

Notes on the Person Case Constraint in Germanic (with special reference to German)

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1. Goals

This is a preliminary investigation of person restrictions in clusters of weak pronouns in Germanic, with special focus on German. My primary goal is to determine whether Germanic weak pronouns are subject to the *Person Case Constraint* (PCC), a constraint prohibiting certain combinations of clitics and agreement markers. I argue that clusters of weak pronouns in German (and perhaps also Dutch) are indeed subject to a version of the PCC, namely the *weak PCC* (Bonet 1991, Anagnostopoulou 2005, Nevins 2007). In German, the PCC arises when pronouns occur in a special position in the clause, the, so called, Wackernagel Position, and they precede subjects. I explore how the analysis of the PCC developed in Anagnostopoulou (2003, 2005) can be extended to German, highlighting – and attempting to resolve – certain challenges that arise concerning the relationship between the laws governing pronominal serialization and the emergence of the PCC.

2. Background

The *me lui* or *Person Case Constraint* (PCC) prohibits 1st and 2nd person direct object clitics and agreement markers from co-occurring with indirect object clitics/agreement markers. The PCC comes in two versions. The *strong version* (based on Bonet 1991: 182) is formulated in (1) and exemplified in (2) with data from Greek:

(1) *The Strong Version of the PCC*

In a combination of a weak direct object and an indirect object [clitic, agreement marker, weak pronoun], the direct object has to be 3rd person (Bonet 1991: 182)

- (2) a. *Tha mu to stilune*
 Fut Cl(Gen, 1st, sg) Cl(Acc, 3rd, sg, neut) send-3pl
 ‘They will send it to me’
- b. *Tha su ton stilune*
 Fut Cl(Gen, 2nd, sg) Cl(Acc, 3rd, sg, masc) send-3pl
 ‘They will send him to you’
- c. **Tha su me sistisune*
 Fut Cl(Gen, 2nd, sg) Cl(Acc, 1st, sg) introduce-3pl
 ‘They will introduce me to you’
- d. **Tha tu se stilune*
 Fut Cl(Gen, 3rd, sg, masc) Cl(Acc, 2nd, sg) send-3pl
 ‘They will send you to him’

Examples (2a) and (2b) which contain a genitive 1st and 2nd person indirect object clitic and an accusative 3rd person direct object clitic are well-formed. On the other hand, examples (2b) and (2c) in which a genitive co-occurs with a 1st and 2nd person accusative are ill-formed. Observe that (2c), which contains a cluster of a 2nd and a 1st person clitic, is as strongly ungrammatical as (2d) in which a 3rd person genitive co-occurs with a 2nd person accusative. French is similar to Greek in showing an absolute prohibition against 1st and 2nd person weak direct objects in the presence of higher weak indirect objects of any person.

The *weak version* of the PCC is formulated in (3).

(3) *The Weak Version of the PCC*

In a combination of a weak direct object and an indirect object [clitic, agreement marker, weak pronoun], if there is a third person it has to be the direct object. (Bonet 1991: 182)

The weak version intends to capture the fact that in some languages combinations of 1st and 2nd indirect object and direct object clitics are acceptable. This is exemplified in (4a) and (4b) with examples from Catalan (see Bonet 1994: 41):

- (4) a. *Te m' ha venut el mercader més important*
 you-DO me-IO has sold the merchant most important
 ‘The most important merchant has sold you to me’

- b. *Vi ci manderà*
 2-PL-IO 1PL-DO send-fut-3sg
 ‘S/he will send us to you (pl)’

Similar facts obtain in Spanish, Italian and Old Occitan (Nicol 2005):¹

- (5) *Te me presentas* Spanish
 DO-2sg IO-1sg presented-2sg
 ‘You presented yourself to me’
- (6) *Mi ti presentano* Italian
 DO-1sg IO-2sg introduce-3pl
 ‘They introduce me to you’
- (7) *qu’ie us mi don ses bauzia.* Old Occitan
 that I 2pl-IO 1sg-DO give without deceit
 ‘I surrender myself to you without deceit’. (Jensen 1986: 105-6)

