics (as also suggested by Laenzlinger 1998 in a similar fashion).

In section 2, I argue that Westgermanic dialects—especially German—have ‘special clitics’, i.e. clitic elements that affect the syntax. In section 3, I discuss the internal structure of pronouns and the range of pronominal elements we find in German where I assume that weak elements are underspecified in their ϕ -features; I also present the assumptions on clause structure and derivation adopted here. In section 4, I address the syntax of clitics and propose that weak pronominal elements target a functional projection F^0 in the C-domain to satisfy underspecified [person]-features. In section 5, I address parametric variation, “LF-clitics” and some consequences of this approach. I conclude in section 6 that the syntax of Westgermanic clitics relies on a strong discourse-driven role that the C-domain plays in German syntax.

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¹ I take it for granted that the ambiguous status between strong and deficient pronouns in languages such as German—where many of the forms are homophonous or where the reduced forms are often simply phonetically reduced—is known, as Cardinaletti (1992) observes. In what follows I address the issue of ambiguity between

2 Clitics in German?

For the longest time, there has been a debate in the literature whether German has ‘real’ clitics in the first place. This section serves to lay the foundation for the remainder of this paper by showing that and how not only other Westgermanic dialects but also German possess such ‘special clitics’ (in the sense of Zwicky 1977).

2.1 Clitics in Westgermanic Dialects

Adopting the definition of reduced pronominal elements of Zwicky (1977), Zwart (1991) was the first to show that Dutch has ‘special clitics’, i.e. a class of weak pronouns that behaves differently not only in their phonological properties but also, and especially, in their syntax from a different set of prosodically weak pronouns.² Clitics exist in colloquial Dutch, not only in dialects but also in the standard variety.³

Thus we can observe that embedded subject clitics immediately follow the complementizer and embedded object clitics, the subject.⁴

- (1) a. dat-*ze* de student gisteren het boek gegeven heeft.
 that-she the student yesterday the book given has
 ‘that she gave the book to the student yesterday.’
 b. *dat de student-*ze* gisteren het boek gegeven heeft.
- (2) a. dat de professor-*m* gisteren het boek gegeven heeft.
 that the professor-him yesterday the book given has
 ‘that the professor gave him the book yesterday.’
 b. *dat-*m* de professor het boek gegeven heeft.
 c. *dat de professor gisteren het boek-*m* gegeven heeft.

In matrix clauses, however, the clitic must follow the second-position finite verb:

- (3) a. Ze/*Ie heeft-*t* gisteren gelezen.
 she/he has-it yesterday read
 ‘She read it yesterday.’
 b. *-*t* heeft ze/ie gisteren gelezen.

Clitics also exist in West Flemish (WF), another Westgermanic dialect. The conditions licensing WF clitics are identical to the ones mentioned above, with one exception: (5b) shows that embedded WF object clitics may optionally follow the complementizer, thus precede the subject (see Haegeman 1996, for example).

² This split was explored and elaborated by Cardinaletti & Starke (1995) who propose a tripartition into strong, weak and clitic pronouns, where the latter two correspond roughly to Zwicky’s ‘simple’ and ‘special’ clitics, respectively. I discuss this in more detail in section 3.

³ For elaborate argumentation, I refer the reader to Zwart (1991, 1997). I adopt the conclusion that Dutch has special clitics and show in the following the empirical bearings before addressing German pronouns in a similar vein. See also Grohmann (1997).

- (4) a. *da-ze* den student gisteren den boek gegeven eet.
 that-she the student yesterday the book given has
 ‘that she gave the book to the student yesterday.’
 b. **da* den student-*ze* gisteren den boek gegeven eet.
- (5) a. *da* de professor-*ze* gisteren den boek gegeven eet.
 that the professor-her yesterday the book given has
 ‘that the professor gave her the book yesterday.’
 b. *da-ze* de professor den boek gegeven eet
 c. **da* de professor gisteren het boek-*ze* gegeven eet

In terms of distribution, it can be shown that weak pronominal elements occupy a higher position in the clause structure than strong pronouns or full nominals, a tendency we can already observe in (1)-(5). I deal with this issue extensively in section 3.3 below. Generally speaking, subject clitics follow the complementizer and object clitics the subject, both rather high positions, bordering or even being inside CP, as we see in more detail in section 4.

The desired correlation to Romance clitics mentioned in the introduction faces a number of obvious problems, without going into empirical depth (cf. Cardinaletti & Starke 1995 and references cited): (i) Westgermanic clitics are not (always) verb-related, (ii) they do not (always) show as clear distributional evidence, and (iii) the morphological paradigm is not (always) as phonotactically independent as in Romance. I return to these problems, and the correlation, in section 4 where I follow up on the general idea and lay out an analysis of generalized clitic movement to F.

2.2 Clitics in Southern German Dialects

To return to Westgermanic clitics—and keeping to the generally accepted assumption that Dutch and WF exhibit clitic pronouns—clitics also occur in German dialects, as the data presented in this section suggest.

For starters, consider German dialects, predominantly those from southern parts of the German-speaking area (such as Austria, Bavaria, Swabia, Switzerland, Tyrol). The pattern is pretty much as observed so far; so matrix clitics, subjects and objects alike, follow the finite verb in second position, as shown for Viennese (adopted from Abraham & Wiegel 1993:20-22).⁵

- (6) a. Zuckerln ham-*ma* gestern a: ghopt.
 candy have-we yesterday also had
 ‘We also had candy yesterday.’
 b. *Zuckerln ham gestern <-*ma*> a: <-*ma*> ghopt.
- (7) a. Ea hot-*n* gseng.
 he has-him seen
 ‘He saw him.’
 b. *-*n* hot ea gseng.

In embedded clauses, the clitic seems to attach preferably to the complementizer, as the data from Olang Tirolese in (8) show (Cardinaletti & Starke 1995:33, cited from Oberleiter & Sfriso 1993), while it cannot appear in first position in matrix clauses.

- (8) a. daß-*a* intelligent isch.
 that-he intelligent is
 ‘that he is intelligent.’
 b. *-*a* isch intelligent.
 -he is intelligent
 ‘He is intelligent.’

Abstracting away from more intricate data for the moment (cf. Abraham 1996a, 1996b, Abraham & Wiegel 1993), the behaviour of clitics so far points to a position in or around C⁰:

- (9) a. [CP (XP) V-<clitic> [IP subject-<clitic> ...]]
 b. [CP C-<clitic> [IP subject-<clitic> ...]]

2.3 Colloquial Standard German (CSG)

With the evidence from Westgermanic dialects in mind, we should now ask ourselves whether clitics also exist in Colloquial Standard German, henceforth CSG.⁶ Obviously, we do find phonologically reduced pronominal elements in CSG, just as we find in Bavarian, Montafon etc. These reduced elements show basically the same pattern that we have observed so far, abstracting away from more intricate variation.

In light of the Dutch and WF data, CSG seems to fall in between: subject clitics follow complementizers, and object clitics do so in a preferred way, but may also follow the subject.

- (10) a. daß-*a* gestern demStudenten das Buch gegeben hat.
 that-he yesterday the student the book given has
 ‘that he gave the book to the student yesterday.’
 b. *daß dem Student-*a* gestern das Buch gegeben hat.
- (11) a. daß-*m* der Professor gestern das Buch gegeben hat.
 that-him the professor yesterday the book given has
 ‘that the professor gave him the book yesterday.’
 b. *daß der Professor-*m* gestern das Buch gegeben hat.
- (12) a. daß-*s* der Professor gestern dem Student gegeben hat.
 that-it the professor yesterday the student given has
 ‘that the professor gave it to the student yesterday.’
 b. ?daß der Professor-*s* gestern dem Student gegeben hat.
 c. *daß dem Student der Professor-*s* gestern gegeben hat.

⁶ German is undoubtedly a language whose ‘standard’ variety cannot clearly be made out as opposed to, say, ‘Queen’s English’ as Standard British English. Nevertheless, by ‘Colloquial Standard German’ I refer to the variety of High German spoken in the Hanover area, traditionally assumed to be the ‘standard’ form. All CSG-data comes from my own regional variety, spoken in Ostwestfalen, in and around Herford, some 50 miles

- (13) a. daß-*m-s* der Professor gestern gegeben hat.
 that-him-it the professor yesterday given has
 ‘that the professor gave it to him yesterday.’
 b. *daß der Professor-*m-s* gestern gegeben hat.
 c. *daß-*m* der Professor-*s* gestern gegeben hat.

