LICENSING CASE[*]

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Abstract. This paper provides evidence that nominative arguments in German and Icelandic not only can be analyzed as remaining in the VP overtly, but that in some constructions, these arguments remain internal to VP at all levels of representation, including LF. The paper reviews a variety of recent proposals for Case licensing and argues that only the Agree model (Chomsky 2000) provides for a unified account of Case licensing. Specifically, I argue that languages like German lack any syntactic or phonological requirement that Spec,TP be filled (thus that the EPP is not universal) and provide empirical arguments against theories invoking Case transmission and null expletives. Although German lacks the EPP, arguments are also provided that German does have TP and related functional projections.

1.   Introduction

In languages like Icelandic and German, nominative DPs appear to be acceptable in VP internal positions, for example, as in (1) ((1)a is from Icelandic, (1)b from German). In (1)a, the nominative occurs after the non-finite verb, hence clearly VP-internally. Furthermore, assuming that the adverb in (1)b is adjoined to the VP (which will be motivated in the course of this paper), it also follows that the nominative argument appears inside the VP rather than in Spec,IP/TP in these examples (see den Besten 1982, 1985a, b for the observation that nominatives can occur VP-internally).[1]

(1) a.   Þa   höfðu   [$_{VP}$ komið   gestir   í heimsókn   ]
          then   have   [$_{VP}$ come   guests.NOM   for a.visit   ]
          'Then, guests came for a visit.'   [Jónsson 1996:181]

     b.   weil   noch nie   [$_{VP}$ einer Frau   <u>ein Orden</u>   verliehen   ]   wurde
          since   yet never [$_{VP}$ a.DAT woman   a.NOM medal   awarded   ]   was
          'since a woman has never been awarded a medal'

For theories in which nominative Case is licensed by T°, this poses the question of how the appropriate licensing relationship is established. In the early 1990s, Chomsky developed a reductionist view of Case licensing in which all such relations involved movement of the nominative

[1] Since German main clauses require verb second configurations (which sometimes make it impossible to see where arguments in the middle field are), I will follow standard practice and give most German examples as embedded clauses.

to Spec,TP, hence examples like (1) would be analyzed as involving covert movement to Spec,TP. Alternatively it could be assume at least for German that the bracketing in (1)b is not correct, and that the nominative is in fact in Spec,IP/TP with everything to the left being adjoined to TP. A third view, assumes a covert expletive (*pro*) in Spec,IP/TP which checks nominative Case and agreement, and transfers these features to the nominative argument in situ via some form of coindexation (see Safir 1985a, b, Sternefeld 1985, Koster 1987, Grewendorf 1988, 1990, Cardinaletti 1990, Jónsson 1996, Haeberli 2002 among many others). A final view is that of Chomsky 2000, under which all Case licensing is established under the government-like *Agree* configuration, with movement not driven by matters of Case and agreement. In this paper, I will reconsider these issues and provide new empirical arguments to distinguish among these proposals. Specifically, I show that i) the constituent including the nominative arguments in (1)b cannot be TP, ii) covert movement of the nominative DP is excluded in certain cases, and iii) the postulation of an empty expletive is neither necessary nor motivated.
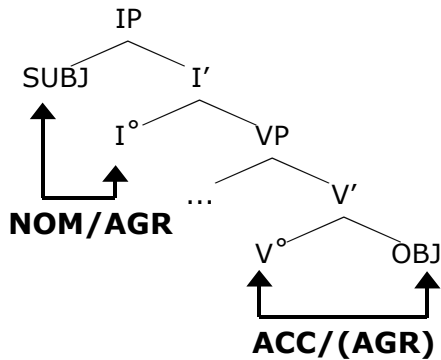
The paper is organized as follows. In the first part (section 2), I will establish that there are VP-internal nominatives that never get to Spec,IP/TP. Hence, if the choices are Agree versus movement, the conclusion is that Agree is not only a possible way of analyzing these constructions, but is required.[2] In the second part (section 3), I will consider approaches that share with the Agree approach the idea that the nominative arguments in cases such as (1) do not raise covertly to the specifier of a VP-external functional projection. Section 3.1 discusses the null expletive approach and section 3.2 compares the Agree approach to be developed here with an alternative approach advocated by Hubert Haider in a series of works (see, for instance, Haider 1993, to appear-b). Haider, recognizing the problems of a specifier-head approach noted above, argues that German lacks Infl-type functional projections altogether and that Case/agreement are hence not licensed in a specifier-head relation with an inflectional head but rather assigned VP-internally. Thus German and English differ in their clausal architecture, the way tense is represented, and Case/agreement are licensed. I will conclude that the postulation of an empty expletive or of a different clause structure and licensing mechanism for German is not motivated and that the Agree approach together with a parameterization of the EPP offers a simpler and more explanatory account of the differences among languages.

In sum, I argue for the following claims: i) Licensing is achieved via Agree (see below); ii) there is no universal requirement that the subject position (e.g., Spec,IP/TP) be filled (i.e., the EPP is not universal); and iii) Case/agreement are dependencies between an argument and a VP-external functional domain.

Before proceeding, it may be useful to lay out the issues to be discussed in their theoretical context. Thus, I will first briefly summarize the major trends in the approaches to Case/agreement licensing. In standard GB-theory (Chomsky 1981), we find an asymmetry between nominative and accusative Case assignment: nominative is assigned under m-command (in a specifier-head configuration), whereas accusative is assigned in a sisterhood relation under c-command (see (2)).

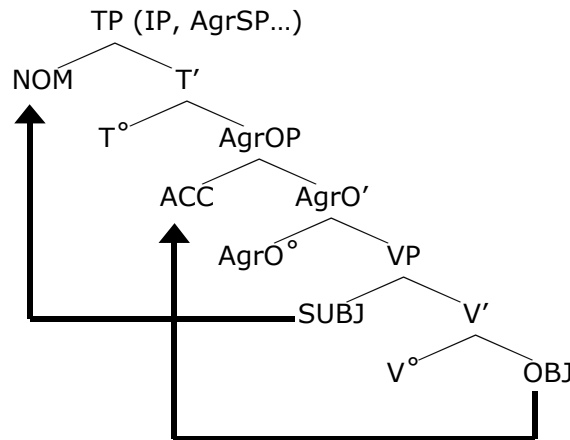[2] Chomsky (2000) suggests that English *there*-insertion contexts are instances of Agree. However, since there is an alternative specifier-head analysis (cf. Bobaljik 2002), *there*-insertion contexts only show that an Agree analysis is possible but not necessary. In what follows, I will show that certain constructions are only compatible with the Agree approach and cannot be accounted for assuming a movement analysis.

(2) Nominative vs. accusative assignment

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            IP
          /    \
       SUBJ     I′
        ↑      /  \
       |     I°    VP
       |     ↑    /  \
  NOM/AGR   ...  V′
                /   \
              V°     OBJ
              ↑       ↑
          ACC/(AGR)
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With the development of a VP-external functional domain responsible for object Case (and agreement), it became possible to eliminate this asymmetry and to postulate a uniform Case/agreement mechanism (see Johnson 1991's μ-head, or proposals involving AgrO or *v*). According to Chomsky (1989, 1991), all Case/agreement licensing required a specifier-head configuration—thus, Case/agreement became parasitic on movement (see (3)).

(3) Spec-head agreement (some functional projections omitted)

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          TP (IP, AgrSP...)
          /        \
       NOM          T′
        ↑          /  \
       |        T°    AgrOP
       |             /    \
       |          ACC      AgrO′
       |           ↑      /    \
       |          |    AgrO°    VP
       |          |            /   \
       |          |──────── SUBJ    V′
       |          |               /   \
       |          |             V°    OBJ
       |──────────────────────────────|
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To account for the VP-internal surface position of objects in English (cf. (4)), it is typically assumed that movement can be overt or covert: in English, subjects move overtly, whereas objects move covertly.

(4) a. John ate the cake.
     b. *John the cake ate.

This universal view, however, is challenged by examples such as the ones in (1). To account for cases such as the ones in (1), I will instead follow Chomsky (2000) where the idea of a government-like relation for Case/agreement licensing is revived. In particular, Chomsky suggests that all licensing is met via *Agree*. The Agree configuration for nominative and accusative licensing is shown in (5)a. At its core, this relation is very similar to the configurations picked out by head-

government in the GB framework, although the proposed locality conditions are different. In this relation, features are matched or licensed abstractly without movement. As characterized by Chomsky (2000), the Agree relation is initiated by a functional head with unchecked features (the *probe*) which seeks a potential checker (the *goal*) within some locality domain (the *phase*).
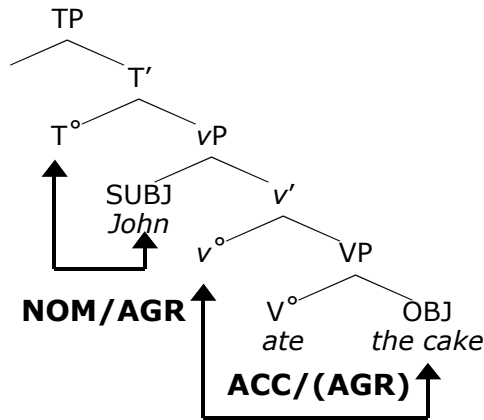
(5)   a.   Agree   b.   Movement for other reasons: EPP
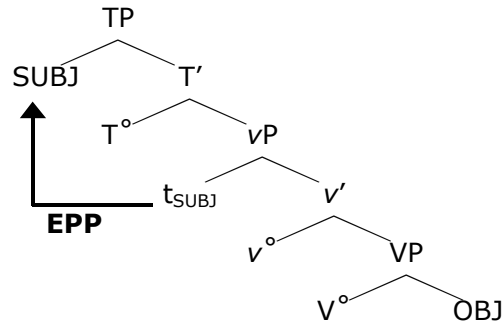
On the Agree approach, a DP that remains in situ on the surface may in fact remain there throughout the derivation. The approach is thus distinguished from the approach taken in the *Economy* period whereby all checking relations were established by movement and a DP that remained in situ on the surface was taken to undergo covert movement. Note that under the Agree approach, movement is not excluded, it is simply not required to check Case and agreement features. Movement of, for instance, the subject in English can occur (cf. (5)b); however, the crucial claim of the Agree approach is that it is not triggered by the need to check Case and agreement features but rather by a feature such as the EPP—i.e., the requirement that a certain position (Spec,TP) be filled. Returning to the cases in (1), since—as I will show—the nominative arguments are inside the VP at PF *and* LF, these examples will provide an argument for the necessity of Agree. Furthermore, excluding an analysis involving empty expletives, I will conclude that the EPP is not active in German and Icelandic—i.e., there is no requirement that something moves to Spec,TP or that this position be filled in these languages.