In these languages, combinations of 1st and 2nd person direct object and 3rd person indirect object clitics are not tolerated (Bonet 1991: 178, 183):

- (8) a. **A en Josep, me li va recomanar*
 To the Josep, 1st-DO 3rd-IO recommended-3sg
la Mireia Catalan
 the Mireia
 ‘She (Mireia) recommended me to him (Josep)’
- b. **Me le recomendaron* Spanish
 1st-DO 3rd-IO recommended-3pl
 ‘They recommended me to him/her’
- c. **Mi gli ha presentata Giovanni* Italian
 1st-DO 3rd-IO has presented-fem Giovanni
 ‘Giovanni introduced me-fem to him’

Thus, clitic² languages split into two types:

(i) Greek and French have the *strong PCC*. 1st and 2nd person direct object clitics are absolutely impossible.

(ii) Italian, Spanish and Catalan have the *weak PCC*. Combinations of 1st and 2nd person clitics are allowed to surface. What is not permitted is a 1st/2nd direct object in the presence of a 3rd person indirect object.

In Anagnostopoulou (2003, 2005), I argued that the *strong* and the *weak PCC* both arise in configurations in which the two objects enter Agree with

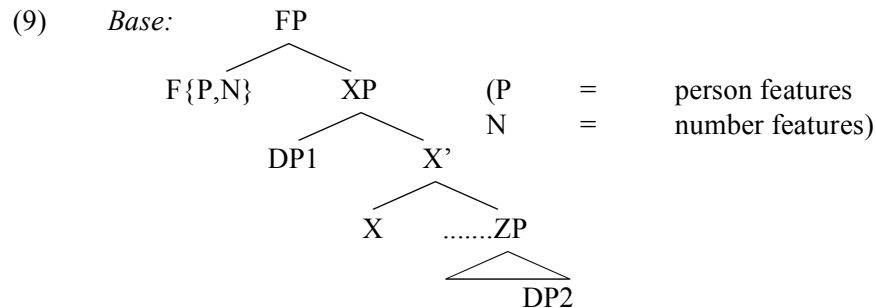
a single Probe. However, they should be seen as separate constraints, as they reflect different checking conditions. The *strong PCC* arises under *cyclic Agree* while the *weak PCC* under *multiple Agree*.

More specifically, I argued that datives have person features which permit them to enter Agree with functional heads. Datives are “defective” in the sense that their number feature is inaccessible for checking (i.e. in Chomsky’s terminology “it does not match T or v”), but they do check person. 1st, 2nd and reflexive pronouns are [+person] pronouns (Bonet 1991, 1995, Taraldsen 1995, Ritter 1995, Kayne 2000), while the person specification of 3rd person pronouns depends on the type of Case they have. Accusative-nominative/direct object 3rd person pronouns lack person features altogether, they are ‘determiner pronouns’ (Benveniste 1966, Postal 1966, Silverstein 1986, Bonet 1991, Johns 1993, Taraldsen 1995, Ritter 1995 and Kayne 2000 among many others). On the other hand, 3rd person dative/ indirect object arguments are understood as animate /affected, they encode point of view, properties encoded through person features. In order to express the intuition that dative arguments are specified for person even when they are 3rd person, I proposed, following Adger and Harbour (2007), that 3rd person indirect objects have a negative person specification, they are [–person]. On the other hand, 3rd person direct object pronouns are neither [+person] nor [–person], they simply lack person (see Anagnostopoulou 2003 and 2005 for extensive discussion of the above assumptions; cf. Nevins 2007 for a broader claim according to which *all* 3rd person arguments, and not just datives, have negative person feature specifications). To summarise the different feature specifications of pronouns (for present purposes, it is sufficient to assume that accusatives check number and datives have inaccessible number without becoming more precise on how exactly number features are represented; see Harbour 2003 for a recent discussion and references):