I cannot delve into a deeper discussion of dialectal differences in the morphological paradigms of these reduced pronouns (but see Abraham & Wiegel 1993, Grohmann 1996 and references cited), nor can I consider phonotactic conditions allowing for one variant or another (because I shall focus on the syntax involved). Rather, I would like to suggest the following hypothesis: to the extent that all of the above italicized and hyphenated pronominal forms are ‘special clitics’ (in the sense of Zwicky 1977), CSG has regular clitics, that is proper syntactic clitic pronouns. We now need a mechanism that determines the structural status of a pronominal element in an unambiguous way for reasons that become evident once we look at other pronominal elements in German.

3 Pronominal Structures

We can now look at other such pronouns and ponder about their structure, both from internal and clause-structural considerations.

3.1 A First Stab: Pronominal Tripartition

I assume a general tripartition of pronominal elements, basically following Cardinaletti & Starke’s (1995, 1999) work at the outset. We thus differentiate strong, weak and clitic pronouns. Strong pronouns behave very much like full nominal elements. We thus expect that their internal structure is the same as for other, non-pronominal DPs; their clause-structural properties should also be the same as for their full nominal counterparts.⁷ The other types are deficient in one way or another and not only show a different syntactic behaviour but also vary in structure. This is illustrated in (14a), where a strong pronoun may appear before or after a sentence adverb, and it may also appear in a position reserved for focused elements, and (14b) where the strong pronoun is in first position in a matrix verb-second clause, traditionally referred to as the ‘topic-position’ (see also discussion in section 3.3).⁸

- (14) a. Die Maria hat <dem Martin/ihm> gestern <dem Martin/ihm>
 the Mary has <the Martin/him> yesterday <the Martin/him>
 einen Kuß <DEM MARTIN/IHM> gegeben.
 a kiss <the Martin/him> given
 ‘Maria gave Martin/him a kiss yesterday.’
 b. Dem Martin/Ihm hat die Maria gestern einen Kuß gegeben.

⁷ There are a number of criteria to distinguish ‘strong’ from ‘not so strong’ pronouns. See Cardinaletti & Starke (1995) on Germanic and Romance, Laenzlinger & Shlonsky (1997) on German and Hebrew, and Laenzlinger (1998) on German and French for appropriate data and thorough discussion, based on distinguishing properties first gathered by Kayne (1975), as presented briefly in section 3.3 below.

⁸ Here and in the following I indicate strong pronouns by regular typeface and weak pronouns by italics.

Strong pronouns should thus be analysed as full DPs and as such undergo overt XP-movement into the T-domain to check agreement and optional movement into the C-domain, for example in instances of topicalization. I lay out the current assumptions regarding movement and clause structure in German in section 3.3.

On the other hand, clitics are clearly and severely deficient pronominal elements which are often analysed as heads, i.e. as D^0 .⁹ As such they need an appropriate host; this host seems to be a head, and it better be in a high position, as (15a), the clitic-containing counterpart of (14a), indicates. (Note that neither weak nor clitic pronouns can be focused; cf. section 3.3.)

- (15) a. Die Maria hat $\langle -m \rangle$ gestern $\langle * -m \rangle$ einen Kuß $\langle * -M \rangle$ gegeben.
 b. $* -m$ hat die Maria gestern einen Kuß gegeben.

If this is the case, something else must rule out the ungrammaticality of a clitic in first position. From the approach that I advance here, it follows that the first position can only be an XP (i.e. DP for pronouns) in the overt syntax, thus accounting for the ungrammaticality of (15b). As such I refer to a clitic pronoun as a “null DP:” it is generated as a DP and undergoes overt XP-movement into the T-domain, for the usual agreement-checking purposes (a conception of clitic syntax going back to Kayne 1975). To lay out the basic line of the present proposal, subsequent X^0 -movement into the C-domain licenses the clitic’s underspecified ϕ -features. In other words, clitics must move to an appropriate functional position from where the internal ϕ -feature mismatch can be rescued.

A weak pronoun, to mention the third type and with respect to clitics the more relevant one, is an in-between element: we may analyse it as an overt DP, which hence undergoes XP-movement into the T-domain for the usual reasons, but a covert D^0 . As such I treat it as an “LF-clitic” elaborating on Grohmann (1997); see also Laenzlinger & Shlonsky (1997), Laenzlinger (1998). The movement into the T-domain looks more like that of clitics than that of strong pronouns: it can only be to a relatively high position, and I later capitalize on this condition. (16) shows that weak pronouns cannot appear in the same positions that strong ones do (compare with (14)), even though weak and strong pronouns cannot always be easily told apart, a state of affairs that I intend to solve in this paper.

- (16) a. Die Maria hat $\langle ihm \rangle$ gestern $\langle ? ihm \rangle$ einen Kuß $\langle * IHM \rangle$ gegeben.
 b. *Ihm* hat die Maria gestern einen Kuß gegeben.

Weak pronouns, then, can be thought of as “half DPs:” overt XP-movement into the T-domain and covert X^0 -movement into C-domain; again, the LF-movement into the C-domain will rescue the particular ϕ -feature mismatch which obviously is not as deficient as for clitics, hence accounting for the ‘strong’ vs. ‘weak’ difference between the two, to employ minimalist terminology, i.e. overt movement of clitic and covert movement of weak pronouns for basically the same purpose.¹⁰

⁹ The assumption that clitics are heads is not really controversial and goes back to at least Baltin (1982); Kayne (1991) and subsequent work argues for this analysis in considerable detail.

¹⁰ Space does not permit a critical examination of the economy-conception of ‘strong’ and ‘weak’ formal features, firmly based in standard minimalism (cf. Chomsky 1995). I refer the reader to recent work by Boeckx (2000), Castillo et al. (1999), Fox (1999), Roberts & Roussou (1999), Hornstein (forthcoming) and others on

The sentences in (17) for matrix clauses and (18) for embedded occurrences—cf. (14) for glosses and translation—paint a rough picture as to which pronouns may appear in which positions, relative to each other, sentential adverbs and focus positions:¹¹

- (17) a. Der Martin hat <*es/es/-s> gestern <*es/?es/*-s> der Maria <*es/*es/*-s> gegeben.
 b. Das/*Es/?Es/*-s hat der Martin gestern der Maria gegeben.
- (18) daß <?es/-s> der Martin <es/?-s> gestern <*es/*-s> der Maria gegeben hat.

In this respect, the consequence of the approach I am pursuing here is that an overtly high pronoun can only be a clitic, not a weak pronoun (nor a strong pronoun, unless contrastively stressed). Bear also in mind that (non-contracted) *es* ‘it’ can only be a weak pronoun (see Cardinaletti & Starke 1995, 1999 for convincing evidence).

3.2 Pronominal ϕ -Features

After mentioning “ ϕ -feature mismatch” and “(structural) deficiency” in passing, it is now time to address the questions what is this deficiency and what might it look like; in addition, I follow up on possible consequences of pronominal deficiency in this section, as this will be important for the analysis.

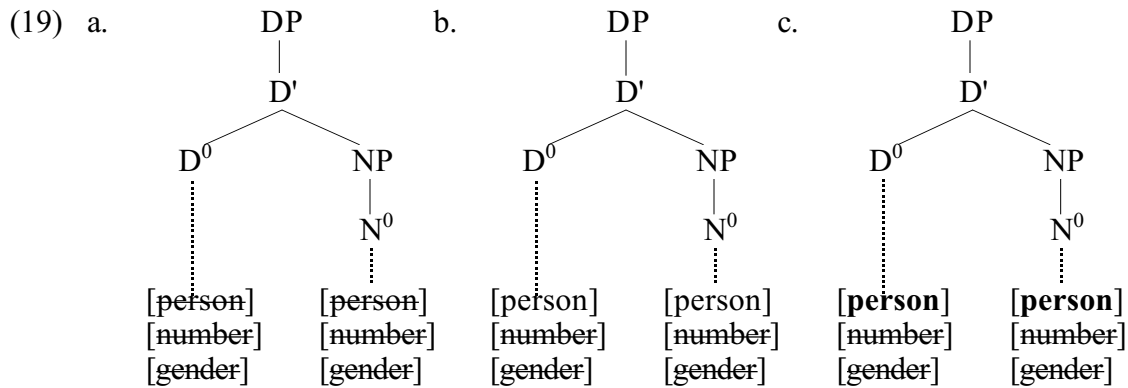
Regarding the former, it would lead us too far away to discuss what exact properties are responsible for the deficiency, but we could assume with some certainty, under a minimalist approach where features have always some morphological reflex, that it is related to the internal make-up of the pronoun. This shall be my working hypothesis. This make-up is deficient for weak and clitic pronouns in that parts of the ϕ -feature information are not encoded on the pronoun (modifying the assumptions in Grohmann 1997).