2.   Agree without movement

This section presents an argument for Agree—that is, for the claim that Case/agreement licensing is established without obligatory movement of the DP to the (specifier of) the relevant functional head.[3] The argument for Agree (and against Move(ment) in these constructions) will be based on certain constructions in German and lead to the conclusion that the EPP (as a requirement that Spec, IP/TP be obligatorily filled) does not hold in German. Note that this paper only deals with

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[3] I do not distinguish between Agree and feature movement in this work. What I call Move involves movement, possibly covert, of a collection of features, such as those involved in scope and binding relations along with those involved in Case and agreement. By Agree, I mean the possibility of checking the latter without affecting the position of the former. In this sense, Agree, Government, and Move-F converge, and are kept distinct from (phrasal) movement.

configurations in which Case/agreement is necessarily established via Agree and cannot be established via Move. This does not mean that Case/agreement licensing via Move is generally impossible in German; in Bobaljik and Wurmbrand (2004), we argue, in fact, that other types of constructions (namely restructuring infinitives) do not allow an Agree configuration and require movement. Hence both mechanisms are necessary to account for the full range of Case/agreement facts in German. The constructions discussed there, however, are of a different nature and do not affect the conclusion reached here—namely, that VP-internal nominatives provide an argument for Agree and against Move.

To begin with, consider the examples in (6) ((6)b is repeated from (1)). Let us assume for now as a null hypothesis (see section 3.2 for motivation), that Case and agreement are licensed uniformly across languages, in particular, that a nominative DP has to be in a certain structural relation (specifier-head or Agree) with the relevant VP-external functional head(s) (I/T/AgrS). Since there is no reason for assuming that nominative Case and agreement are separate in German, I will refer to the functional Case/agreement licenser as T from now on. However, this is simply a labeling choice and does not mean that I reject split IP structures. As mentioned above, to account for the low position of the nominative arguments in (6), the following options then come to mind: i) the nominative DPs are in Spec,TP and everything to the left is adjoined to TP; ii) the nominative DPs are inside the *v*P/VP at PF and move to Spec,TP at LF (to check Case/agreement); iii) the nominative DPs are inside the *v*P/VP throughout the derivation and Case/agreement is checked in situ via Agree with T. In this section, I will argue that in certain constructions, option iii) is the only option that correctly accounts for the properties of those constructions. Since this will show that Case/agreement can only be licensed by Agree in some constructions, we can conclude that Agree is also an option for (6).

(6) a. weil   schon zwei Mal   in diesem Krankenhaus   einem Arzt
        since   already two times in this hospital   a doctor.DAT

         ein fataler Fehler   unterlaufen   ist
         a.NOM fatal mistake   happened   is

        'since already twice in this hospital, a doctor has made a fatal mistake' (lit. 'since a fatal mistake has happened to a doctor already twice in this hospital')

    b. weil   noch nie   einer Frau   ein Orden   verliehen   wurde
        since   yet never   a.DAT woman   a.NOM medal   awarded   was
        'since a woman has never been awarded a medal'

    c. weil   schon oft   ein junger Hund   einen Briefträger gebissen   hat
        since   already often   a.NOM young dog   a.ACC mailmain   bitten   has
        'since a young dog has already often bitten a mailman.'

2.1.   The argument in short

The major difference between the Agree approach and the specifier-head approach (henceforth Move approach) is whether movement is required to license Case/agreement. The two approaches should thus be distinguishable empirically. Consider, for example, a context in which an argument, such as a nominative DP agreeing with the finite verb, can be shown to be in a position lower than its Case/agreement position (Spec,TP) at PF *and* LF. The PF position should be

detectable by normal word order diagnostics, and the LF position could be fixed as low in contexts where we can independently exclude covert movement. Since in such contexts, a specifier-head relation between the subject and T cannot be established (either overtly or covertly), checking of the Case and agreement features would be impossible under the Move approach. Under the Agree approach, on the other hand, such a scenario would be predicted to be grammatical as long as nothing else forces movement of the nominative DP.

I contend that this is exactly what we find in German VP-fronting contexts (see Haider to appear-b, Meurers 1999, 2000 for a similar argumentation but different theoretical conclusions). The shape of the argument is illustrated in (7); detailed examples and descriptions will be provided in the next section. If in a context such as (7)a the lower VP undergoes topicalization (i.e., the nominative DP stays inside the VP in overt syntax), the nominative DP obligatorily takes scope under the stranded dative DP. These scope properties are not surprising since VP-fronting constructions are typically subject to *scope freezing* effects (see Barss 1986, Sauerland 1998, Sauerland and Elbourne 2002). Assuming that scope freezing is induced by a ban against reconstruction into or movement out of a (reconstructed) topicalized phrase, we can conclude that covert movement of the nominative DP is impossible ((7)b). Importantly, however, we will see that nominative Case is obligatory and the nominative DP also obligatorily agrees with the finite verb in the contexts in (7). If Case/agreement checking would require a spec-head configuration, these facts would be puzzling. Assuming, on the other hand, that feature checking is met via Agree ((7)c) and that German lacks the EPP property, the Case/agreement properties will follow straightforwardly, since the nominative argument can stay in situ throughout the derivation while still Agreeing with the probe T.

(7) a. PF and LF b. LF c. Agree
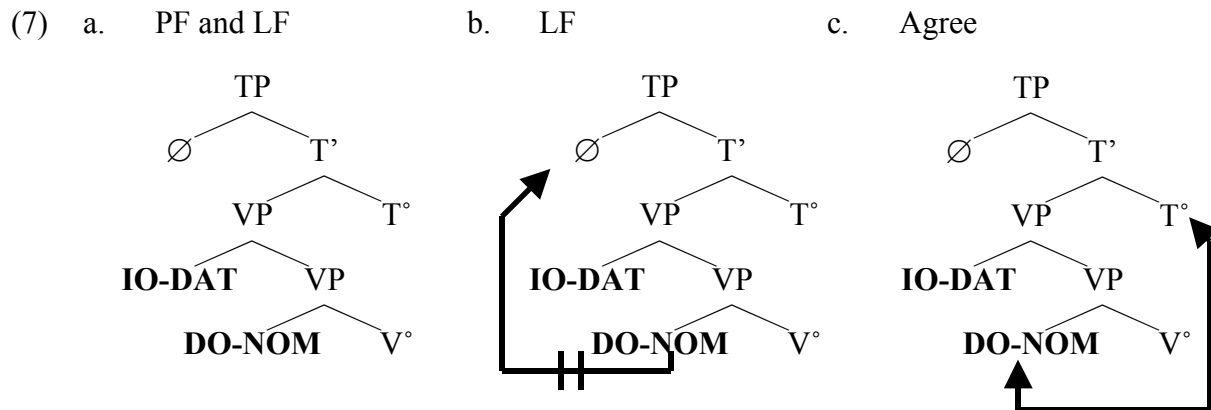
Note that the important part of the argument to be presented is not the fact that nominative *can* be assigned to arguments in VP-internal position in German (a claim which has been made by several researchers; see, for instance, den Besten 1985a, b, Haider 1993, to appear-b among many others) but that in certain constructions, nominative *must* be assigned to arguments inside the VP. Thus, while it seems to be uncontroversial that nominative DPs do not necessarily move overtly to Spec,TP in German, an argument against nominative Case assignment/checking in a specifier-head relation can only be made if it can be shown that the nominative DP also does not move covertly to Spec,TP. Scope freezing is thus the essential ingredient which yields the argument for the existence of Agree without movement.

2.2.   Scope freezing

Let me start with an illustration of *scope freezing* contexts (cf. Barss 1986, Lechner 1996, 1998, Sauerland 1998, Sauerland and Elbourne 2002). The scope freezing contexts that are relevant for the discussion here are constructions in which a quantifier cannot scope out of a moved constituent containing it. While examples such as (8)a are ambiguous between a wide and a narrow scope interpretation of the universal quantifier, the wide scope reading disappears when a constituent containing the universal quantifier is topicalized as in (8)b. I will not provide any explanation for this freezing effect but simply assume that fronted XPs are 'frozen' for scope in that movement out of a frozen XP and reconstruction into a frozen XP are prohibited. However, reconstruction of the whole frozen XP is possible. Thus, in (8)b, the topicalized XP can reconstruct but the universal quantifier can then not undergo further movement (resulting in a narrow scope interpretation with respect to the existential quantifier).[4]

(8) a.   ...and a policeman stood in front of every bank that day   ∃≫∀/∀≫∃
     b.   ...and [stand in front of every bank] a policeman did that day   *∀≫∃

The same effect is found in topicalization constructions in German. For reasons that will become clear as we proceed, I will concentrate on unaccusative constructions involving an indirect dative object and a nominative argument which is the underlying direct object. As is shown in (9), these unaccusative constructions allow scope ambiguity between the two arguments, indicating that covert movement is in principle possible.[5]

(9) a.   weil   mindestens einem Kritiker jeder Film   gefallen   sollte
           since   at-least   one.DAT critic   every.NOM film   please   should
           'since at least one critic should like every movie'   ∃≫∀/?∀≫∃

     b.   weil   mindestens einem Kind   jede Übung   gelungen   ist
           since   at-least one.DAT child   every.NOM exercise   managed   AUX
           'since at least one child managed to do every exercise'   ∃≫∀/?∀≫∃

If, on the other hand, the universal quantifier is part of a topicalized constituent as in (10), the ambiguity disappears and again only a narrow scope interpretation of the universal quantifier is possible (see (10)a-b).[6]

(10) a.   ?[Jeder Film   gefallen   ]XP   sollte   mindestens einem Kritiker
            [every. NOM film   please   ]XP   should   at.least   one.DAT critic
            'At least one critic should like every movie'   ∃≫∀; *∀≫∃

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[4] For the argument to be provided here it is crucial that scope freezing is seen as a restriction on movement (see Bruening 2001 for an alternative account); furthermore, we assume that reconstruction is a syntactic phenomenon (see Lechner 1996, 1998 for an alternative view).
[5] A well-known fact about German scope is that the inverted scope interpretation requires a special rise-fall intonation (cf. Frey 1989, 1993, Krifka 1998, Lechner 1998). While it is important for German speakers to keep this fact in mind in evaluating the examples, there is no reason to believe that this has any bearing on the argument for Agree.
[6] For some speakers, topicalization of a constituent including a strong nominative QP is marked. The judgments in this section are from speakers who allow this construction.

b. ?[Jede Übung   gelungen]$_{XP}$ ist   mindestens einem Kind
    [every.NOM exercise   managed]$_{XP}$ AUX   at.least   one.DAT child
    'At least one child (has) managed to do every exercise'   ∃»∀; *∀»∃

Before I turn to the structure of these examples and their relevance for the question of Agree vs. Move, a few words about the underlying structure of (9)-(10) are necessary. I follow the general assumption that the nominative argument originates in a position lower than the dative argument (see Frey 1989, 1993, Haider and Rosengren 2003 among others). One piece of evidence for this claim comes from variable binding. Comparing the variable binding properties in unaccusative nominative/dative constructions with those in transitive nominative/dative constructions (e.g., constructions with verbs like *help*) leads to the conclusion that the dative DP is generated in a position higher than the nominative DP in unaccusative constructions, whereas the nominative DP is the higher argument in transitive constructions. Relevant examples are given in (11). All examples involve a bound variable embedded in the first argument and a quantified DP as the second argument (in the linear order). In the first two examples, the nominative precedes the dative. As can be seen in (11)a vs. (11)b, a bound variable interpretation is only possible in this configuration when the verb is an unaccusative verb; the structure is ungrammatical when the verb is a transitive verb. In contrast, if the dative precedes the nominative as in (11)c,d, a bound variable interpretation is possible in the transitive construction and prohibited in the unaccusative construction. (All examples are grammatical when the pronouns are interpreted referentially or when the arguments are switched).