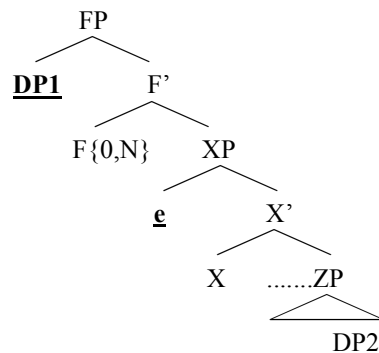
1,2 acc = +person, number	1,2dat = +person, (inaccessible number)
3acc = number, (no person)	3 dat = -person (inaccessible number)

In constructions where the *strong PCC* arises ϕ -features are not checked as a bundle. Agree takes place between a single probe and two goals and proceeds cyclically as follows. The dative argument moves first to a functional head F, which I take to be transitive v (v-TR), entering person Agree

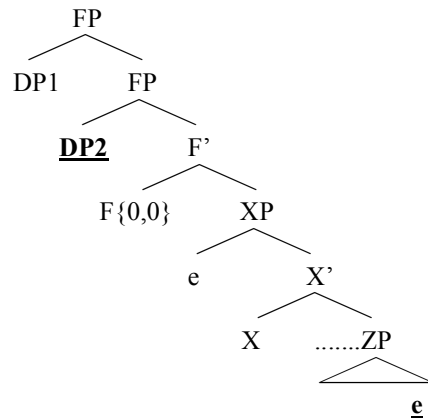
with F. The accusative, which moves/ agrees second, may only Agree with F in number:



Step I: Person Agree with high argument



Step II: Number Agree with low argument



If the accusative is of an appropriate type (3rd person) the derivation converges. If, however, the accusative is inappropriate (1st, 2nd person, i.e. +person) the derivation crashes. On the assumption that 3rd person direct object pronouns lack a person feature, they are the only ones that can match number on F, once person on F has been checked.

As discussed in detail in Anagnostopoulou (2003), the most straightforward way of explaining the inappropriateness of 1st and 2nd person in contexts where only the N feature of F is available for checking is to propose that [+person] accusative arguments entering Move / Agree must check person along with number. In other words, accusative arguments must

check the complete set of their ϕ -features. In turn, the requirement for complete checking can be linked to structural Case. If, as suggested by Chomsky (2000, 2001), structural Case checking results from complete ϕ -checking, then accusative pronouns entering Move / Agree are not allowed to have ϕ -features that remain unchecked because their Case also remains unchecked.

Turning to the *weak PCC*, I proposed that in e.g. Catalan, Italian, person on F is allowed to enter *Multiple Agree* with the two objects, i.e. [person] can be checked *simultaneously* against both objects. The proposal that person can enter multiple Agree explains why 1st and 2nd person clitics are allowed to co-occur in clitic clusters. The person feature of the direct object can be checked against F along with its number feature even when the higher indirect object enters Agree with the person feature of F.³ There are three cases to consider in languages with the *weak PCC*, which are schematically represented in (10):

- (10) a. $\sqrt{1^{\text{st}}/2^{\text{nd}} \text{ IO} > 1^{\text{st}}/2^{\text{nd}} \text{ DO}}$
 b. $\sqrt{1^{\text{st}}/2^{\text{nd}}/3^{\text{rd}} \text{ IO} > 3^{\text{rd}} \text{ DO}}$
 c. $*3^{\text{rd}} \text{ IO} > 1^{\text{st}}/2^{\text{nd}} \text{ DO}$

As already mentioned, 1st and 2nd person are allowed to co-occur in the well-formed sequences in (10a) since both objects are allowed to check [+person] against F due to the Multiple Agree parameter. Sequences as in (10b), i.e. combinations of 1st, 2nd and 3rd person indirect objects with 3rd person direct objects, receive the same analysis as comparable clusters in languages with the *strong version of the PCC*. The indirect object checks the person feature of v and the direct object the number feature of v. These combinations instantiate cyclic ϕ -feature checking and do not invoke multiple Agree. Finally, in order to account for the ungrammaticality of (10c), I proposed that two pronouns are allowed to enter into *multiple Agree* with T or v-TR only when they do not have conflicting feature specifications:

- (11) *A Condition on Multiple Agree*
 Multiple Agree can take place only under non-conflicting feature specifications of the agreeing elements

In (10c) the indirect object is 3rd person, hence specified as [–person]. On the other hand, the direct object is specified as [+person]. Since the feature specifications of the two objects are contradictory, sequences as in (10c)

are ruled out by (11) (see Anagnostopoulou 2005 for more details). Observe that the ban against conflicting feature specifications of DPs in contexts of Multiple Agree is quite natural if checking is linked to valuation. Two DPs that check and value the ϕ -features of T or v cannot have conflicting feature specifications as this will lead to contradictory values for the features of T and v. Following Bejar (2003) I assume that in the languages under discussion the probe is not fully specified (as 1st and 2nd person), but only specified as [+/-person]. Languages fully specified for person show finer grained hierarchical effects (see Bejar 2003 for discussion).

3. Do weak pronouns show the PCC?

While it is uncontroversial that clitics and agreement markers are subject to the PCC, it is unclear whether the constraint applies to combinations of weak pronouns in languages lacking clitics.

The PCC has been claimed to be operative in English (Bonet 1991; Haspelmath 2001) and in Swiss German (Bonet 1991), as the data in (12) and (13) show:

- (12) a. *They showed me it* English
 b. **They showed her me*
- (13) a. *D' Maria zeigt mir en* Swiss German
 The Maria shows to me him
 'Mary shows him to me'
 b. **D' Maria zeigt em mich*
 The Maria shows to him me
 'Mary shows me to him'

Unlike clitics and agreement markers, though, PCC effects on weak pronouns seem to be less robust crosslinguistically. For example, German and Dutch have been claimed in the literature to not have the PCC, on the basis of well-formed examples like (14) and (15) below (Cardinaletti 1999: 65, Haspelmath 2001):

- (14) *weil er mich ihm gestern nicht vorgestellt hat* German
 because he me to-him yesterday not introduced hat
- (15) *Ze stelden me 'm / ? 'm me voor* Dutch
 they introduced me to him / to him me PRT

In what follows, I argue that German does show the PCC, but only in a particular syntactic configuration.

3.1. Placement and serialization of weak pronouns in German

German has different types of pronoun classes. According to Müller (2001a), the hierarchy of pronouns is as follows:⁴

(16) *Personal Pronoun Scale*:

Pron _{strong}	>	Pron _{unstressed}	>	Pron _{weak}	>	Pron _{reduced}	>	Pron _{clitic}
IHN [+stress]		ihn [+anim]		ihn[-anim]		es		(`s)

Pronouns falling under the categories *unstressed*, *weak*, *reduced* undergo obligatory movement to the Wackernagel position.⁵ This is a left-peripheral position following C in German (Lenerz 1977, 1992; Thiersch 1978; Haftka 1981; Hoberg 1997; Haider and Rosengren 1998; Müller 2001a):

- (17) a. *daß ihr der Fritz gestern t ein Buch*
 that her-DAT the Fritz-NOM yesterday t a book-ACC
 geschenkt hat
 given has
 b. **daß der Fritz gestern ihr ein Buch*
 that the Fritz yesterday her-DAT a book-ACC
 geschenkt hat
 given has
 ‘that Fritz has given a book to her yesterday’
- (18) a. *daß sie der Fritz gestern der Maria t*
 that she-ACC the Fritz-NOM yesterday the Maria-DAT t
 geschenkt hat
 given has
 b. **daß der Fritz gestern der Maria sie*
 that the Fritz-NOM yesterday the Maria-DAT she-ACC
 geschenkt hat
 given has
 ‘that Fritz has given Mary it(Fem) yesterday’

- (19) a. *daß es der Fritz gestern der Maria t*
 that it-ACC the Fritz-NOM yesterday the Maria-DAT t
geschenkt hat
 given has
- b. **daß der Fritz gestern der Maria es*
 that the Fritz-NOM yesterday the Maria-DAT it-ACC
geschenkt hat
 given has
 ‘that Fritz has given Mary it yesterday’