It has been argued for the Romance languages that clitics proper—Zwicky’s (1977) ‘special clitics’—lack encoding of a [person]-feature; this is basically what we can assume from Uriagereka’s (1995) work and references cited. I suggest that this can be adopted to also account for Westgermanic clitics. In this sense, the ϕ -feature mismatch refers to the lack of [person] and the structural deficiency of weak and especially clitic pronouns is a direct consequence.

The following is slightly adapted from earlier work where I aimed at distinguishing the internal morphological make-up of tripartite pronouns on the basis of present or absent ϕ -features. For ease of presentation, let us assume that strong pronouns behave like full nominal DPs because their DP-internal ϕ -relations are intact, as illustrated in (20a); see also section 3.3 below. Moreover, I assume that all pronouns are generated in the head of NP, N^0 , and raise to D^0 as proposed for R-expressions by Longobardi (1994). Motivation for this movement is checking of DP-internal ϕ -feature relations: the original pronoun-NP checks its make-up with that of the pronominal DP.

¹¹ For the purpose of presentation, I abstract away from more empirical complications to drive home a generalization that allows us to define strong, weak and clitic pronouns on the basis of their syntactic behaviour and theoretical necessities. For treatment of such complications, see e.g. Abraham (1996a, 1996b), Abraham &

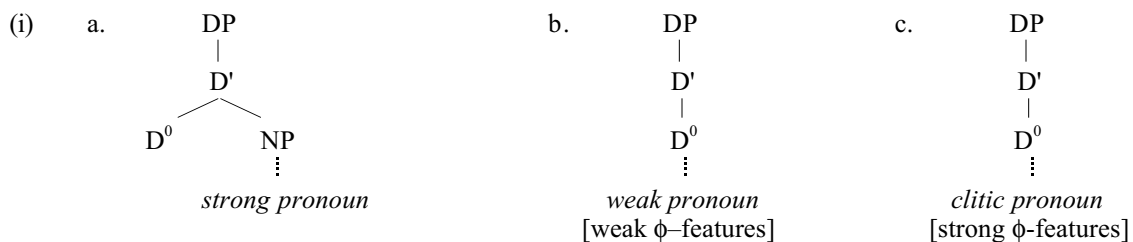
This set of assumptions can be illustrated by the following rough tree structure, where (19a) represents strong pronouns, (19b) weak pronouns and (19c) clitics;^{12,13} strikethrough typeface indicates satisfied and boldface, strong features.



Thus, a strong pronoun is non-deficient, as can be seen in the feature make-up of the NP in (19a): all ϕ -features match and can be checked off DP-internally, which presumably works identical for full nominal DPs.¹⁴ Here, the ϕ -features of D^0 and NP match, the entire structure

¹² There are a number of analyses concerning the (DP-)internal structure of clitics on the market (e.g., Abraham 1996a, 1996b, Cardinaletti & Starke 1995, 1999 and especially Laenzlinger 1998). They all agree that it is deficient, but the technical details vary to a great degree. Given that there is no unanimously adopted structure, I shall work with the current set of assumptions which, to my mind, does not fare any worse than others. Moreover, the specific details of the morphological build-up shall not be as important for the proposal as the general idea itself.

¹³ One can conceptualize a number of ways how to generate syntactic head elements, especially under Chomsky's (1994) Bare Phrase Structure, the basic component of minimalist structure-generation. This proposal does not hinge on the clitic being a D^0 or, as Abraham (1996a) for instance, argues a specifier; neither does the internal structure matter really, whether it is as sketched here or assumed by Laenzlinger (1998) who assigns the following structures (p.195):



What is different, and rightly so, between Laenzlinger's proposal and mine is the specification of ϕ -features: as (ib) and (ic) show, he assumes that the entire set drives movement from the base-generated position, and it drives overt movement for clitics due to strong features. I differentiate the nature of the driving feature, [person], and dispense with the additional projection AgrCP that has to assume, following Rizzi (1993).

On the same note, checking of features may be restricted to specifier-head configurations (Chomsky 1995) or long-distance, as Chomsky's (1998, 1999) Agree does. Whatever the adopted details, the structures in (19) can easily be rearranged to reflect the specific state of affairs. All (19) is intended to show is a stab at expressing DP-internal checking for ϕ -features (see also fn. 12).

¹⁴ I envision the role of ϕ -features in the grammar as a two-step process. First, ϕ -features must be satisfied inside the DP, expressing the compatibility of all DP-internal material, such as determiner, adjective and noun. Second, the ϕ -features of a given DP must fit in with the entire clause-relevant properties, such as subject-verb agreement. There is no doubt about the latter, a very traditional assumption which basically resulted in a split architecture to what I call the T-domain (Pollock 1989). The former might not be accepted that easily but can be found manifest in languages like German where grammatical and real-world gender may disagree, under certain circumstances, as in the following (from the first June 1999 issue of Berlin's bi-weekly magazine *Tip*):

is a proper DP and behaves like such in the syntax. Basically, something like (19a) is what we assume more generally for full nominal DPs. As (19b) and (19c) suggest, weak and clitic pronouns are deficient. Piggy-backing on the idea that clitics fail to project [person]-identification, Uriagereka's (1995) connection to "point-of-view," I suggest that the [person]-feature of prosodically pronouns is deficient on the pronoun and can thus not be checked against the DP.

In weak pronouns (in the technical sense), the [person]-feature is weak and non-checking of [person] does not result in a critical deficiency to drive overt movement to rectify the deficiency. In clitic pronouns, on the other hand, it is strong, driving overt movement to check the missing information. (Note that I do not follow Chomsky's (1995) understanding of feature-strength in terms of 'Attract', but rather adopt the original definition under which 'Move' is the critical operation; for arguments for the latter over the former, see Hornstein, forthcoming.) Syntactically, this difference can be encoded by movement to a special position in the syntax vs. covert LF-movement. This line of reasoning goes through even if one would reject the DP-internal ϕ -feature checking mechanism suggested here and opt for a pronominal structure presented in fn. 13. Hence, 'special' clitics are overt, syntactic clitics, while weak pronouns are covert, LF-clitics. The position that rescues the missing ϕ -information (i.e. [person]) is the same for both elements, a C-related functional projection "FP" as Uriagereka suggests for certain clitics in Western Romance, as I lay out in more detail in the following.

Moreover, at LF the weak and the clitic pronoun are interpreted on a par, i.e. as pronominal elements. This, in turn, suggests that the tripartition of pronouns is only superficial, or syntactic: for the interpretive component, there are non-deficient pronouns and deficient pronouns only. This is a welcome result as it helps to grasp the often ambiguous nature of generally weak pronominal elements: whether an element is a simple or a special clitic, a weak or a clitic pronoun (or any other cuts scholars have suggested).

3.3 Distinguishing Pronominal Elements

The fact that strong pronouns pattern much like full nominal DPs follows from a number of observations first noted by Kayne (1975). These are presented in (20):

- (20) a. Die Maria hat *IHN/*IHN/*-N* gestern geküßt (, nicht seinen Bruder).
 the Mary has him yesterday kissed (, not his brother)
 'Maria kissed HIM yesterday (, not his brother).'
- b. Die Maria hat gestern nur *ihn/*ihn/*-n* geküßt.
 the Mary has yesterday only him kissed
 'Maria kissed only him yesterday.'
- c. Die Maria hat *<*ihn/*-n>* gestern *<ihn>* und den Mark geküßt.
 the Mary has *<him>* yesterday *<him>* and the Mark kissed
 'Maria kissed him and Mark yesterday.'
- d. A: Hast du den Wagen gestern gestohlen?

he has a girl-NEUTmet who-FEM he married has
 'He met a girl who he married.'