(11) a.   weil   seine$_i$ Enkelinnen   jedem Grossvater$_i$ gefallen
            since   his$_i$.NOM granddaughters   every. DAT grandfather$_i$ please.3PL
            'since every grandfather likes his granddaughters'

      b. ?*weil   seine$_i$ Eltern   jedem Sohn$_i$ vertrauen/helfen
            since   his$_i$.NOM parents   every. DAT son$_i$ trust/help
            'since his parents help/trust every son'

      c. ?*weil   ihrem$_i$ Grossvater   jede Enkelin$_i$ gefällt
            since   her$_i$.DAT grandfather   every.NOM granddaughter$_i$ pleases
            'since her grandfather likes every granddaughter'

      d.   weil   seinem$_i$ Sohn   jeder$_i$ Vater   vertraut/hilft
            since   his.DAT son$_i$ every.NOM father   trusts/helps
            'since every father trust/helps his son'

A standard account of asymmetries of this sort is that in the orders that allow a bound variable interpretation, the arguments embedding the bound pronouns do not occur in their base positions but have been moved to their surface position from a position lower than the quantified arguments (cf. (12)a,d).[7] Assuming that the nominative DP in (12)a and the dative DP in (12)d reconstruct to their base positions at LF, they end up in positions where they are c-commanded by the quantifiers, and hence bound variable interpretations are licensed in (12)a,d. In (12)b,c, on the

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[7] Note that German is a head-final language. Assuming a head-final structure, the arguments in (11)b,c/(12)b,c appear in their base positions.

other hand, the arguments appear in their base positions, and hence no reconstruction sites are available for the DPs embedding the pronouns. Since the pronouns are not in the scope of a quantifier (neither in their surface positions nor at LF), bound variable interpretations are impossible in (12)b,c.

(12) a.   *his*$_i$ NOM   [$_{VP}$ *every*$_i$ DAT   t$_{NOM}$ unaccusative V (*like, manage*)   ]
     b.   *   [$_{vP}$ *his*$_i$ NOM   *every*$_i$ DAT   transitive V (*help, trust*)   ]
     c.   *   [$_{VP}$ *his*$_i$ DAT   *every*$_i$ NOM   unaccusative V (*like, manage*)   ]
     d.   *his*$_i$ DAT   [$_{vP}$ *every*$_i$ NOM   t$_{DAT}$ transitive V (*help, trust*)   ]
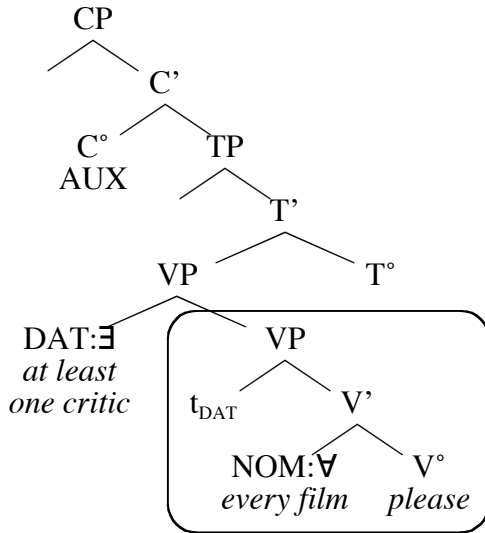
Without going into further detail,[8] the generalization allows us to draw certain conclusions about the basic order of arguments. In particular the grammaticality of (11)a/(12)a and the ungrammaticality of (11)c/(12)c suggest that in this type of unaccusative construction, the base position of the dative argument is higher than the base position of the nominative argument.

     Returning to the scope freezing examples in (10), the variable binding facts provide motivation for the structures in (13): the nominative DP which is the lower argument forms a constituent with the verb and this constituent undergoes fronting (I will consider and reject an alternative according to which the nominative is in Spec,TP below). Although it is not essential for the discussion here I assume that the fronted constituent in the examples in (10) is a remnant VP which includes the trace of the indirect objects. Alternatively, one could assume a VP-stacking analysis as suggested in Bobaljik (1995). In that case, the fronted constituent would simply be the lower of two recursive VPs and the fronted VP would not include the trace of the dative argument.

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[8] For instance, I cannot engage here in the question of why covert movement of the quantifiers is impossible in (12)b,c. A possible direction is to assume that covert movement is A'-movement which causes a *Weak Cross-Over* violation. However, this solution then potentially raises the question of why no such violation arises for overt scrambling as in i.. (which is to the left of the subject and has been argued to be A'-movement by some authors; see, for instance, Webelhuth 1989, Müller and Sternefeld 1994) or for topicalization as in ii.

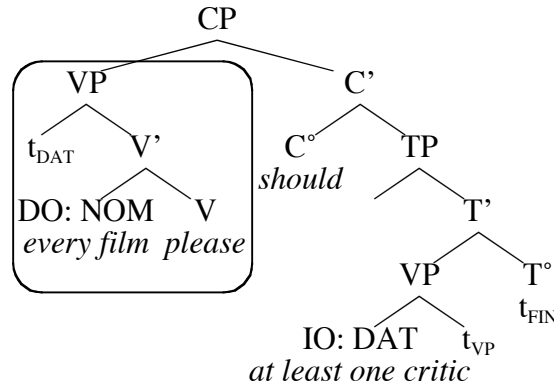   i.   ?weil   jedem Vater$_i$ sein$_i$ Sohn   vertraut
         since   every.DAT father   his.NOM son   trusts.
         'lit. since his son trusts every father' 'since every father is trusted by his son'
     ii.   ?Jedem Vater$_i$ vertraut   sein$_i$ Sohn
         every.DAT father   trusts   his son
         'lit. His son trusts every father' 'Every father is trusted by his son'

(13) a. Base structure/LF   b. VP/V'-fronting   = (10)a

To account for the scope properties of (10), I assume again that the fronted VP can reconstruct at LF; however, further movement of the universal quantifier out of the boxed constituent in (13) (or reconstruction of the existential quantifier into that VP) is prohibited. The nominative quantifier can, however, undergo raising inside the frozen VP.[9]

In (13), we see that the underlying direct object which obligatorily bears nominative case and agrees with the finite auxiliary is embedded in the VP at PF and LF (i.e., it is in a projection which is lower than its Case/agreement position Spec,TP). Thus, (13) constitutes a scenario for Agree: the nominative DP is not in Spec,TP at PF, and, importantly, it cannot undergo further covert movement to Spec,TP due to the fact that it is embedded in a frozen complement. Since in this scenario, Case/agreement features cannot be checked in a specifier-head relation but the structures are nevertheless well-formed, it can be concluded that feature checking via Agree (i.e., without covert movement) must be possible.[10] Furthermore, since no phrasal material ever occupies Spec,TP in these constructions, I conclude that German lacks the EPP—i.e., there is no requirement that Spec,TP be filled, or, if the EPP is viewed as a feature on T, T does not have an EPP-feature that needs to be checked.[11]

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[9] Note that assuming the structure in (13), quantifier scope has to be computed between the actual quantifiers and cannot be seen as a relation between a quantifier and the trace of another quantifier. Following a suggestion by W. Lechner, I assume that QR of the universal quantifier in (13)a inside the frozen VP is possible, and presumably necessary for interpretational purposes. If QR targets a propositional node, the universal quantifier would end up in a position c-commanding the trace of the dative argument. However, this movement does not alter the scope relations.

[10] For the purpose of this paper, it does not matter whether Agree is established prior to VP-movement or after reconstruction. However, in Bobaljik and Wurmbrand (2004), we argue that Agree has to be met at LF. The topicalization facts discussed in this section then represent an instance of a mismatch between the operations Move and Agree: while movement is prohibited from frozen constituents, Agree can nevertheless 'see into' a frozen XP. Thanks to Friedrich Neubarth for pointing this out.

[11] Assuming that there are no covert *pro*'s or expletives in these constructions (see section 3.1), the only way to maintain the claim that German has the EPP would be to follow Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou's (1998, 2001) analysis for VSO languages. That is, one could assume that there is an EPP feature on T in German which can be checked by the finite auxiliary in (13). However, since German does not show any of the VSO properties, this claim

Before concluding that the examples in (10) can only be derived via Agree, a potential alternative structure which would allow feature checking in a specifier-head configuration has to be discussed. As is illustrated in (14), a structure in which the topicalized constituent is the TP would be consistent with the Move approach since the nominative argument could have moved to Spec,TP overtly (the indirect dative object would have to be scrambled and adjoined to TP). Assuming as above that fronted constituents are frozen for scope, neither movement of the universal quantifier out of the fronted TP nor reconstruction of the existential dative argument into the TP would be possible. Furthermore, under the assumption that traces do not count for scope (i.e., that c-commanding the trace of the dative quantifier is not sufficient for the nominative quantifier to take scope over the dative), the scope freezing effect can also be accounted for under the structure in (14).

(14)   TP-fronting (to be rejected)
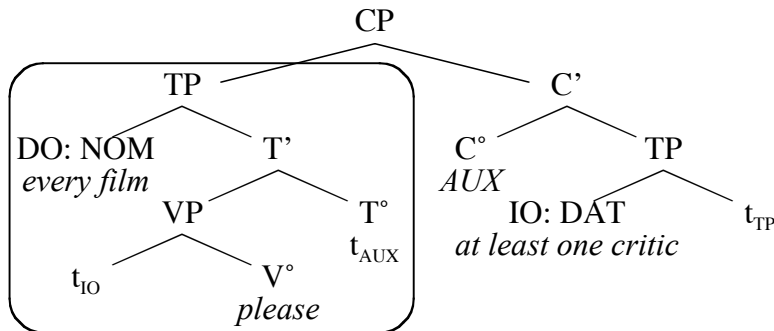
If the examples in (10) can be represented by the structure in (14), they could not be taken as evidence for the necessity of Agree. However, there are independent reasons for excluding TP fronting as in (14). First, Abels (2003) develops a theory of locality from which it follows that complements of phase heads are frozen in place and cannot undergo movement. He shows that TPs that are the complement of a C head and VPs that are the complement of a *v* head are immovable. I cannot reproduce Abels' arguments here, but simply note that if we adopt this framework, it follows straightforwardly that (14) is excluded. The second reason for excluding a structure such as (14) comes from the presence of a trace in the fronted constituent. As can be seen in (14), fronting of the TP would necessarily involve a constituent headed by a trace (the trace of the finite verb/auxiliary in T). According to Haider (1990, 1993, to appear-b), Fanselow (1993), this is impossible—fronting of a constituent containing the trace of the finite verb is illicit in German. Since the constraint against TP-fronting and the constraint against headless fronting make the same prediction for structures such as (14), I will not attempt to decide between these two approaches here (but see Wurmbrand 2004a for a detailed comparison). For the purpose of this paper, it seems sufficient to note that (14) is an impossible derivation and that we can hence conclude that (13) is the only possible structure for (10). Thus, Agree is therefore re-

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would appear to be rather stipulative. Thus, while this approach would technically allow us to maintain the universality of the EPP, it would still raise the question of why, for instance, English and German differ in the way the EPP can be checked (more specifically, why auxiliaries in T cannot check the EPP in English). Thus, a basic (non-derived) difference between languages remains—German, in contrast to English—does not display EPP-effects. Note also that, contrary to what Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou (1998, 2001) predict, it is possible in German for both the subject and the object to simultaneously remain VP-internal (see (6) and (15)).

quired to properly account for the scope and Case/agreement facts in these examples.