According to Müller, strong pronouns are not allowed in the Wackernagel position.⁶

- (20) a. **daß IHR der Fritz gestern t ein Buch*
 that her-DAT the Fritz-NOM yesterday t a book-ACC
geschenkt hat
 given has
- b. *daß der Fritz gestern IHR ein Buch*
 that the Fritz yesterday her-DAT a book-ACC
geschenkt hat
 given has
 ‘that Fritz has given a book to her yesterday’

The three classes of weak pronouns (unstressed /weak/ reduced) obligatorily precede adverbs of all types. They must also precede all non-pronominal arguments, except for subjects. Subjects are allowed to occur before Wackernagel pronouns (they can also occur after pronouns, see (17)-(19) above):

- (21) a. *daß der Fritz es gestern der Maria t*
 that the Fritz-NOM it-ACC yesterday the Maria-DAT t
geschenkt hat
 given has
- b. **daß der Maria es der Fritz gestern t*
 that the Maria-DAT it-ACC the Fritz-NOM yesterday t
geschenkt hat
 given has

Müller attributes the SUBJ>pronoun, pronoun>SUBJ alternation to the fact that subjects may optionally raise from the vP-internal subject position to Spec,TP. On the assumption that Spec,TP precedes Wackernagel clitics, SUBJ>pronoun orders arise when the subject moves to T while pronoun>SUBJ orders obtain when the subject remains in its base position.

What is the position targeted by Wackernagel movement? An obvious analysis would be to postulate a functional head W situated between the vP and the TP which hosts weak pronouns. Müller, alternatively, proposes that Wackernagel movement is identical to scrambling. Both operations target (layered) specifiers of vP. The reason why weak pronouns must precede all other clause-internal material has to do with the trigger of Wackernagel movement, as opposed to the trigger of scrambling. Müller suggests that Wackernagel movement is not feature-driven and targets the left-edge of vP. By contrast, scrambling is either triggered by formal features (Grewendorf and Sabel 1999; Sauerland 1999) or by conditions governing the relative order of elements ([+def] precedes [−def], [+animate] precedes [−animate]; Büring 2001); scrambled elements do not have to appear in a left-edge position.

Turning now to the serialization of Wackernagel pronouns, they occur in a fixed order (Lenerz 1977, 1992; Haftka 1981; Müller 2001b). Subject pronouns obligatorily precede object pronouns:

- (21) a. *daß sie es wahrscheinlich gelesen hat*
 that she it probably read has
 b. **daß es sie wahrscheinlich gelesen hat*
 that it she probably read has

Direct object pronouns precede indirect object pronouns:

- (22) a. *daß es ihm der Fritz gegeben hat*
 that it him the Fritz-NOM given has
 b. **daß ihm es der Fritz gegeben hat*
 that him it the Fritz-NOM given has

The same rigid DO>IO order is maintained when the subject precedes the cluster:

- (23) a. *daß der Fritz es ihm gegeben hat*
 that the Fritz-NOM it him given has

- b. **daß* *der Fritz* *ihm* *es* *gegeben* *hat*
 that the Fritz-NOM him it given has

When all three pronouns co-occur their order is strictly SUBJ >DO> IO:

- (24) a. *daß sie es ihm wahrscheinlich zum Geburtstag*
 that she it him probably for the birthday
 schenken wird
 give will
 b. **daß sie ihm es.....*
 c. **daß es sie ihm.....*
 d. **daß es ihm sie.....*
 e. **daß ihm es sie.....*
 f. **daß ihm es sie*

Note, however, that there are certain cases where the strict DO>IO pronominal order is relaxed. As pointed out by Sternefeld and Featherston (2002), the allegedly ungrammatical order *mir-es* is extremely common (49 hits in a corpus search). Here are some of the examples they cite:

- (25) a. *Versprochen hat sie mir es jedenfalls*
 Promised has she me it in any case
 b. *Lieber Herr Krenz, bitte nehmen Sie mir es nicht übel*
 Dear Mr. Krenz, please take you me it not amiss

The second most common order is *dir es*:

- (26) *Wenn du mir helfen könntest, wollte ich dir es wohl sagen*
 if you me help could, would I you it certainly say

Moreover, in Southern dialects of German, such as Swabian and Frankonian, the order of pronouns is free, as pointed out to me by Susann Fischer, p.c. See section 3.4. below for an interesting correlation between the (un)availability of the PCC and the free vs. strict serialization in German.