Without getting too deep into the issue of DP-syntax, we have some evidence that agreement of (some) ϕ -features serves two purposes, one at the DP-level and one on the clausal level. (For a generalized revision of ϕ -

- have you the car yesterday stolen
 B: Nein, ich hab(e) <ihn/-n> gestern <*ihn> nicht gestohlen.
 no I have <him> yesterday <him> not stolen
 ‘Did you steal the car yesterday? — No, I didn’t steal it yesterday.’
- e. Wen hat die Maria gestern geküßt? — Ihn/?Ihn [*Es]/*-n.
 whom has the Maria yesterday kissed him [it]
 ‘Who did Maria kiss yesterday? — Him./*It.’

Strong pronouns may receive contrastive stress (20a), they may be modified (20c) and coordinated (20c), they may not have non-human referents—unless focused—(20d), and they (and possibly weak pronouns) may stand on their own (20e); see Cardinaletti & Starke 1995, Laenzlinger & Shlonsky 1997, Laenzlinger 1998 for more detailed discussion. The different structural positions in (20) indicate that strong pronouns behave like full nominals also with respect to their overt landing site, typically slightly lower than that of weak pronouns.¹⁵

Looking closer at the answer to the question in (20e), we find that *es* ‘it’ is not an appropriate form on its own. While strong pronouns may appear clearly, weak pronouns may appear in a restricted way on their own, such as in one-word answers. One possible reason relevant to our discussion is that in such an answer the most natural non-elliptical structure would be of the sort illustrated in (21), as a reply to the question in (20e):

- (21) Den Peter/Ihn/*Ihn/*-n hat Maria gestern geküßt.
 ‘Maria kissed Peter/him yesterday.’

In this case, only the strong pronoun is acceptable, as it requires a certain stress pattern that reduced elements cannot satisfy. There are other ways to fill in the left out context for a simple reply such as (20e), however (indicated by brackets):

- (22) a. [Maria hat] den Peter/ihn/??ihn/*-n [gestern geküßt].
 b. [Maria hat gestern] den Peter/ihn/??ihn/*-n [geküßt].

The two question marks in front of the weak pronoun indicate not only that the pronoun need not be emphasized in any way—it actually cannot be emphasized. A pronoun in this context, even in this position, must be a strong pronoun, as can be witnessed by the ungrammaticality of the unambiguously weak pronoun *es* ‘it’ in these cases (as Cardinaletti 1992 argued in detail):

- (23) a. Das Mädchen (von nebenan)/#Es [Sie]/*Es/*-s [*-se] hat Maria gestern geküßt.
 b. Maria hat das Mädchen (von nebenan)/#es [sie]/*es/*-s gestern geküßt.
 c. Maria hat gestern das Mädchen (von nebenan)/#es [sie]/*es/*-s geküßt.
 ‘Maria kissed the girl (from next door)/her yesterday.’

¹⁵ I dispense with illustrating this further. It is a well-known fact that non-pronominal DPs may occur in exactly the same positions as the strong pronouns in (20); they differ, like strong pronouns from reduced forms by the condition imposed on the latter to occur “higher.” How much higher and where exactly will be the point

As *es* cannot be strong, (23) shows that if any of these sentences is uttered to genuinely reply to a question such as (20e) it can only be done by employing a strong pronoun or a non-pronominal DP.¹⁶ These data shall suffice to show the differences between strong and reduced elements. As (23c) also suggests, strong pronoun (and non-pronominal DP) objects may follow sentential adverbs, but prosodically weak pronouns may not (see section 3.5).¹⁷

3.4 Assumptions on Westgermanic Clause Structure

Two notions I have used so far deserve a little bit more attention. Thus I speak of “T-domain” when I refer to the structure above VP and below a more articulate C-layer, and “C-domain” regarding the latter. The idea of “prolific domains” is extended in Grohmann (to appear, in progress) and shall not be of concern here. Rather, I sketch the background assumptions defended there and tie in those with the syntactic processes involved in pronominal placement.

The functional projections we have to assume for the T-domain include, but are not necessarily limited to, separate subject and object positions. I refer to the former as (the specifier of) TP, the latter as (the specifier of) ϕ P, so as to not commit to the particular features that are checked here, be it Case, EPP or any other grammatical notion. It suffices to say that I assume, following Zwart (1997) to some extent,¹⁸ all arguments to leave VP in the overt syntax and target SpecTP (subjects) and Spec ϕ P (objects); the latter projection does not have a unique structural position but appears in relation to specificity: the higher the post-verbal argument, the more specific it is. This relaxed view on dynamic syntax allows us to express Cinque’s (1999) “adverb hierarchy” in a satisfactory manner without postulating three dozen projections (cf. also Alexiadou 1997). In an ideal world, ϕ P would fall out as a cover term for independently needed functional projections in this part (such as Voice, Aspect, Modality etc.); see Grohmann (in progress) for a worked out framework.

For the most part, the details are not necessary here as long as we bear in mind one background assumption of the Zwartian approach and one additional stipulation: first, the condition that verb second is “asymmetric,” i.e. subject-initial matrix clauses in the Westgermania are TPs, others involve the C-layer; second, no XP may move from one position to another within the same domain. The grammar makes available three separate domains, the V-domain, the T-domain and the C-domain (see also Chomsky 1998, Boeckx 1999, Uriagereka 1999, Platzack, in press on variations of this theme); this paper deals with some projections relevant to the latter two, predominantly the left periphery expressed through an articulated C-layer (pace Rizzi 1997).

¹⁶ Of course, (23b) can be used in other contexts; (23c), however, cannot be used because the reduced pronouns would appear too low, as indicated by the higher adverb which I show below.

¹⁷ I use the notion “sentential” in the sense that these adverbs appear in high positions, as studied by Jackendoff (1972), pace Alexiadou (1997), Laenzlinger (1998), Cinque (1999).

¹⁸ One of the corollaries of Zwart’s (1991) clitic-study was to extent Travis’ (1984) views on parameterized clause structure and assume head-initial INFL for Dutch. He extended this in subsequent work, also under the influence of Kayne’s (1994) proposal concerning universal left-headedness, and argues that even the traditional SOV-languages Dutch and German are underlyingly SVO. Under such an approach, all arguments must leave VP to derive the surface order OV (non-finite verb). Cross-linguistic studies in argument raising agree that at the latest at LF all languages must move their argument DPs to a case-licensing position, in the minimalist program of Chomsky (1995) and related work to take place in a specifier-head configuration inside a separate functional projection. My ϕ P is thus a version of AgrP—but crucially not an implementation of multiple

I take the subject to indicate the demarcation line between T- and C-domain; thus everything preceding the subject must be inside the C-domain,¹⁹ which itself consists of (at least) FP at the lower end, CP (or “ForceP” in Rizzi’s terms) at the other and several topic projections (TopP) and a focus projection in between.

These conditions allow us to account for simple derivations of German matrix and embedded sentences as illustrated in (24):

- (24) a. $[\phi_{\Delta}$ Der Martin_{SU} hat der Maria_{IO} das Buch_{DO} $[\theta_{\Delta}$ t_{AG} gegeben t_{BE} t_{TH}]].
 ‘Martin gave the book to Mary.’
 b. daß $[\phi_{\Delta}$ der Martin_{SU} gestern der Maria_{IO} das Buch_{DO} $[\theta_{\Delta}$ t_{AG} gegeben hat t_{BE} t_{TH}]].
 ‘that Martin gave the book to Mary yesterday.’

The V-domain, here abbreviated as θ_{Δ} , licenses argument structure/thematic relations, expressed by, for example, AGen_t, BENefactive and THeme. ϕ_{Δ} , the T-domain, licenses grammatical relations which I simply indicate by SUBject, Indirect Object and Direct Object. The subject sits in SpecTP, the two objects in their respective ϕ Ps (not shown).

Given that the reader at least accepts the framework sketched above for what it is worth, the path I follow for the syntax of pronouns in the Westgermania should be straightforward. Anticipating the following sections, (25) summarizes the rough syntactic analysis:

- (25) a. $[\omega_{\Delta}$ daß $[\phi_{\Delta}$ der Martin_i gestern ihr_j das Buch_k $[\theta_{\Delta}$ t_i gegeben hat t_j t_k]].
 b. $[\omega_{\Delta}$ daß $[\phi_{\Delta}$ der Martin_i *ihr*_j gestern das Buch_k $[\theta_{\Delta}$ t_i gegeben hat t_j t_k]].
 c. $[\omega_{\Delta}$ daß-*a*_j $[\phi_{\Delta}$ der Martin_i t_j gestern das Buch_k $[\theta_{\Delta}$ t_i gegeben hat t_j t_k]].
 ‘that Martin gave her the book yesterday.’