Returning to the examples in (6), we can now use topicalization as a test for the position of the nominatives. As shown in (15), the nominative arguments can be part of fronted constituents. Given the constraints on fronting discussed in this section, the nominatives in (15) cannot be in Spec,TP at PF (otherwise the fronted constituent would have to be a TP, which is prohibited) and also not at LF (covert movement from fronted constituents is impossible). In this scenario, Case/agreement can only be checked via Agree—i.e., (15) must involve Agree. Since there is no reason to assume that the examples in (6) are different from the ones in (15) (other than the fact that in the latter the VP has undergone topicalization), Agree should also be an option in those examples.

(15) a.   [Einem Arzt   ein fataler Fehler   unterlaufen]$_{VP}$ ist
        [a.DAT doctor   a.NOM fatal mistake   happened]$_{VP}$ is

        schon zwei Mal   in diesem Krankenhaus
        already two times   in this hospital

        'Already twice in this hospital, a doctor has made a fatal mistake' (lit. 'Already twice in this hospital, a fatal mistake happened to a doctor')

    b.   [Einer Frau   ein Orden   verliehen]$_{VP}$ wurde   noch nie
        [a.DAT woman   a.NOM medal   awarded]$_{VP}$ was   yet never
        'It never happened that a woman was awarded a medal'

    c.   [Ein junger Hund   einen Briefträger   gebissen]$_{vP}$ hat   hier schon oft
        [a.NOM young dog   a.ACC mailman   bitten]$_{vP}$ has   here already often
        'It has happened often here already that a young dog has bitten a mailman.'

Finally, the account suggested here offers a straightforward account for the licensing of indefinites. As shown in (16), there is a strong tendency for indefinite arguments to be interpreted in the surface position. If a specific interpretation is intended, movement is required (or highly preferred for most speakers); if a non-specific interpretation is intended movement is generally dispreferred.

(16) a.   weil   ein Österreicher   noch nie   gewonnen   hat
        since   an Austrian   yet never   won   has
        'since an Austrian has never won so far'

        i.   ??It is not the case that any Austrian has won yet.
        ii.   There is an Austrian and (s)he has never won so far.

    b.   weil   noch nie   ein Österreicher   gewonnen   hat
        since   yet never   an Austrian   won   has
        'since an Austrian has never won so far'

        i.   It is not the case that any Austrian has won yet.
        ii.   ??There is an Austrian and (s)he has never won so far.

Assuming that the two interpretations of indefinites correspond to different scopes relative to the

adverb in (16), we can conclude that the subject is inside the VP at LF in (16)b. Hence, covert movement does not occur and Case/agreement can again only be licensed via Agree. This can be further confirmed by the fact that fronting of a constituent including non-specific nominatives is possible (see (17); (17)b is from Meurers 1999, 2000).

(17) a. [Ein Außenseiter   gewonnen   ]$_{INF}$ hat   hier   noch nie
          [a.NOM outsider   won   ]$_{INF}$ has   here   yet never
          'An outsider has never won here.' (only non-specific)

     b.   [Ein Außenseiter   zu gewinnen]$_{INF}$ scheint hier   eigentlich nie
          [a.NOM outsider   to win   ]$_{INF}$ seems   here   actually   never
          'An outsider never actually seems to win here.'

          i.   It never seems to be the case that an outsider wins here.
          ii.   *There is a (specific) outsider and he never seems to win here.

To conclude, I have argued for the existence of Agree as an abstract feature licensing mechanism. The argument was based on German topicalization constructions in which the subject (i.e., a nominative argument agreeing with the finite verb) is in a position lower than its Case/agreement position (i.e., Spec,TP) at PF, and importantly, is trapped in this position at LF. Since in these contexts, movement to the specifier position of the licensing head cannot occur (either overtly or covertly), the grammaticality of these constructions suggests that Case and agreement licensing does not require a specifier-head configuration, which is compatible with the Agree approach to feature licensing but incompatible with the Move approach under which all feature-checking takes place in specifier-head configurations. I therefore conclude that Agree in situ without Move is possible in German and that German lacks the EPP property. The advantage of this approach is that it allows us to maintain a general mechanism for Case/agreement licensing. Before I will discuss some alternative accounts, I will briefly summarize how the Agree approach can be extended to Icelandic.

2.3.   Icelandic

In this section, I will illustrate that Icelandic, like German, allows VP-internal nominatives in the absence of any material in Spec,TP. Note that I do not attempt to provide an exhaustive account of the distribution of Icelandic nominatives here. What is important for the purpose of this paper is to show that certain configurations require Agree.

The first part of the argument for Agree is to show that nominative arguments can occupy a low (i.e., VP-internal) position at PF. Examples illustrating this are given in (18) ((18)b is repeated from (1)). The claim that these nominatives are VP-internal at PF is motivated by the fact that they follow the non-finite verbs ((18)a,b) or a shifted object (cf. (18)c).[12]

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[12] Examples such as (18)c (i.e., VP-internal nominatives in transitive constructions) are rather restricted in Icelandic. Jonas and Bobaljik (1993) point out that only quantificational transitive subjects may remain inside the VP (at least for some speakers; see Thráinsson 1986); all other transitive subjects (including indefinites) must leave the VP. Furthermore, Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou (2001) show that transitive nominative arguments may remain inside the VP, however, only if the object leaves the VP. While these are interesting differences between Icelandic and German that certainly require further attention, they do not challenge the basic claim made here that the VP-internal position is possible for nominative arguments in transitive constructions in Icelandic. To account for the restricted

(18) a. Um veturinn   voru   konunginum [_{VP} gefnar ambáttir   ]
       In the.winter were.PL   the.king.DAT [_{VP} given   slaves.NOM   ]
       'In the winter, the king was given (female) slaves.'

[Zaenen, Maling, and Thráinsson 1985:112]

   b. Þa   höfðu   [_{VP} komið   gestir   í heimsókn]
      then   have   [_{VP} come   guests.NOM   for a.visit]
      'Then, guests came for a visit.'   [Jónsson 1996:181]

   c. Það   stingur smjörinu [_{VP} einhver   í vasann   ]
      there   put   the.butter [_{VP} someone   in the.pocket]
      'Someone put the butter in the pocket.'   [Jonas and Bobaljik 1993:93]

As for German, the questions posed by these cases are how Case/agreement are licensed and what (if anything) satisfies the EPP. Following recent works (see, for instance, Sigurðsson 1993, 1996, 2000, Boeckx 2000, Chomsky 2000, Hiraiwa 2001, Anagnostopoulou 2003, Holmberg and Hróarsdóttir 2003, Rezac 2004, Béjar and Rezac to appear), I suggest that Case/agreement licensing is met via Agree. This analysis is supported by the fact that the nominative arguments are not only inside the VP at PF, but also at LF. Following observations in den Dikken (1995) for English expletive constructions, Jónsson (1996: 198ff) argues that the scope facts strongly suggest that no covert movement takes place in these constructions. This is illustrated in (19) (Jónsson, p.c., modified from Jónsson 1996); (19)a only has a weak cardinal reading (i.e., the quantified DP has to take scope under negation) and in (19)b, the nominative cannot bind the reciprocal (i.e., it is not in a position c-commanding the PP at LF).[13]

(19) a. Þess vegna hafa   ekki verið   margir   nemendur   hér
       therefore have   not been   many   students   here
       'Therefore, not many students have been here.'

   b. *Þess vegna virðast að mati   hvers annars vera   einhverjir umsækjendur   hæfir
      therefore   seem   to judgment each other   to.be some applicants   qualified
      'Therefore, some applicants seem to be competent in each other's opinion.'

Regarding the second question, the EPP, the examples in (18) through (19) show that Spec,TP is not filled by any overt material in these cases. Note in particular, that (18)a,b, and (19) involve topicalization of adverbs which cannot have originated in Spec,TP. I thus propose that Icelandic, like German, lacks the EPP—i.e., there is no requirement that Spec,TP be filled.

   To conclude, Icelandic and German both allow constructions in which a nominative argument remains inside the *v*P/VP throughout the derivation. The Agree approach, together with a

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distribution of these nominatives, additional constraints such as the one suggested in Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou (2001) are necessary.

[13] Note that one could, of course, maintain the claim that there is covert A-movement in these cases, if one postulates obligatory reconstruction. It seems, however, that the sole motivation for this approach would be to save the assumption that something has to check the EPP (at LF) or Case/agreement in a specifier-head relation. In the lack of any true evidence, it would therefore seem that the burden would be on proponents of this approach to provide reasons for obligatory yo-yo movement before this option should be taken into account.

language-specific setting of the EPP, provides a straightforward account of these cases. In the next section, I will turn to two alternative accounts and provide reasons for why the present approach is preferable.

3.   Other non-movement approaches

In the previous section, I have argued that certain VP-internal nominatives never move to Spec,TP. This is expected if Case/agreement are licensed via Agree and the EPP is not universal. Accounts which require a specifier-head relation for Case/agreement licensing, on the other hand, are faced with the question of how nominative Case and agreement are licensed in these cases (in particular, since covert movement is excluded). To account for VP-internal nominatives, two types of approaches have been suggested which I will discuss in this section. The first approach (section 3.1) shares with the account proposed here the concept that nominative Case/agreement are uniformly licensed by T, but differs in that licensing has to involve a specifier-head relation. To account for VP-internal nominatives, a null TP-expletive is postulated which mediates licensing between Spec,TP and the VP-internal argument. The second approach (section 3.2), on the other hand, gives up the idea that Case/agreement licensing is universally tied to a functional head such as T. According to this approach, languages like German lack a functional IP domain altogether and Case/agreement is determined by the verb itself. I will compare these approaches to the Agree approach suggested here and conclude that neither the postulation of a null expletive nor the assumption that languages differ in the way Case/agreement are licensed is motivated.