3.2. Wackernagel pronouns, the PCC and the position of Subjects in German

Contrary to what has been claimed in the literature, I have found that German (several dialects of German as well as standard German) has the PCC. Most of my German informants⁷ do not tolerate combinations of 2nd person direct objects (DOs) and 3rd person indirect objects (IOs) when the subject follows the weak pronominal cluster, as in (27). These speakers characterize the combination of 1st person DOs and 3rd person IOs in examples like (28) as deviant.⁸

- (27) **weil dich ihm irgendwer vorgestellt hat*
 because you-ACC him-DAT someone-NOM introduced has
 ‘because someone has introduced you to him’
- (28) ??*weil mich ihr irgendwer vorgestellt hat*
 because me-ACC her-DAT someone introduced has
 ‘because someone has introduced me to her’

It is crucial that the subject follows the pronominal cluster. When the subject precedes, the PCC effect vanishes:

- (29) *weil sie dich ihm vorgestellt hat*
 because she-NOM you-ACC him-DAT introduced has
- (30) *weil die Maria mich ihr vorgestellt hat*
 because the Mary-NOM me-ACC her-DAT introduced has

Note that the subject precedes the pronominal cluster in the well-formed example (14) above, which Cardinaletti (1999) takes to be evidence that German lacks the PCC. Cardinaletti is right that examples like (14) (and (29)-(30)) do not show the PCC. However, the constraint does apply when the subject follows the pronominal cluster.

There seems to be a correlation between the emergence of PCC effects and word order restrictions on weak pronouns. The speakers that judge (27) and (28) as unacceptable require DOs to be placed before IOs when these occur in the Wackernagel position. They judge the DO-IO order in (31) as grammatical and the IO-DO order in (32) as ungrammatical:

- (35) a. **dat Jan* *'r/'m* *je* *voorstelde*
IO DO
‘that Jan introduced you to her/him’
b. **dat Jan* *je* *'r/'m* *voorstelde*
DO IO

For other informants the combination 1st DO 3rd IO in (34) is grammatical under the DO>IO serialization (34b) and ungrammatical under the IO>DO serialization (34a). There is further disagreement on the status of the sentences in (35). For some both (35a) and (35b) are ill-formed; for others (35a) is ill-formed and (35b) well-formed.

The correlation between the order of weak pronouns and the presence/absence of the PCC for some speakers of Dutch is reminiscent of the situation in Swiss German. As discussed in Bonet (1991) and Anagnostopoulou (2003), the word order among weak pronouns is free in Swiss German when the dative is 1st or 2nd person and the accusative 3rd person, as illustrated in (36):

- (36) a. *D' Maria zeigt en mir* *Acc3 > Dat1*
 The Maria shows him to-me
 b. *D' Maria zeigt mir en* *Dat1 > Acc3*
 The Maria shows to me him
 'Mary shows him to me'

When the accusative is specified for person, however, it has to precede the dative, as in (37a). When the accusative follows the dative as in (37b) ungrammaticality arises:

- (37) a. *D'* *Maria* *zeigt* *mi* *em* *Acc1 > Dat3*
 The Mary shows me to-him
 b. **D'* *Maria* *zeigt* *em mich* **Dat3 > Acc1*
 The Maria shows to him me
 'Mary shows me to him'

Another language showing a correlation between ordering and the PCC is Swedish. As pointed out by Hellan and Platzack (1999: 131), when the order is 1st / 3rd, as in (38a), the only possible interpretation is IO>DO. When the order of pronouns is 3rd / 1st, however, as in (38b), the interpreta-

tion IO>DO is for a group of speakers possible along with the alternative DO>IO interpretation:

- (38) a. *Han visade mig henne inte*
 He showed pronoun-1 pronoun-3 not
 ‘He did not present her to me’
 b. *Han visade henne mig inte*
 He showed pronoun-3 pronoun-1 not
 ‘He did not present her to me / He did not present me to her’

The correlation between pronominal order and the PCC will be important later on.