Pronominal elements that appear in the T-domain, below certain adverbial elements, must be strong pronouns (25a), but weak ones if they precede such adverbs and at the same time follow the subject (25b); preceding the subject implies a C-related position and as such a clitic (25c).

3.5 Topic- and Adverb-Interaction

Regarding adverbial evidence allowing us to distinguish (25a) from (25b), we considered (21) to (23) above; let us now take a look at the role that adverbs play with respect to reduced pronouns. For this, consider cases with two sentential adverbs (cf. fn. 17) and negation (obligatorily low).

- (26) Er ist sauer, ...
 he is upset
 ‘He is upset...’

¹⁹ Note that this condition does only work one way. Thus not everything below the subject must be inside the T-domain, as subjects themselves may be further augmented with discursual properties (e.g., they may be

- a. ... weil-*m* Maria *es* gestern leider nicht gegeben hat.
 b. *... weil-*m* Maria gestern *es* leider nicht gegeben hat.
 c. *... weil-*m* leider *es* Maria gestern nicht gegeben hat.
 d. *... weil-*m* gestern *es* Maria leider nicht gegeben hat.
 e. ... weil-*m* leider Maria *es* gestern nicht gegeben hat.
 f. ... weil-*m* gestern Maria *es* leider nicht gegeben hat.
 because-him yesterday Maria it unfortunately not given has
 ‘...because Maria unfortunately didn’t give it back to him yesterday.’

In (26) we have a direct object clitic, an indirect object weak pronoun, a non-pronominal subject and two rather high adverbs. The most natural order is (26a), where the clitic precedes the subject which is followed by, first, the weak pronoun and then by both adverbs. This suggests that the unmarked order is weak pronouns following subjects but preceding everything else, thus highly specific in the sense used here (cf. Grohmann, to appear). (26b-d) show that the weak pronoun may neither be preceded by any sentential adverbs nor may it precede the subject. On the assumption that pre-subject material sits in the C-domain—for the sake of simplicity, let us say TopP²⁰—we may rule these structures out on the grounds of the by now well-known restriction that weak pronouns may not be topicalized.

Not too many variations with similar cases can be constructed because reduced pronouns follow a rather strict ordering relation subject - direct object - indirect object. This is also the reason why related evidence from topic-interaction is hard to come by. But consider (27):

- (27) a. Das Buch hat-*m* wahrscheinlich das Mädchen zurückgegeben.
 b. Das Buch hat-*m* wahrscheinlich SIE zurückgegeben.
 c. *Das Buch hat-*m* wahrscheinlich *es* zurückgegeben.
 d. Das Buch hat-*m* *es* wahrscheinlich zurückgegeben.
 e. Wahrscheinlich hat-*m* *es* das Buch zurückgegeben.
 f. *Wahrscheinlich hat-*m* das Buch *es* zurückgegeben.
 g. Wahrscheinlich hat-*m* das Buch SIE/das Mädchen zurückgegeben.
 probably has-him the book she/the girl back-given
 ‘This book, she/the girl returned to him probably.’

Clitics must follow topics and non-pronominal (27a) or stressed strong pronoun (27b) arguments may follow sentential adverbs, while weak pronouns (27c) may not, all as expected. In combination, however, we observe the same as before: given that fronted sentential adverbs occupy a topic-like position, or at least a C-related position higher than the clitic-site, the order we find is adverb/topic > clitic > weak pronoun (27e), but not

²⁰ More work needs to be done on the exact status of such elements. Thus, Haider (1998:15) points out in a footnote that (ib) is ruled because “[a]s Frey & Pittner [(in press)] point out, the elements in the position between C⁰ and the fronted pronouns in German must be possible topics in order to function as frame adverbials” and the adverbs used here cannot be interpreted as topics (presumably shown by Frey & Pittner).

- (i) a. daß unter solchen Umständen man/er keine Wahl hat.
 that under such conditions one/he no choice has
 ‘that under these conditions one/he doesn’t have a choice.’
 b. daß (*leider/*heute/*sorgfältig) man/er Sätze analysierte.
 that unfortunately/today/carefully one/he sentences analysed

adverb/topic > clitic > topic > weak pronoun (27f)—under the assumption that objects fronted over the subject (here: weak pronoun) sit in TopP—, while the same is fine if a strong pronoun or non-pronominal subject is involved (27g).

From the data we have seen so far, the hierarchical tendency in (28) follows directly: subject clitics tend to appear higher than object clitics, which in turn precede the full nominal subject (or subject strong pronoun, both indicated simply as subject/object), weak pronouns and object DPs, fully nominal or strong pronominal; topics (or fronted adverbs) may precede or follow clitics.

(28) topic > subj clitic > obj clitic > topic > subject > weak pronoun > adverb > object

4 Clitic Syntax

In the following I lay out the foundations of F^0 as the functional head relevant for syntactic encoding of “point-of-view” and the role this may play for Westgermanic clitics. The analysis I present incorporates F^0 and entails overt movement of clitics proper to F^0 , even in languages like German, in order to check the underspecified [person]-feature. I briefly address clitics in Romance, which are better studied as such, before turning to the Westgermania.

4.1 “ F^0 ” as a Clitic Host in Romance

To return to the discussion of clitics, Uriagereka (1995) proposes a functional head F^0 as the host for certain Romance clitics where a relation such as “point-of-view” is licensed.²¹ The following data are taken from Uriagereka and illustrate the Spanish pre-verbal clitic, the Galician post-verbal clitic, and the French pre-verbal clitic in an obviously lower position:

- (29) a. *Lo-oimos.*
it-hear.we (Uriagereka 1995:92)
- b. *Ouvimo-lo.*
hear.we-it
'We hear it.' (Uriagereka 1995:95)
- c. *Elle va le-faire.*
she goes it-do.INF
'She'll do it.' (Uriagereka 1995:104)

²¹ Uriagereka concentrates on object clitics and proposes that the Western Iberian dialects (Spanish, Galician) employ FP for “point-of-view,” but not other Romance varieties (such as French or Italian). Moreover, while perhaps appealing, the identification of “point-of-view” as the trigger is not innocent. There is not yet an account on the market that defines this notion, certainly not in a syntactic way. Such an attempt warrants a separate paper and I hence adopt this term to indicate something similarly poorly understood in my proposal that “point-of-view” licenses an underspecified [person]-feature and drives cliticization in the Westgermania.

Maybe Rizzi (1993) was on to something when he suggested the projection “AgrCP” which can also host clitics: the idea is that clitics move to check some sort of agreement. However, referring to this position as “AgrC”—while at the same time trying to either get rid of Agr-projections altogether (Chomsky 1995) or refine their function (Grohmann, in progress)—rather than the vague “F” does not give us any more insight. I thus elaborate the “F-approach” in a plausible manner. After all, the present study aims at disambiguating

One issue concerns the adjunction-position of the clitic, given that it is an X^0 -element, whether it takes place to the left or to the right. On a related note, we may wonder how to derive en- or pro-clisis. Some suggestions are illustrated next, where the point relevant to our present discussion is that F^0 is a conceivable clitic-host in the overt syntax for both Spanish (30a) and Galician (30b), from Uriagereka (1995a:115), as well as European Portuguese as in (30c) (Raposo, in press:6; cited from the manuscript version), where ‘...’ inside the complex F-head represents additional functional heads in the T-domain which form the complex verbal head itself.²²

- (30) a. [F' [[F-CPr_{subj}]-CPr_{obj}] ...]
 b. [F' [[[[V-...]-F]-CPr_{subj}]-CPr_{obj}] ...]
 c. [_{FP} [[V-...]-...] F' [[CPr-F-]-F] ...]

Regarding the direction of clisis, Laenzlinger (1998) reviews Rizzi’s (1993) proposal that enclisis may only take place if the verb is morphologically complete under the clitic-site and if it moves at least as far as the clitic-site itself, all other details irrelevant for our discussion.

With respect to Westgermanic clitics, we might turn this characterization to our advantage to accommodate some, at first glance, problematic cases, while at the same time ensure that cliticization proper is always proclitic. I address this issue in the following section.

4.2 Westgermanic Clitics to F^0 ?

If Romance clitics lack a [person]-specification and if this can be assimilated to a need to encode “point-of-view” at F^0 (but see fn. 20), and if, further, Germanic clitics also lack [person]-specification, can F^0 do the same work for the Westgermania as well?