3.1.   Against (true) TP-expletives in German and Icelandic

A common account of VP-internal nominatives is to assume that these structures involve an empty *pro* subject, which checks the EPP and transmits nominative Case to the VP-internal argument (see Safir 1985a, b, Sternefeld 1985, Koster 1987, Grewendorf 1988, 1990, Cardinaletti 1990, Jónsson 1996, Haeberli 2002 among many others). This is illustrated for the German (6)b in (20)a and the Icelandic (19)a in (20)b.

(20) a.   weil   [$_{TP}$ *pro*$_i$ noch nie   [$_{VP}$ einer Frau   ein Orden$_i$ verliehen] wurde]
            since [$_{VP}$ *pro*$_i$ yet never [$_{VP}$ a.DAT woman   a.NOM medal$_i$ awarded   ]   was   ]
            'since a woman has never been awarded a medal'

      b.   Þess vegna hafa [$_{TP}$ *pro*$_i$ ekki   [$_{VP}$ verið margir nemendur$_i$ hér   ]]
            therefore   have [$_{TP}$ *pro*$_i$ not   [$_{VP}$ been   many students.NOM$_i$ here]]
            'Therefore, not many students have been here.'

Although it is very difficult to argue against silent elements, I would like to give some reasons why this approach is unsatisfactory (see also Haider 1985a, b, 1991 for critique of these types of approaches). The basic claim I will make is that all syntactic and semantic evidence points to the conclusion that there is no *pro* in these contexts. The *pro* as a covert expletive would hence have to be defined as an obligatorily covert element which can receive Case and check the EPP, but which is otherwise invisible for all other syntactic and semantic purposes. In the absence of any motivation for this element (other than saving the claim that licensing requires a specifier-head

relation), a theory that does not require the stipulation of an obligatorily invisible transmitter seems to be preferable.

A crucial feature of expletive approaches invoking Case transmission is that the expletive (covert or overt) is coindexed with the VP-internal argument, but that it is the expletive that receives Case (hence allowing Case checking via a specifier-head relation to be maintained). Thus, in (20), *pro* must have some properties or features that make it visible for Case-assignment. Typically, structural Case is assigned only to arguments. Assuming this, however, the question arises of why these structures do not create a Condition C violation. If *pro* is a (quasi-)argument (which checks the EPP and receives Case), it should also count as an argument for binding (the same problem arises in general for accounts that assume coindexation and Case transmission between an overt expletive and its associate). Thus, one would have to stipulate that Condition C does not apply in these configurations or that although *there/pro* has enough "substance" to receive Case and check the EPP and to be co-indexed with the nominative argument, these elements do not have enough "substance" for binding purposes. A similar concern arises for cross-over. As shown in (21), expletives do not cause a cross-over violation.[14]

(21)   How many spies$_i$ were there$_i$ t$_i$ from Russia?   [May 1985]

While it again can be stipulated that expletives are not visible for whatever regulates cross-over, the obvious question co-indexation/Case transmission approaches are faced with is what properties or features expletives have that allow them to be visible for certain syntactic processes and invisible for others.

Looking at the distribution of different types of expletives casts further doubt on the existence of such an element. Let me start with the well-known observation (see Maling and Zaenen 1978, Sigurðsson 1989, Vikner 1995, Jónsson 1996, Bobaljik and Jonas 1996, Bobaljik and Þráinsson 1998 among many others) that overt expletives in German and Icelandic are only possible in Spec,CP (see (22)a for German, (23)a for Icelandic) and are excluded in Spec,TP (cf. (22)b, (23)b). This contrasts with English (and Mainland Scandinavian) as shown in (22)c/(23)c.

(22) a.   Es   ist   der Frühling   gekommen   German
          It   is   the.NOM spring   come
          'Spring has come.'

     b.   weil   (*es)   ...   ein Brief   gekommen   ist
          since   (*it)   ...   a.NOM letter   come   is
          'Since a letter has come.'

     c.   since *(there) are pretty tulips in the garden

(23) a.   Það   hafa   verið   nokkrir kettir   í eldhúsinu   (Icelandic)
          there   have   been   some cats   in kitchen-the
          'There have been some cats in the kitchen'   [Vangsnes 1998:6]

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[14] This cannot be shown for the alleged covert expletives in German or Icelandic, since it cannot be guaranteed that there is a *pro* and that the moved DP does not move through Spec,TP.

b. Í dag   hafa   (*það) verið   nokkrir kettir   í eldhúsinu
    today   have   (*there) been   some cats   in kitchen-the
    'Today, there have been some cats in the kitchen'   [Vangsnes 1998:7]

c. Today *(there) have been some cats in the kitchen.

A straightforward account for these expletives is to assume, following Breckenridge (1975), Thráinsson (1979), Lenerz (1985), Grewendorf (1989), Bobaljik (2002), and others, that CP-expletives in German and Icelandic, are simply phonological fillers of the initial position (Spec,CP) when no overt XP has moved there. I will call these expletives "PF-expletives". That is, PF-expletives are not syntactic elements but are rather inserted at PF to satisfy an EPP-like requirement that certain positions be filled (Spec,TP in English, Spec,CP in German/Icelandic; see Chomsky 2000, Fanselow and Mahajan 2000, Roberts and Roussou 2002 for the assumption of an EPP feature on C). The assumption of PF-expletives is motivated by the fact that these elements do not participate in any way in the syntax and semantics of these constructions.[15] To illustrate this, I will compare PF-expletives with what I will call syntactic expletives.

Although German does not allow overt TP-expletives in contexts such as the one in (22)b, there are some instances where we find *es* 'it' in Spec,TP: weather-*it* as in (24)a, the existential *es gibt* 'there exist' construction in (24)b, and certain motion and experiencer constructions such as (24)c (see Haider 2001 for the latter).

(24) a. weil   *(es)   regnet
         since   *(it)   rains
         'since it is raining'

     b. weil   *(es)   hier   Geister   gibt
         since   *(it)   here   ghosts   gives
         'since there exist ghosts here'

     c. weil   *(es)   ihm   die Haare   zerzaust   hat
         since   *(it)   him   the hairs   tangled   has
         'since his hair got tangled; something made his hair tangled' [lit. 'It has tangled him the hair.']

Importantly, however, these cases do not represent true cases of expletives but are best analyzed as involving (quasi-)argumental *es* (see Chomsky 1981). There are two reasons to assign (quasi-)argument status to these occurrences of *es*. The standard argument for the argument status of *es* in (24) comes from its potential to control PRO. Assuming that only arguments can control PRO, (25) provides evidence for the claim that *it* in these examples qualifies as an argument.

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[15] This claim has to be qualified in the following way. Icelandic and English expletive constructions show definiteness effects (German generally lacks them, except in certain special contexts, see Haeberli 2002). While these effects are clearly related to the expletive construction in some way, there is no reason to assume that they are triggered by the expletive itself. Rather, both the insertion of a PF expletive and the restrictions on the interpretation can be seen as the result of the same property—the low position of the non-expletive DPs and the lack of a topic.

(25) a. weil   es   blitzt   ohne   PRO$_{it}$ zu donnern
         since   it   flashes   without   PRO$_{it}$ to thunder
         'since there is lightning without thunder'

    b.   weil   es   Donner   gab   ohne   PRO$_{it}$ zu blitzen
         since   it   thunder   gave   without   PRO$_{it}$ to flash
         'since there was thunder without lightning'

    c.   weil   es   ihm   den Hut   vom Kopf   geweht   hat
         since   it   him   the.ACC hat   from-the head   blown   has

         ohne   PRO$_{it}$ ihm   die Haare   zu zerzausen
         without   PRO$_{it}$ him   the hairs   to tangle
         'since his hat was blown off his head without tangling his hair'

The second argument comes from the distribution of accusative case. Although the details of how Case is determined differ substantially across theories, there is a common sense that accusative is only possible in German when there also is an (underlying) external nominative argument (see Haider 1985a, b, Marantz 1991, Sternefeld 1995). This makes the prediction that if an expletive is an argument that bears nominative Case and thus functions as a "Case competitor", other DPs in expletive constructions should occur with accusative. Crucially, this prediction is borne out for syntactic expletives but not for PF-expletives. As shown in (22)a/(26)a, only nominative is possible on the non-expletive DP in PF-expletive constructions, and accusative is strictly prohibited. In the constructions with syntactic expletives, on the other hand (weather-*it*, existential, motion, and experiencer constructions), only accusative is possible (26)b-d.

(26) a. *Es   ist   den Herbst   gekommen
          It   is   the.ACC fall   come
          'Fall has come.'

    b.   weil   es   roten/*roter Wein   regnet
         since   it   red.ACC/*NOM wine   rains
         'since it is raining red wine'

    c.   weil   es   hier   einen/*ein Poltergeist   gibt
         since   it   here   a.ACC/*NOM poltergeist   exists
         'since there is a poltergeist here'

    d.   weil   es   ihm   den/*der Hut   vom Kopf   geweht   hat
         since   it   him   the.ACC/*NOM hat   off-the head   blown   has
         'since his hat was blown off his head'

Hence, we have good reasons to assume that the expletives in (24) are present in syntax as they participate in the computation of Case. PF-expletives, on the other hand, have no effect on the Case computation, which follows if they are not present in syntax but only inserted at PF.

Turning to Icelandic, we find that the constructions corresponding to the German syntactic expletives have the same Case properties, however, no overt expletives are present (cf. (27)).

(27) a. Í dag   hefur   (það)   rignt
today   has   (*it)   rained
'Today, it rained.'

     b. Af húsinu   blés   (það)   strompinn
off the.house   blew   (*it)   the chimney.Acc
'The chimney blew off the house'   [Haider 2001: 5]

The interesting observation made in Haider (2001) is that the verbs that allow an accusative argument in the (apparent) absence of a competing nominative argument in Icelandic are very similar to the verbs that allow overt TP-expletives (i.e., syntactic expletives)) in German. This fact, together with the untypical Case pattern indicates that Icelandic, like German, has syntactic expletives, however, in contrast to German, these expletives are covert. Note that for these constructions, the postulation of an empty expletive is justified by the syntactic properties, not by a theory-internal claim.

Coming back to the issue at hand, namely whether there are covert expletives in (20), the only way to make sense of this assumption is to assume that *pro* would be an expletive of the PF-kind in these cases, since it does not trigger accusative Case on the VP-internal DP and does not seem to be present in the syntax for binding purposes. This raises the question, however, how a PF-expletive can transmit Case and how it can be—in fact, must be—covert.

To conclude, the assumption that there is a covert expletive in constructions where no argument raises to Spec,TP (overtly or covertly) might save the claim that German and Icelandic, like English, are subject to the EPP and that Case/agreement are checked in a specifier-head configuration. However, this approach raises several questions regarding the motivation and properties of these expletives. The fact that they have to be obligatorily silent and do not appear to be present in syntax (in contrast to true syntactic expletives that do exist in these languages) strongly suggests that they are artifacts of the theoretical claims rather than true grammatical entities. An account such as the one advocated here which does not require these entities, seems thus more promising.