3.4. Some generalizations

My investigation of PCC effects on weak pronouns, as opposed to clitics and agreement markers, has led to a number of generalizations which are summarized below:

(i) A striking difference between clitic languages and weak pronoun languages concerns the stability and robustness of PCC judgments. Speakers of clitic languages do not hesitate to characterize grammatical the combinations that do not yield a PCC effect and ungrammatical the ones that lead to a PCC violation. On the other hand, for all speakers of German and Dutch it was extremely hard to judge the sentences in question.

(ii) A further striking difference concerns idiolectal variation. Clitic languages do not show speaker variation on PCC effects yielded by 3rd person IOs and 1st/ 2nd DOs (Bonet 1991). In weak pronoun languages, on the other hand, speakers vary tremendously on how they judge sentences with such combinations.

(iii) A third observation has to do with the type of PCC constraint attested in (dialects of) German and Dutch. Both languages seem to have the *weak PCC*, i.e. combinations of 1st and 2nd person IOs and DOs are acceptable for most speakers (with idiolectal variation concerning the precise combinations that are accepted).

(iv) There is an interaction between the availability of different word orders in languages with weak pronouns and the emergence of PCC effects. As was shown above, PCC effects arise only when the order of pronouns is IO-DO in Swiss German and in some varieties of Dutch. We also saw that

certain person combinations impose particular interpretations in Swedish: 1>3 is interpreted as IO>DO obligatorily. Even in German, where the order of pronouns is strictly DO-IO for most speakers, I have found that speakers attempt to resort to the alternative IO-DO serialization in order to rescue combinations that would otherwise yield a PCC effect. Furthermore, when the IO and DO are both 1st and 2nd person in German, serialization of pronouns in the Wackernagel position becomes freer: speakers tend to accept the IO-DO serialization along with the DO-IO one. As is well known, clitic languages have a strict serialization of clitics. This seems to correlate with the robustness of PCC effects.

In what follows, I will mainly concentrate on an analysis of German, the language I have investigated in more detail.

4. Analysis and challenges

A number of non-trivial questions arise when it comes to extending the analysis of the PCC outlined in section 2 to German.

4.1. The PCC and the position of subjects

The first issue concerns subjects. It is not clear why the position of the subject relative to Wackernagel pronouns matters. Recall that the PCC arises when dative and accusative pronouns enter Agree against a single probe. For German, let us call this head *W* (Wackernagel). If Müller is right that Spec,TP precedes *W*, and that SUBJ>pronoun orders arise when the subject moves to T while pronoun>SUBJ orders obtain when the subject remains in its base position, then we do not expect an interaction between the relative order of subjects and pronouns and the emergence (or lack thereof) of the PCC. Dative and accusative pronouns are expected to enter multiple Agree with *W*, regardless of whether the subject moves to Spec,TP or it remains vP-internal. I can see two ways in which this problem can be resolved:

(i) One possibility is that pronouns reside in a position where Agree takes place only when they precede subjects, i.e. pronouns target what we have called *W* only when they occur before the subject. This would mean that unstressed/weak/reduced pronouns in German do not always move to the same position (contra Müller 2001a,b), i.e. there is a position before

subjects where Agree takes place and another position following subjects where Agree does not take place.