The following Dutch examples contain a topicalized structure in (31a) and a yes/no-question in (31b). In both instances the verb is arguably in a C-related position (whether Top^0 , Foc^0 or C^0 proper); in other words, in a position above where we assume F^0 to sit.

- (31) a. Naar huis loop-*k*.
 to house run-I
 ‘I run home.’ (Abraham & Wiegel 1993:29)
- b. Loop-*k* naar huis?
 run-I to home
 ‘Do I run home?’ (Zwart & Hoekstra 1989:2f.)

It is thus conceivable to propose that the clitic moves in the course of the derivation to F^0 and tags along with the verb when it moves further (to Top^0 in (31a), for example, or Foc^0 or interrogative-related C^0 in (31b)), as schematically presented in (32):²³

- (32) [_{CP} (XP) [_C [[V⁰-...-clitic_k]-F⁰]_i-C⁰ [... [_{FP} ... [_F t_i [...t_k ...]]]]]]

²² Note that Raposo assumes the complex verbal head in European Portuguese to move to SpecFP, not to F^0 . This approach, however, as well as other technical issues related to Romance cliticization, additional clause structure, types of cliticization and the like shall not play a role in the subsequent discussion and analysis.

²³ Anna Roussou (p.c.) informs me that Kural & Tsoulas (1999) apparently argue that “point-of-view” should be situated higher than assumed here. Whether Uriagereka’s intuition is on the wrong track or Kural & Tsoulas’,

The complex verbal head, indicated by ‘...’, moves to F^0 to which then the pronoun raises and cliticizes; the result is proclisis and looks like [verb-clitic]. If subsequently other elements target the C-domain, the verb may have to raise further—to satisfy the V2-constraint—and takes the clitic along, of course. Thus, technically, the clitic does not always have to end up in F but it must have moved there at one point in the derivation to get licensed, i.e. to cliticize. (In cases described by (32), the clitic moves as a free rider.) However, some dialects seem to allow clitics in first position, an observation that is misleading as we will see shortly.

- (33) a. *-k* loop naar huis.
 b. dat-*k* naar huis loop.

Note that (33b) is no problem if we assume that the clitic raises to F^0 and then continues to move to C^0 to attach to the complementizer, as sketched in (32) just without the verbal host. If we would say that clitic and verb move to F^0 , and possibly higher to wherever the verb should end up in the famous “second position,” we get in trouble with (32a), however, namely that we would lose the observation that declaratives in the Westgermania always have an XP in first position, followed by the verb. It is cases like these that force us to think about the ambiguous status of weak vs. clitic pronoun.

Another possible problem might come from those dialects that apparently allow two complementizer elements as in (34). We see that clitics obligatorily appear after the lower complementizer (Abraham 1996a:435).

- (34) a. voor dat-*t* iemand zag.
 b. *voor-*t* dat iemand zag.
 before-it that someone saw
 ‘before someone saw it.’

The obvious explanation is, of course, that the first complementizer element is in fact a maximal phrase, thus occupying SpecCP. Under this view, nothing special needs to be said about the contrast in (34). But let us assume, for independent reasons as I show presently, that *dat* in (34) is generated in a lower C-position. Note that if it is generated in F^0 , the clitic may attach to it and move with the complementizer (as a free rider, analogously to its being dragged along by the verb in matrix clauses) to wherever it ends up, eventually in C^0 , as shown in (35).²⁴

²⁴ Data that involve clitics attached to adverbs were first presented in Grohmann (1996, 1997) and also picked up by Gärtner & Steinbach (1999). The difficulty with these cases indeed is not only one of accounting for the derivation of the reduced pronominal but also one of deriving intermediate material. I have mentioned throughout that clitics may easily appear in any position between F^0 and C^0 —if they are attached to a proper host. Proper hosts presumably include only verbs and complementizers, namely heads. In these cases, the clitic would move as a free rider. In cases of attaching to adverbs, however, an extra stipulation must be implemented that motivates independent raising of the clitic from F^0 to wherever the adverb sits. Only instances of such clitic-behaviour in the C-domain are an issue as prosodic clusters between adverbs and reduced pronominal forms in lower positions are analysed as instances of weak pronouns (LF-clitics) in the first place and hence

- (35) a. *daß-m* <gestern> das Buch <gestern> [_{TP} die Maria zurückgegeben hat].
 b. #*daß* *gestern-m* das Buch [_{TP} die Maria zurückgegeben hat].
 c. #*daß* <gestern> das Buch-*m* <gestern> [_{TP} die Maria zurückgegeben hat].
 d. #*daß* das Buch *gestern-m* [_{TP} die Maria zurückgegeben hat].
 e. **daß* <gestern> das Buch <gestern> [_{TP} die Maria-*m* zurückgegeben hat].
 ‘that Maria gave him the book back/returned the book to him yesterday.’

The basic judgements are those given here, where the hash mark indicates a certain degree of acceptability for some speakers (cf. fn. 24). Note that if the clitic moved to F^0 and then head-raised on its own to C^0 , it would have to pass through all intervening head positions, the topic positions whose specifiers are *gestern* and *das Buch*, respectively. In that case we would expect it to attach to either of these elements, where something else must explain the optionality.

These derivational steps would then have to accommodate speakers who find (35b) to (35d) acceptable, this is what might be going on indeed. In this case, however, we would have to find independent motivation for the clitic to move on its own which I will not attempt to give here. In this case, further raising of the clitic is not as straightforward as it is when attached to the verb (or the complementizer, base-generated in a lower position); in those cases, the clitic raises as a free rider and does not need to check any features in the intervening heads.²⁵

For the majority of speakers who disagree with the judgement, however, the straight movement to C^0 can only be explained if we assume that *daß* is inserted into the F-position where the clitic is, and the clitic moves to C^0 as a free rider. (Note, incidentally, that (35e), where the subject is in the T-domain, is ruled out in a straightforward manner, as we have seen in section 3.5 above.) Now compare (35) with (36), the matrix variants:

- (36) a. Das Buch *hat-m* <gestern> [_{TP} die Maria <gestern> zurückgegeben].
 b. *Das Buch *hat* *gestern-m* [_{TP} die Maria zurückgegeben].
 c. *Gestern* *hat-m* das Buch [_{TP} die Maria zurückgegeben].
 d. **Gestern* *hat* das Buch-*m* [_{TP} die Maria zurückgegeben].
 ‘Maria gave him the book back yesterday.’

If the complementizer may be generated lower, amalgamate with the clitic and then raise, we would expect that any other head-element passing through F^0 can do the same, and in fact has to do exactly this. This prediction is borne out. The verb in matrix clauses obligatorily passes through F^0 before raising further. Employing our test for filled C-related positions based on the subject, both *das Buch* and *gestern* are in C-related positions, preceding F^0 . The ungrammaticality of (36b) and (36d) leads us to conclude two things. First, a head passing through F^0 on its way to a higher position obligatorily takes along the clitic. This gives us

²⁵ The reader may have noticed by now that I am not concerned at all with head movement proper, that is the exact details needed to derive raising of the verb through the whole clause and the battery of functional heads. There is a good reason for this: it is not clear (to me) how the GB-notion of “successive cyclic head movement” and its corollary, the locality condition expressed by the Head Movement Constraint, could plausibly be implemented into the minimalist program. Moreover, it is not clear either whether this should be done in the first place. There have been a number of studies that are concerned with deriving displacement of heads on purely PF-driven terms, without any impact on the interpretation (but see Grohmann & Etxepare, to appear); in this case, the successive-cyclic movement may not be necessary anymore (cf. Boeckx & Stjepanovic 1999).

(36a) and (36c), while at the same time it rules out (36b) and (36d). Second, the complementizer may indeed be generated in F^0 , and it is so optionally. The optionality gives us (35b) to (35d) for those speakers who accept these constructions (see fn. 24). In all other cases, generation in F^0 and subsequent movement to C^0 is obligatory.

Needless to say, we can now deal with German (37) in the same vein (Abraham 1996a:435).

- (37) a. weil daß-*n* der Teufel geholt hat.
 b. *weil-*n* daß der Teufel geholt hat.
 because-him that the devil taken has
 ‘because the devil took him.’