## 3.2.   Against an IP-less clause structure for German

In the previous sections, I have argued that the distribution of nominative arguments in German (and tentatively Icelandic) follows straightforwardly if we assume that Case/agreement are licensed via Agree. The advantage of this account is that it allows us to simplify the grammar: no language specific assumptions about the clause structure of German are necessary and Case/agreement licensing is subject to a cross-linguistically uniform mechanism—Agree. Thus so far, we have seen that it is not necessary to postulate that German (in contrast to English) lacks an IP-domain (as suggested in Haider 1993). In the next section, I will argue that this difference between English and German is also not motivated.

3.2.1   Long passive

In this section, I will provide an argument for the existence of a VP-external functional domain responsible for Case/agreement licensing in German. Let me start with some background. In German (like in English), object Case depends on the presence vs. absence of an external argu-

ment, which in turn depends on the voice properties of a predicate. Thus, active non-unaccusative predicates license accusative on the object, whereas passive and unaccusative predicates do not license accusative but require nominative on the underlying object. Under the approach taken here, this difference is due to the presence vs. absence of *v*P:[16] when *v*P is present, the object Agrees with *v* (which is the closest Case/agreement head), resulting in accusative ((28)a); when *v*P is absent (or inactive), the object Agrees with T which results in nominative ((28)a). I will refer to this view as functional Case assignment.
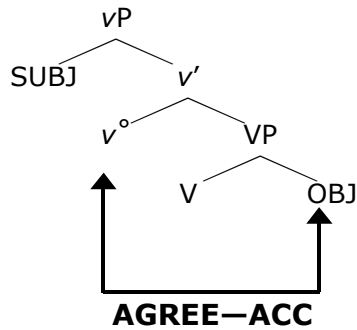
(28) a.   Active   b.   Passive
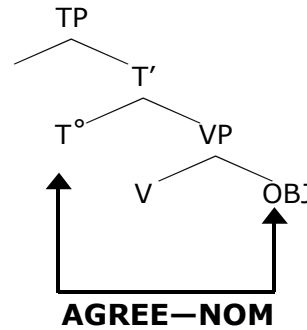
If there are no functional heads such as *v* or T, the difference between nominative and accusative has to be seen as a lexical property of the predicates involved. That is, the active/passive difference has to be encoded on the verb, which then in turn determines whether the object receives accusative or nominative (see (29)). I will refer to this view as lexical Case assignment.
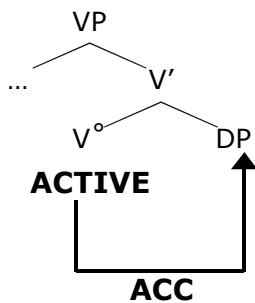
(29) a.   Active (ACC)   b.   Passive (no ACC)
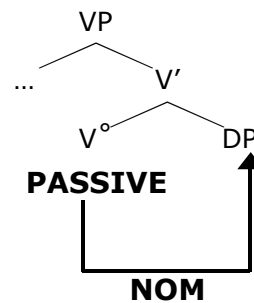
I believe that these two approaches can be distinguished empirically. Assuming functional Case assignment, Case is affected by the nature of the VP-external functional domain (i.e., presence vs. absence of *v*P). Under the lexical Case assignment view, on the other hand, Case is assigned by the lexical properties of the selecting verb and the VP-external environment should not have any effect on Case-assignment.

The domain which allows us to test these predictions are certain infinitival constructions,

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[16] I assume for simplicity that passive and unaccusative constructions lack a *v*P altogether, hence the only Case assigner is T (see Zwart 2001 for a similar claim). Alternatively, one could assume that passives and unaccusatives project a *v*P or at least a *v*°, but that this *v*° cannot assign structural Case.

namely so-called restructuring infinitives (RIs), that is, those infinitival complements that display certain "clause union" effects with the selecting (matrix) verb (see Aissen and Perlmutter 1983, Rizzi 1978, Wurmbrand 2001 and references therein). Typical (lexical) verbs in German which can select RIs include *versuchen* 'try' and *vergessen* 'forget'. A special property of RIs is that the Case of the embedded object depends on properties of the selecting matrix predicate. In German, the Case of the embedded object depends on the voice properties of the matrix predicate (see Wurmbrand 2001 for similar phenomena in Romance and Japanese). If the matrix predicate is active (and non-unaccusative), the embedded object obligatorily occurs with accusative case ((30)).

(30) a. weil   er   den/*der Traktor   versucht hat   [t_{OBJ} zu reparieren]
          since   he   the.ACC/*NOM tractor tried   has   [t_{OBJ} to repair]
          'since he tried to repair the tractor'

    b. weil   er   jede-n/*-r Brief   vergessen hat   [t_{OBJ} zu öffnen]
          since   he   every-.ACC/*NOM letter forgotten has   [t_{OBJ} to open]
          'since he forgot to open every letter'

If the matrix predicate is passivized or unaccusative the embedded object takes nominative case and correspondingly controls agreement on the matrix auxiliary.[17] The examples in (31) illustrate this in the "long passive" construction—only the matrix predicate is passivized, the RI bears no passive morphology, yet the underlying object is marked for nominative ((31)a) and, when plural, governs agreement on the matrix passive auxiliary ((31)b).[18]

(31) a. weil   der Traktor   zu reparieren   versucht wurde
          since   the.NOM tractor   to repair   tried   was
          'since they tried to repair the tractor'

    b. weil   die Traktoren   zu reparieren   versucht wurden
          since   the tractors (NOM) to repair   tried   were
          'since they tried to repair the tractors'

The examples in (32) (see Haider 1993) make the same point with an unaccusative restructuring

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[17] For non-pronominal DPs, accusative case is morphologically distinct from nominative only in the masculine singular. Since singular agreement is the default in impersonal constructions (including impersonal passives), only plural marking is unambiguously agreement. Case and agreement can be shown simultaneously by using coordinated DPs (see Wurmbrand 2001: 19). However, since this adds unnecessary complexity to the examples and agreement in German is only ever with nominative DPs, I do not use examples with coordinated subjects here. For the purpose of this paper it is sufficient to note that even where case is not marked overtly, agreement with a DP is an unambiguous indicator that the DP bears nominative case.

[18] It has been occasionally suggested that the long passive construction is "marked", and thus that no conclusions can be drawn from its properties. However, data collected from a corpus search show that long passive is a frequently occurring construction and is felt by many speakers to be natural in context (see my web site for the results of the corpus search). More to the point, the properties of the construction (including the scope contrasts discussed in Bobaljik and Wurmbrand 2004) are uniform across speakers: of approximately 25 speakers consulted, even those speakers who claim to find the construction itself marked nevertheless find the scope judgments to contrast as indicated, in some cases remarkably sharply. The fact that judgments are uniform on a "marked" construction constitutes in my view a strong *prima facie* argument that the scope properties must follow from properties of grammar and not from extra-linguistic considerations (I am not aware of any alternative explanation on offer).

predicate *gelingen* 'manage' (which takes a dative experiencer argument).

(32) a. ?weil   mir   der Brief   auf Anhieb   zu entziffern gelungen   ist
         since me.DAT the.NOM letter straightaway to decipher   managed   is
         'since I managed to decipher the letter straightaway'

    b. ?weil   mir   die Briefe   auf Anhieb   zu entziffern gelungen   sind
         since me.DAT the letters   straightaway to decipher   managed   are
         'since I managed to decipher the letters straightaway'

The Case/agreement properties in RI can be straightforwardly accounted for assuming functional Case assignment. The analysis of RIs I assume is illustrated in (33). RIs are represented as bare (*to-*)VPs, lacking CP, TP, and importantly, *v*P—the functional projection associated with accusative case. Assuming that RIs lack a structural Case assigner/position immediately accounts for the Case dependency noted above. If the matrix predicate is an accusative assigner, the embedded object receives accusative ((33)a); if the matrix predicate lacks an accusative assigner (i.e., when it is unaccusative or passive), the embedded object receives nominative ((33)b). (For further arguments that RIs are VPs (or something a tiny bit larger) lacking all higher functional projections, see Wurmbrand 2001).

(33) a.   Active RI: (30) (w/o extraposition)   b.   Passive RI: (31)
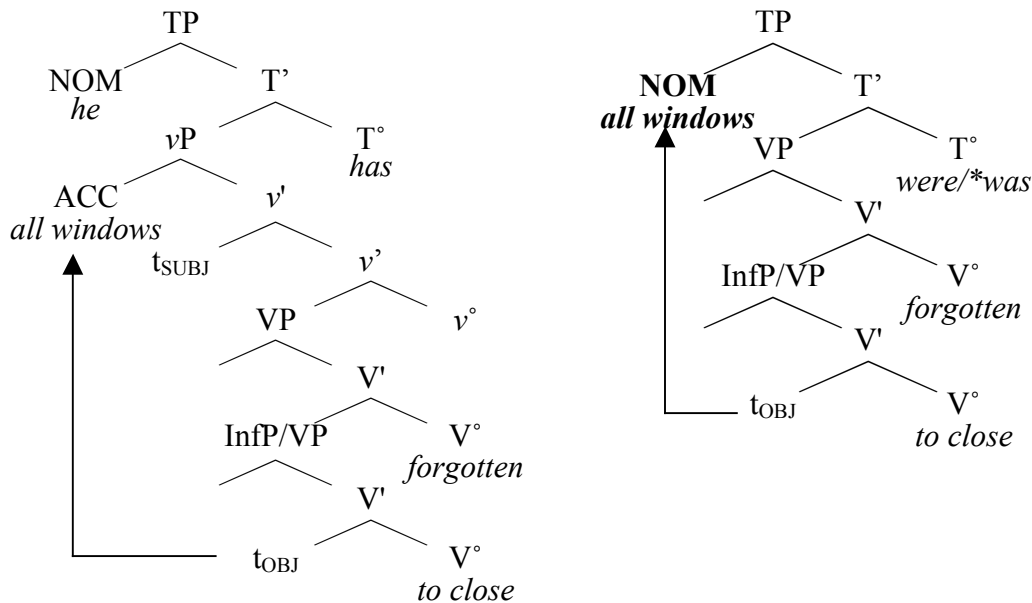
Under the lexical Case assignment view, however, it is not clear how the non-local Case dependency in RIs can be accounted for. Note that crucially the infinitive is active in the long passive/unaccusative cases in (31) and (32) (*to repair*, not *to be repaired*), and hence VP-internal Case assignment should be the same as in (30), contrary to fact. The only way to account for the Case dependency of the embedded object with the higher predicate is to assume that the restructuring verb and the infinitive form a complex predicate lexically—i.e., restructuring involves some form of argument/event structure/theta-grid merger (see Haider 1993, to appear-a for an

explicit account along these lines for German). In Bobaljik and Wurmbrand (to appear), we argue extensively against this approach and show that the infinitive and the restructuring predicate form independent argument and event structures which have to project separately in syntax. I will summarize some of the arguments in the next section.