Similarly, for those dialects where a reduced pronoun may appear in first position of matrix clauses, it must be a weak pronoun, i.e. an overt XP, as in (33a) or related cases from German dialects (see Abraham & Wiegel 1993 for data) which is not possible in CSG. Our syntactic process of disambiguating weak from clitic pronoun position makes an immediate prediction in this situation and thus solves the question of apparent “first position clitics.” Now, can we say with some certainty what this reduced pronoun looks like and which position it occupies? Incidentally, all of these cases involve subject pronouns, i.e. reduced object pronouns never come first. If this is the case, the subject weak pronoun is in the default subject position, SpecTP, as a full phrase; I return to this briefly in section 5.2.

This state of affairs is also predicted by economy conditions: if the pronoun can be licensed as a weak pronoun at SpecTP, why should it vacuously move to check a feature that it otherwise would check at LF, the cheaper option?

4.3 Clitics to F^0 in CSG

Economy forces *-m* to be a clitic pronoun in the cases (35) to (36). The derivation of reduced *ihm* ‘him’ as a weak pronoun would involve exactly three basic steps.

- (38) a. [_{TopP} Das Buch [_{hat-*m*_j}]_i [_{TopP} gestern [_{FP} *t_i* [_{TP} die Maria *t_j*
 das Buch: [Top] *-m*: [person] *ihm*: [ϕ]
 zurückgegeben]]]]]
 b. [_{CP} [_{daß-*m*_j}]_i [_{TopP} gestern [_{TopP} das Buch [_{FP} *t_i* [_{TP} die Maria *t_j*
 daß: [C] *-m*: [person] *ihm*: [ϕ]
 zurückgegeben]]]]]

It first moves as a DP from its VP-internal position to its respective position in the T-domain where it is at least identified as a specific indirect object of sorts. The second step would be movement into the C-domain, the only way to precede the subject. Bear in mind that as a weak pronoun it is a DP, not a D^0 , so it must have checked [person] in spec-head relation; let us assume for the sake of the argument that this is possible. It must then overtly cliticize and head move in order to end up where it ends up.

Alternatively, we could argue that it head-moves to F^0 but this is just what would make it a Spell-Out-clitic; it cannot change its categorial status from DP to D^0 and then back to DP, and possibly again to D^0 . Neither can the element move to SpecFP, check its [person]-feature

and then move to the specifier position of another TopP, given the condition that an XP may be maximally at one position in a given domain as laid out above.

The derivation of *ihm* as a clitic, on the other hand, only involves two steps: XP-movement into the T-domain and subsequent cliticization to F^0 . In any further operations in the C-domain the pronoun moves as a head and a free rider.

This state of affairs differs from the placement of strong forms. In complementary distribution with reduced forms (cf. (28)), the strong pronoun is not possible in high, pre-subject position ((39a)) unless contrastively stressed/focused ((39b)) or replaced by the deictic demonstrative form ((39c)).

- (39) a. *Das Buch hat <gestern> ihm <gestern> die Maria <gestern> zurückgegeben.
 b. ?Das Buch hat <gestern> IHM <gestern> die Maria <gestern> zurückgegeben.
 c. Das Buch hat <gestern> DEM <gestern> die Maria <gestern> zurückgegeben.

(40) explicitly represents the possibilities for clitic positions and the relevance of a complementizer base-generated in a lower position. Independent evidence for this position was also first presented in Grohmann (1996).

- (40) a. $[_{CP} \text{da}\beta\text{-}C^0 [_{TopP} \dots [_{FP} \dots [_{TP} \dots]]]]$
 b. $[_{CP} \text{da}\beta_i\text{-}C^0 [_{TopP} \dots [_{FP} t_i\text{-}F^0 [_{TP} \dots]]]]$
 c. $[_{CP} \text{weil}\text{-}C^0 [_{\cancel{TopP} \dots} [_{FP} \text{da}\beta\text{-}F^0 [_{TP} \dots]]]]$

5 Some Remaining Issues

In this last section I would like to consider a possible approach to accommodate differences in the behaviour of reduced pronominal elements between German, Dutch and WF, but also address the non-overt form of cliticization again.

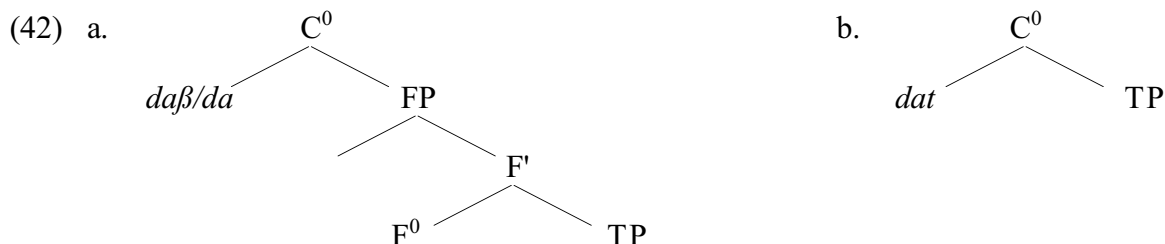
5.1 Parametrization of the C-Domain in the Westgermania

The following provides a first approach to express variation in the C-domain among the three major dialects considered here (German/CSG, Dutch and WF). Under the clause-structural assumptions laid out here, it follows that the C-domain plays a major role in German, allowing for a variety of “free word order” effects that concern the left periphery. Neither Dutch nor WF are as lenient.

The sequence complementizer – object clitic – subject, for example, is fine in CSG and WF, but ungrammatical in Dutch (from Grohmann 1997:178):

- (41) a. *daß-m* die Professorin (gestern) das Buch gegeben hat.
 b. *da-ze* de professor (gisteren) den boek gegeven eet.
 c. **dat-m* de professor (gisteren) het boek gegeven heeft.
 ‘that the professor gave him/her the book yesterday.’

One way of interpreting this and similar facts is the hypothesis that FP is not active in Dutch embedded clauses.²⁶ I thus propose (42a) to be the relevant part of structure for German WF, while (42b) applies to Dutch embedded clauses:



A further correlation, apart from “regular” scrambling (fn. 26) is that pre-subject scrambling (which we might call “ ω -topicalization,” indicating that it targets a C-position, until we have a more accurate definition of the different types of “topics”) is very limited in both Dutch and WF:

- (43) a. daß den Martin die Maria geküßt hat.
 b. *da den Martin de Maria gekust eet.
 c. *dat de Martin de Maria gekust heeft.
 ‘that Maria kissed Martin.’

This points to the absence of (embedded) TopP in Dutch and WF.

- (44) a. [_{CP} complementizer [_{TopP} topic [_{FP} clitic [_{TP} subject...]]]] (German)
 b. [_{CP} complementizer [_{FP} clitic [_{TP} subject...]]] (West Flemish)
 c. [_{CP} complementizer [_{TP} subject...]]] (Dutch)

On the other hand, this approach to parameterizing the C-domain does not offer a one-to-one correspondence of this approach for Dutch and WF reduced pronominals which I already hinted at in fn. 26. The general direction is clear, namely that deficient features need to be licensed, but the languages plausibly differ in their checking site. As such, the specific details I propose for cliticization in this paper apply strictly only to German, while Dutch and WF cliticization processes would have to be refined accordingly, a task for future research.

Despite all the similarities between Dutch and WF concerning word order variation (cf. Haegeman 1996 and related work) there is an aspect in which both differ, pointing on the one hand to the presence of FP in WF and on the other to the validity of the complementizer-raising approach endorsed here. WF possesses the small particle *tet* which may appear not only between complementizer and non-pronominal subject (as in (45a)), but also between the

²⁶ Obviously, this claim amounts to saying that Dutch does not allow SO-clitics in embedded clauses ever, a prediction that would have to be considered empirically in the future. If the present analysis succeeds in its initial appeal, this consequence might not be disastrous. A way out of this situation, should one hold up the belief that clitics exist in Dutch embedded clauses, would be to shift the position that expresses “point-of-view” or licenses [person]-checking for pronominal elements to a lower position. Moreover, this path receives some credibility based on the difference in work load that the C-domain takes in the three dialects. In a C-prominent language like German, discursal information beyond specificity needs to be licensed high, in the less C-dependent Dutch and WF it need not be so. Again, further support comes from the differences in scrambling,

subject clitic attached to the complementizer and the strong subject pronoun, a kind of doubling structure, as in (45b) (Haegeman in her 1996 class lectures; Grohmann 1997:186):

- (45) a. da tet Marie no Gent goa.
 that PRT Marie to Ghent goes
 b. da-ze tet zie no Gent goa.
 that-she PRT she to Ghent goes
 ‘that Marie/she goes to Ghent.’