3.2.2   *Against a complex predicate approach to restructuring*
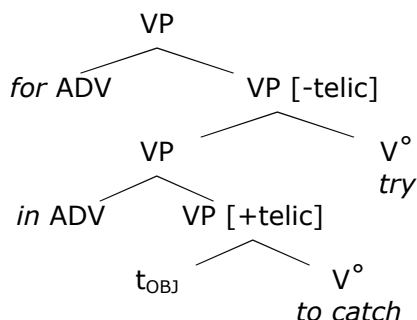
One question raised for the complex predicate approach discussed in Wurmbrand (2001) and Bobaljik and Wurmbrand (to appear), for instance, is that both predicates form independent events which can be modified by event modifiers such as *again, x many times*. Similarly, the infinitive and the matrix predicate can be from different aspectual/Aktionsart classes. This is illustrated in (34). (34)a shows that restructuring constructions can involve an *in-* and a *for*-adverbial at the same time. Since a *for*-adverbial cannot modify a telic event such as *catch the fish* (see (34)b), it has to be the case that the *for* PP modifies the *try to catch the fish* event in (34)a. *In*-adverbials, on the hand, cannot modify non-telic events (see(34)c),[19] hence the *in*-adverbial in (34)a cannot modify the trying event but only the *catch the fish* event. Finally, note that the two modifiers can only occur in the order in (34)a; if they are switched, the acceptability decreases significantly.

(34)   a.   Sie   haben   den Fisch   1 Woche lang   [in 2 Minuten t_{OBJ} zu fangen] versucht
             They   have   the fish   1 week long   [in 2 minutes t_{OBJ} to catch   ] tried
             'They tried for a week to catch the fish in two minutes'

    b.   Sie   haben   den Fisch   *1 Woche lang   / ✓in einer Stunde   gefangen
             They   have   the fish   *1week long   / ✓in an hour   caught
             'They caught the fish *for a week/in a week'

    c.   Sie   haben   die Übung   ✓1 Woche lang   / *in einer Stunde   versucht
             They   have   the exercise ✓1 week long   / *in an hour   tried
             'They tried the exercise for an hour/*in an hour'

    d. ?*Sie   haben   den Fisch   in 2 Minuten   1 Woche lang   zu fangen   versucht
             They   have   the fish   in 2 minutes   1 week long   to catch   tried
             'They tried for a week to catch the fish in two minutes'
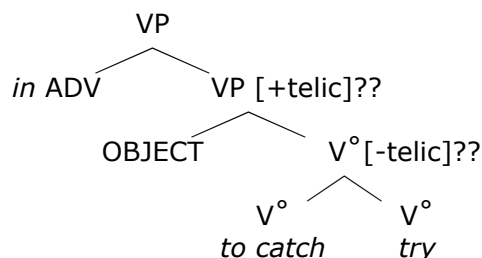
If we compare the complex predicate approach with the analysis proposed here, we get the following structures.

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[19] This example might be acceptable if it is understood as "They tried *to do* the exercise in an hour", in which case there is a (silent) telic event (*do the exercise*), which can be modified by the *in* adverbial.