5.2 LF-Clitics

Turning to weak pronouns finally, let us test the hypothesis that they cliticize at LF, not prior to Spell-Out (see Grohmann 1997, Laenzlinger & Shlonsky 1997, Laenzlinger 1998 for precursors).

This proposal determines the clitic status of deficient pronouns on syntactic grounds. If, *ceteris paribus*, a deficient pronoun sits in F^0 at Spell-Out, it must be a syntactic head, i.e. a clitic pronoun (SO-clitic); if not, it must be a DP at Spell-Out, hence a weak pronoun, and head-move to F^0 at LF (LF-clitic).²⁷ The deficiency lies in underspecification of [person], licensed in F^0 .

A complete derivation is given in (46).

- (46) a. [_{VP} Martin gegeben hat Maria es]
 agent patient theme
 b. [_{TP} Martin hat [_{φP} es hat [_{φP} Maria hat [_{VP} Martin gegeben hat Maria es]]]]
 EPP φ φ
 c. [_{CP} C' hat-s [_{FP} F' hat-s [_{TP} Peter hat [_{φP} es [_{φP} Maria gegeben]]]]]
 Force [person]

(46a) shows a rough structure of the V-domain, i.e. the original merging of lexical elements into the clause structure. It is at this point of the derivation that elements get theta-marked according to the properties of the verb. In (46b), all elements move to their obligatory T-positions, i.e. the agent is now at SpecTP where it gets at least realized as the subject, while the two internal arguments are now in specifier positions of their respective ϕ -projection (cf. section 3.4). This is also the surface position, i.e. the spelled out result of the derivation. The pronoun is a weak pronoun, rather high in the structure, yet below the C-layer. At LF, represented in (46c), the weak pronoun finally licenses its discursal properties by checking the specific point-of-view in F^0 . I further assume that the verb raises to C^0 for reasons explained in Gasde et al. (1999) and Grohmann (1999a), but this shall not concern us here (see also fn. 27).

Relevant is that we can view FP as a connector between the functional part of the sentence (the clause-inwards information) and the pragmatic part of the sentence (e.g., illocutionary force), to be checked in CP.

²⁷ Alternatively, the relevant feature, [person]/“point-of-view,” may be licensed long-distance, such as via Agree (Chomsky 1998, 1999). One advantage of this approach is that structure that did not exist at the point of Spell Out does not need to be introduced at LF, dealing more smoothly with cases that involve covert verb-

Furthermore, Chris Wilder (p.c.) points out that a set of data from German fits in nicely with this approach. German allows VP-topicalization, i.e. fronting of a constituent that contains the direct object and the non-finite verb (see Müller 1998 for discussion and references). Regardless of the exact derivation, it is clear from the outset that in cases such as (47) the fronted elements must be in a topic-like position (such as TopP), presumably as one constituent (as indicated by the brackets):

- (47) a. #Martin konnte nicht [dieses Mädchen küssen].
 b. [Dieses Mädchen küssen] konnte Martin nicht.
 this girl kiss could Martin nicht
 ‘Kiss this girl, Martin couldn’t (do).’

However, replacing the full DP object by a weak pronoun—such as the unambiguously weak *es*—is not possible; neither in the base case (cf. (48a) vs. (47a) and discussion after (49) below) nor in the fronted, topicalized variant (i.e. (48b) vs. (48a)).

- (48) a. *Martin konnte nicht [*es* küssen].
 ??[*Es* küssen] konnte Martin nicht.
 it kiss could Martin not
 ‘Kiss her, Martin couldn’t (do).’

The interesting case here is based on the observation that weak pronouns may not follow sentential negation, as in (48a); the correct base case would be (49):

- (49) Martin konnte *es* nicht küssen.
 ‘Martin couldn’t kiss it.’

But in (49), of course, *es* and *küssen* do not form a constituent and may not be fronted together. Note that even for non-pronominal arguments, the word order of (49) is preferred; in (47a), *nicht* must receive (contrastive) stress. This means that fronting the VP-constituent renders an otherwise marginal sentence perfectly acceptable. This is not the case with weak pronouns inside the fronted constituent. These contrasts get stronger if additional (sentential) adverbs are involved. I list the relevant structures in (50) and (51), where the hash mark indicates special intonational patterns again:

- (50) a. #Martin konnte gestern wahrscheinlich nicht dieses Mädchen küssen.
 b. [Dieses Mädchen küssen] konnte Martin gestern wahrscheinlich nicht.
 c. [Dieses Mädchen küssen] konnte gestern Martin wahrscheinlich nicht.
 d. [Dieses Mädchen küssen] konnte wahrscheinlich Martin gestern nicht.
 ‘This girl kiss, Martin probably couldn’t (do) yesterday.’
- (51) a. Martin konnte <*es*> gestern <*<*es*> wahrscheinlich <*<*es*> nicht küssen.
 b. *[*Es* küssen] konnte Martin gestern wahrscheinlich nicht.
 c. *[*Es* küssen] konnte gestern Martin wahrscheinlich nicht.
 d. *[*Es* küssen] konnte wahrscheinlich Martin gestern nicht.
 ‘This girl kiss. Martin probably couldn’t (do) yesterday.’

Under any analysis, the fronted constituent moves to the C-domain, presumably TopP. If it does and if it contains a weak pronoun, the ill-formedness of (48) and (51) follows immediately and can readily be accounted for under the present analysis: targeting a position above F^0 in the overt syntax, the weak pronoun cannot check its underspecified [person]-feature (“point-of-view”)—neither in the overt syntax nor, crucially, at LF. As a result, the final structure has a weak pronoun that cannot be licensed at any point, and the derivation crashes.

A last retreat to the issue of economy. Such considerations should drive any syntactic analysis because we do not want to have two equally competing derivations of which one is more costly than the other—regardless of how we define “costly” exactly (see references in fn. 10). Clitic pronouns—which arguably have even less (internal) structure than weak pronouns at the point of Spell Out, yet start out with the same—should thus be more costly: they involve the same movement into ϕP (within the T-domain), at which point both are maximal phrases (DPs), but require the extra step of movement to F^0 ; weak pronouns do this at LF, a less costly operation (if one at all; cf. fn. 27). In the most ambiguous case, clause-initial reduced pronoun in matrix context, this element should thus be a maximal phrase and sit at SpecTP, a prediction borne out by the fact that dialects that allow this in the first place only do so with subject pronouns.

Let me finally note that this approach explicitly determines the clitic status of deficient pronouns on purely syntactic grounds: if, all things being equal, a deficient pronoun sits in F^0 at Spell Out, it must be a head and consequently a clitic. If it does not, it must be a DP at Spell Out, hence a weak pronoun, and head-move to F^0 at LF. In this case it cannot be in the C-domain at Spell Out either. Furthermore, the assigned deficiency lies in underspecification of a [person]-feature; if this is strong, the checking must occur overtly and the element is a clitic.

6 Conclusion

I considered the claim that F^0 is a typical host for Romance clitics and integrated this into the syntax of Westgermanic, especially German, pronouns. Deficiency in [person]-specification for weak and clitic pronouns gives us a well-motivated structure and a straightforward syntax under which the feature needs to be checked overtly for clitics and covertly for weak pronouns.

I argue checking of an underspecified [person]-feature to take place in head-adjunction to the functional head F^0 which encodes something like “point-of-view.” As a direct result of this analysis, we now have a syntactic mechanism with which we can determine the deficiency status of phonetically weak pronouns: a reduced pronoun that occurs in a pre-subject position at Spell-Out can only be a clitic, while reduced forms occurring below can only be weak pronouns; consequently, I dub the former SO- and the latter LF-clitic.

Structurally, a clitic is generated as a DP and moves to the T-domain for the usual reasons. It then cliticizes to F^0 via head-movement and may tag along with any other head that might be present. Weak pronouns are generated as DPs and move as such into the T-domain but cliticize as heads only at LF. Hence reduced forms in the C-domain must be heads at Spell-Out, reduced forms in the T-domain must be maximal projections at Spell-Out.

Questions that need to be addressed in follow-up work, besides an accurate empirical testimony, include whether the background assumptions made here, with respect to deficiency of the [person]-feature and the XP/X⁰-status, are valid, and what we can say about reduced pronominal forms that occur rather low in the structure but nevertheless seem to be clitics, rather than weak pronouns. If this approach is valid, further investigations shall concern formal encoding of “point-of-view” as well as the specifics of variation within the Westgermania.

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