(35) a.　　VP complementation approach　　　　b.　　Complex predicate approach

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        VP                                          VP
      /    \                                      /    \
  for ADV   VP [-telic]                      in ADV    VP [+telic]??
            /    \                                     /    \
          VP      V°                              OBJECT     V°[-telic]??
         /  \     try                                        /  \
     in ADV  VP [+telic]                                    V°    V°
             /  \                                        to catch  try
          t_OBJ  V°
                 to catch
```

Assuming that modification targets syntactic structure, the VP-complementation approach correctly predicts that i) both *in-* and *for*-adverbials are possible simultaneously in restructuring constructions where the two predicates differ in telicity; ii) in sentences such as (34)a, the *in*-adverbial can attach to the lower predicate since *catch the fish* constitutes an independent VP—a telic accomplishment—which can be modified by an *in*-adverbial but not a *for*-adverbial; iii) the matrix predicate can be modified by a *for*-adverbial only since it is non-telic. Hence, this approach correctly predicts the distribution in (34)a vs. (34)d. The complex predicate approach, on the other hand, has to explain how two adverbials are possible, given that there is only one complex *try-catch* event. If anything, it seems that this approach would predict the opposite order of adverbials: *in*-adverbials require a telic VP, which would be the VP including the definite object. For the *for*-adverbial to find a non-telic attachment place, it seems the only option would be the complex head itself—i.e., the structure before the object is merged in. Thus, one might expect that the *for*-adverbial should be lower than the *in*-adverbial, yielding the structure in (34)d rather than the one in (34)a. In sum, unless modification and syntactic structure are entirely distinct, it seems that the complex predicate approach is not equipped to account for the distribution of event modifiers.

　　　　Furthermore, it can easily be shown that the restructuring predicate and the infinitive do not form a complex head. As illustrated in (36), the two predicates are not adjacent (see Wurmbrand 2001 for other problematic cases). Moreover, since the infinitive can be topicalized on its own (stranding the nominative object and the restructuring verb), we have strong evidence for the claim that the infinitive constitutes an XP to the exclusion of the matrix verb. Thus, restructuring clearly does not entail complex head formation between the restructuring verb and the infinitive.

(36) a.　　[Ein Außenseiter　　zu gewinnen　]INF　scheint　hier　eigentlich　nie
　　　　　　[an.NOM outsider　　to win　　　]INF　seems　here　actually　　never
　　　　　　'An outsider never actually seems to win here.'　　　　　　[Meurers 1999, 2000]

　　　b.　　[Zu reparieren　]VP　wurde　　erst gestern　　jeder Wagen　　vergessen
　　　　　　[To repair　　　]VP　was　　just yesterday　every.NOM car　forgotten
　　　　　　'It just happened yesterday that they forgot to repair every car'

　　　c.　　[Zu reparieren　]VP　wurden　nur blaue Autos　　vergessen
　　　　　　[to repair　　　]VP　were　　only blue cars (NOM)　forgotten
　　　　　　'The only thing they forgot to repair were blue cars'

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d.　[Zu entziffern　]$_{VP}$　sind　　ihm　　nur die Großbuchstaben　gelungen
　　　[to decipher　　]$_{VP}$　were　　him　　only the capital-letters　　managed
　　　'He only managed to decipher capital letters'

Thus, both constituency tests such as topicalization and the argument and event structure proper-ties point strongly to the conclusion that a restructuring infinitive constitutes a VP on its own (i.e., excluding the matrix predicate). In my view, this is rather devastating for complex predicate approaches. Given that (at least certain) restructuring constructions cannot involve complex predicate formation, we are back to the question of why the Case of the embedded object is de-pendent on the voice properties of the higher verb. Assuming that Case is determined by the lexical properties of a verb then makes the wrong prediction for the passive restructuring cases discussed here, whereas the claim that German, like English and Icelandic, projects a VP-external Case/agreement licensor correctly predicts the distribution of Case in these construc-tions.

3.2.3　*Are IP-less structures for German motivated?*

The final argument in favor of a VP-external functional domain in German is a conceptual argu-ment. A Haider-style analysis is faced with the question of how it can be justified that typologi-cally quite similar languages differ so significantly in their clause structure, as well as in the way Tense is represented and Case/agreement are licensed. Haider (to appear-a) suggests that the dif-ference follows from one simple typological difference: German is a head-final language, whereas English and Icelandic are head-initial languages. I cannot reproduce the analysis here, but I will summarize the major claims of Haider (to appear-a), Haider and Rosengren (2003) and show that this view is not tenable.

　　According to the theory presented there, a head-initial VP structure requires the presence of a VP-external functional projection for structural licensing purposes. From this, it follows, among other things, that VO languages have the EPP property, non-argumental IP-expletives, and quirky subjects. In head-final languages, on the other hand, the tree geometry has the effect that no VP-external licensing is required, and hence no VP-external functional Case/agreement domain is projected. The lack of such a domain in German then explains indirectly why German lacks EPP effects, non-argumental IP-expletives, and quirky subjects. Obviously, if this system is correct it offers an attractive way to derive the clause structure and licensing differences between German and English/Icelandic from one simple difference—directionality. However, on closer scrutiny, we find that this typological account runs into various problems, which question the validity of the generalizations and hence the typological explanation for the alleged differences between German and English/Icelandic.

　　First, as Haider notes, directionality plays only an indirect role in determining the distribu-tion of expletives and the EPP. According to Haider, the following one-way implication holds: If a language lacks expletives and the EPP, the language has to be a head-final language. That is, the head-final setting is a necessary condition for the lack of these properties but not a sufficient one. In other words, not all head-final languages lack expletives/EPP. This weakening of the causal relation between directionality and expletives/EPP is necessary to accommodate Dutch (and, as we will see below, Afrikaans and West Flemish). A well-known difference between Dutch and German is that Dutch allows expletives in cases where they are prohibited in German. This is shown in (37). In contrast to English *there*, however, Dutch *er* is optional (at least for

some speakers; see, for example, Hoekstra 1984, Koster 1987, Haeberli 2002).

(37) a.   dass   (*es)   getanzt   wurde   German
           that   (*it)   danced   was
           'since people danced'

      b.   dat   (er)   overal   gedanst   werd   Dutch
           that   (there)   everywhere   dansed   was
           'since people danced everywhere'

      c.   Tijdens het eten   werd   (er)   flink   gedronken   Dutch
           during the meal   was   (there)   heartily   drunk
           'During the meal, people were drinking heartily'

It should be noted that there is some debate about whether Dutch *er* is a true (subject) expletive. Bennis (1986) and Koeneman (2000), for instance, argue that *er* is an expletive adverb which is not associated with the subject (position). If this view is adopted, one could, in fact, maintain the claim that Dutch patterns with German in that both languages lack true subject (i.e., IP) expletives. However, turning to other head-final languages, we see that the problem indeed arises, and that hence a weakening of the correlation between expletives and directionality is necessary. One such language is Afrikaans. As argued in Conradie (in prep), Afrikaans differs from Dutch in all the criteria Koeneman (2000) uses to argue for the adverbial status of Dutch *er*. I will only reproduce two of Conradie's arguments here (for further differences between Dutch and Afrikaans see Conradie in prep). First, Conradie shows that Afrikaans *daar* can occur in positions where other similar adverbs cannot occur (cf. (38)).

(38) a.   Gister   het   iemand   hier   'n vuur   gemaak
           yesterday   has   someone   here   a fire   made
           'Yesterday someone made a fire here.'

      b.   *Gister   het   hier   iemand   'n vuur   gemaak
           yesterday   has   here   someone   a fire   made
           'Yesterday someone made a fire here.'

      c.   Gister   het   daar   iemand   'n vuur   gemaak
           yesterday   has   there   someone   a fire   made
           'Yesterday someone made a fire.'

      d.   Gister   het   iemand   daar   'n vuur   gemaak
           yesterday   has   someone   there   a fire   made
           'Yesterday someone made a fire there.'

Secondly, Koeneman (2000: 191ff) following Bennis (1986) argues that Dutch *er*, like other Germanic expletive constructions, imposes the restriction that the associated argument cannot express old information. However, in Dutch this restriction affects both the subject and the object; i.e., neither argument may refer to old information (see (39)a, which is odd as an answer to the question *How are things with your friend?*). As shown in (39)b, this is not the case in Afri-

kaans—*daar* only imposes a restriction on the subject. Thus, Afrikaans *there* constructions behave like true TP expletive constructions—i.e., *daar* is a true subject (i.e., TP) expletive and not an adverb.

(39) a. #De laatste tijd   heeft   er   niemand   'm   gezien
          the last time   has   there   nobody   him   seen
          'Recently, nobody has seen him'

     b. Gister   het   daar   iemand   die appels   geëet
         yesterday   has   there   someone   the apples   eaten
         'Yesterday someone ate the apples.'

Afrikaans then represents a case of a head-final language with true IP-expletives—i.e., Afrikaans would require a VP-external functional IP-domain despite its head-final status. To keep Haider's generalization, one might suggest that Afrikaans simply is not a head-final language and hence behaves like an English-type language regarding expletives. However, while this is an option in general (see Robbers 1997), it would not be an option in Haider's system. The reason is that Afrikaans is a verb cluster language (see Robbers 1997, Wurmbrand 2004b, to appear), which, according to Haider, entails that the language is head-final.

　　An even stronger case for the necessity of a VP-external IP-domain in a head-final language comes from West Flemish. West Flemish behaves like English in that IP-expletives are required in cases where no DP subject occupies Spec,TP (see (40) from Haeberli 2002: 216).

(40)   dat   *(er)   overal   gedanst   wier
          that   *(there)   everywhere   dansed   was
          'that people danced everywhere'

One might again speculate that West Flemish is a head-initial language. Although this claim would be in contradiction again with the fact that West Flemish is a verb cluster language (see Haegeman 1994, Haegeman and van Riemsdijk 1986, Wurmbrand 2004b, to appear), let us set verb clustering aside for the moment and look at another head-final property, namely scrambling.[20] As shown in (41) (from Haeberli 2002: 262), scrambling is normally prohibited in West Flemish.

(41) a. da   Valère   Marie   dienen boek   nie   gegeben   eet
         that Valère (SU)   Marie (IO)   that book (DO) not   given   has
         'that Valère has not given Mary that book'

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[20] Independently of the issues discussed here, the claim that scrambling is restricted to head-final languages raises questions for Slavic and other head-initial scrambling languages (see, for instance, Bailyn 2001). Furthermore, as shown in the papers in É. Kiss and van Riemsdijk (2004), the claim that verb clustering is restricted to head-final languages is problematic in light of Hungarian, and possibly other Germanic languages that have been argued to be head-initial. While these questions might be seen as quite serious problems for the theory offered in Haider (to appear-a), Haider and Rosengren (2003), I would like to set these issues aside and assume for the sake of the argument here that the theory is valid in deriving the differences regarding VP-external Case/agreement licensing in head-initial vs. head-final languages.

b.	*da	Valère	dienen boek	Marie	nie	gegeben	eet
c.	*da	Marie	Valère	dienen boek	nie	gegeben	eet
d.	*da	Marie	dienen boek	Valère	nie	gegeben	eet
e.	*da	dienen boek	Valère	Marie	nie	gegeben	eet
f.	*da	dienen boek	Marie	Valère	nie	gegeben	eet

Crucially, however, scrambling (as defined in Haider to appear-a, Haider and Rosengren 2003) is not always impossible in West Flemish. In particular, as Haeberli shows, scrambling is possible in exactly (and only) the cases which involve an expletive construction (see (42)).[21]

(42) a. dat er eentwien Marie die boeken nie gegeben eet
that there someone (SU) Marie(IO) those books (DO) not given has
'that someone has not given Mary those books'

   b. dat er Marie eentwien die boeken nie gegeben eet

   c. dat er Marie die boeken eentwien nie gegeben eet

   d. dan der die boeken vee mensen gekocht een
that there the books many people bought have

West Flemish thus shows very clearly that head-final languages must allow the projection of a VP-external functional domain.

The question arising at this point is what determines the distribution of expletives/EPP, and hence of a VP-external functional domain. If it is assumed that head-final languages can project an IP-domain, it seems that the explanation for why German lacks this domain disappears again. In other words, if the presence of the IP-domain has nothing to do with the directionality parameter but is essentially determined by a language specific setting, there is no reason why German should be different. We are thus back to the question of how the difference in clause structure suggested for head-final German, in contrast to head-final Afrikaans and West Flemish (and potentially also Dutch) can be motivated.

The second, and more serious problem for the typological approach comes from Icelandic. Recall that according to Haider (to appear-a), the lack of IP-expletives and EPP entails that the language is a head-final language (since only OV languages can lack the IP domain). Icelandic is claimed by Haider to pattern with English in having non-argumental IP-expletives and the EPP property. As is shown in (43)a, some overt element has to occupy Spec,TP in English; if no DP moves there, an expletive must be inserted. Haider's claim about Icelandic is based on (43)b.[22] However, as has been shown extensively in the literature on Icelandic (see Maling and Zaenen 1978, Sigurðsson 1989, Vikner 1995, Jónsson 1996, Bobaljik and Jonas 1996, Jonas 1996, Bobaljik 2002 among many others), examples of this sort do not show that the expletive occupies

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[21] Note that the assumption that the examples in (42) involve object shift rather than scrambling (which would be motivated by the fact that although the order between the subject and the objects can be inverted in (42)a-c, the relative order of the indirect and direct object cannot be reversed according to Haeberli) is not available in Haider's system, since it is crucial in that account that object shift does not change the order of arguments and can only apply if the objects are preceded by the verb.

[22] Haider marks this example as ungrammatical without the expletive in the text, but notes in a footnote that speakers do not find the expletive-less structure impossible. Since this is also in accordance with the facts noted in the literature, I do not use Haider's notation.

Spec,TP, since Icelandic allows embedded verb second constructions (i.e., a CP recursion structure which is only possible under a complementizer). Importantly, in any structure where CP recursion is excluded, and the Spec,IP position can thus unambiguously be distinguished from Spec,CP by word order tests, expletives are strictly excluded (see (23), repeated here as (44)). Thus, in line with the general view in the literature, we have to conclude that Icelandic—like German—only licenses expletives in Spec,CP but not in Spec,TP.

(43) a.   ... that there/*∅ are three ships in the harbor.

       b.   að   (það)   hefur   verið   dansað   Icelandic
                that   (there)   has   been   danced
                'that people danced'

(44) a.   Það   hafa   verið   nokkrir kettir   í eldhúsinu
           there   have   been   some cats   in kitchen-the
           'There have been some cats in the kitchen'   [Vangsnes 1998:6]

       b.   Í dag   hafa   (*það)   verið   nokkrir kettir   í eldhúsinu
           today   have   (*there) been   some cats   in kitchen-the
           'Today, there have been some cats in the kitchen'   [Vangsnes 1998:7]

Furthermore, examples such as (44)b and (45) (repeated from (19)) also seem to indicate that Icelandic lacks the EPP. In these examples, Spec,TP is not filled at PF and—given that these examples force low scope of the nominative arguments—also not at LF (i.e., it cannot be assumed that covert movement applies).

(45) a.   Þess vegna hafa   ekki verið   margir   nemendur   hér
           therefore   have   not been   many   students   here
           'Therefore, not many students have been here.'

       b.   *Þess vegna virðast   að mati   hvers annars vera   einhverjir umsækjendur   hæfir
           therefore   seem   to judgment each other   to.be some applicants   qualified
           'Therefore, some applicants seem to be competent in each other's opinion.'

Thus, there seems to be no basis for grouping Icelandic with English and not with German. As discussed in section 3.1, the only way to maintain the claim that Icelandic has the EPP is to postulate a covert *pro* in (44)b and (45), which I have argued to be unmotivated given the Case properties. However, even if we set these problems mentioned above aside, an empty *pro* would not solve the problem here. If one were to assume a silent *pro* in Icelandic, it would not be clear why there should not also be one in German. Since the overt distribution of expletives and subjects gives us no reason to assume that Icelandic patterns with English and against German (on the contrary, it seems that Icelandic looks very much like German), the assumption that Icelandic has expletive *pro* but German lacks it would be purely stipulative.

       To conclude, as summarized in Table 1, we see that there is no correlation between the directionality of a language and the existence of TP-expletives and the EPP.

Table 1.   Expletives and directionality

	TP-expletives/EPP	Directionality
English	YES	head-initial
German	NO	head-final
Afrikaans, Dutch	(YES)	head-final
West Flemish	YES	head-final
Icelandic	NO	head-initial

Although the typological explanation for why German does not display EPP properties is promising at first sight, it runs into serious problems when we look beyond German. It seems that, at this point, we have to conclude from the cross-linguistic facts that whether a language displays EPP effects or not cannot simply be predicted from the directionality settings but requires a language specific assumption. That is German and Icelandic lack the EPP, whereas English and West Flemish are EPP languages (leaving open the status of Dutch and Afrikaans at this point). Since both groups involve head-final and head-initial languages, the system offered in Haider (to appear-a) has to add a language specific assumption regarding the EPP, exactly as I have suggested in this paper. The question an account that assumes an IP-less structure for German is then faced with is again whether it is motivated to assume a radical difference in clause-structure, as well as the way tense is represented and Case and agreement are licensed, in particular, since the alternative system argued for here seems to provide a simpler solution: all we need to account for the German/English differences is the mechanism of Agree together with a language specific setting of the EPP.[23]

4.   Conclusion

In this paper, I have compared various Case/agreement licensing approaches and concluded that the Agree approach fares best in light of certain constructions in German (and potentially also Icelandic). In particular, I have argued that the low (i.e., *v*P/VP-internal) PF and LF position of nominative arguments in certain constructions provides evidence for the necessity of Agree. Since there is no overt expletive in these constructions and movement of the nominative argument to Spec,TP cannot occur (either overtly or covertly), Case/agreement can only be checked via Agree. Under this approach, Spec,TP remains empty throughout the derivation, which leads to the conclusion that the EPP does not hold in German—i.e., there is no requirement that Spec,TP must be occupied by overt (or covert) material. Thus, the EPP cannot be seen as a universal requirement. Furthermore, two alternative approaches (null expletive and IP-less structure) have been discussed and I have concluded that these approaches lack motivation are faced with several empirical questions. The advantage of the approach developed here is that it allows us to provide a unified account of Case/agreement licensing, which seems to be more successful from the point of view of explanatory adequacy.

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[23] Obviously, this account does not make any predictions for the difference in the availability of verb clustering and scrambling in English vs. German. However, as noted in footnote 20, it remains to be seen whether the claim that scrambling is only found in head-final languages is correct. The same is the case for verb clustering (see É. Kiss and van Riemsdijk 2004).

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