(ii) An alternative would be to build on an idea suggested by Cardinaletti (1999: 65), namely that the PCC arises only when both pronouns belong to the same class. Suppose that only elements belonging to the same class (i.e. both are ‘weak’) enter cyclic/ multiple Agree against the same goal; the PCC can be obviated when one of the two pronouns is strong. A similar strategy is found in clitic languages. As extensively discussed by Bonet (1991, 1994), Anagnostopoulou (2003) and others, the PCC does not arise when either (i) the dative argument is spelled out as a strong pronoun (as shown in (39) for French) or (ii) the accusative argument is spelled out as a strong pronoun (as shown in (40) for Greek):

- (39) a. *Paul me présentera à lui*
 Paul CI-ACC will-introduce to him
 ‘Paul will introduce me to him’
 b. **Paul me lui présentera*
 Paul CI-ACC CI-DAT will-introduce
 ‘Paul will introduce me to him’
- (40) a. *Tu sistisan emena*
 CI-GEN-3sg introduced-3pl me-ACC
 ‘They introduced me to him’
 b. **Tu me sistisan*
 CI-GEN-3sg CI-ACC-1sg introduced-3pl
 ‘They introduced me to him’

The fact that the PCC arises only when both pronouns precede the subject would, under these assumptions, be explained as follows. When the DO and IO pronouns precede subjects they have to be parsed as weak, hence entering Multiple Agree which leads to the PCC. On the other hand, when the two pronouns follow the subject one of them can be parsed as strong, escaping the PCC.

For present purposes, both options sketched here would do. The issue awaits further research.

4.2. Order of movements and the landing position of IO and DO: Evidence from Swiss German and Dutch

According to the analysis sketched in section 2, the PCC arises when the (dative) IO moves/agrees first and the (accusative) DO moves/agrees second. On the assumption that movement of two elements to the same head respects *Shortest* (Richards 1997), this derivation is expected to take place when the IO is merged higher than the DO and they both move resulting in an order which preserves the base order of elements (i.e. IO>DO) due to tucking in.

In Anagnostopoulou (2003: 295-297), I argued that Swiss German provides evidence in favor of this analysis. Consider again the Swiss German facts mentioned in section 3.4. When the accusative is 3rd person, the word order among the weak pronouns is free, as illustrated in (36), repeated from above:

- (36) a. *D' Maria zeigt en mir Acc3 > Dat*
 The Maria shows him to-me
 b. *D' Maria zeigt mir en Dat > Acc3*
 The Maria shows to-me him
 'Mary shows him to me'

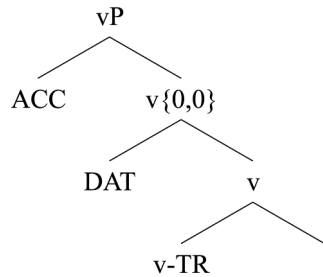
When the accusative is specified for person, however, it has to precede the dative, as in (37a), repeated from above. When it follows the dative, as in (37b), ungrammaticality arises:

- (37) a. *D' Maria zeigt mi em Acc1 > Dat*
 The Mary shows me to-him
 b. **D' Maria zeigt em mich *Dat > Acc1*
 The Maria shows to-him me
 'Mary shows me to him'

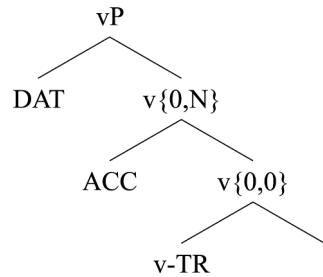
The optionality in the word order of pronouns in (36) indicates that in Swiss German, either the accusative or the dative are allowed to move/Agree to first. In (36a) the accusative pronoun moves first and checks all ϕ -features against the goal, taken to be transitive v, vTR, in Anagnostopoulou (2003). The dative moves to v-TR next, and there are no ϕ -features left for checking, as illustrated in (41). (Presumably, the dative only checks definiteness and / or phonological features.¹²) By contrast, the

dative raises first in (36b), checking person, and the accusative checks the remaining number, as schematized in (42):

(41) (= 36a)



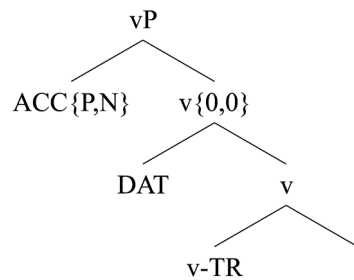
(42) (= 36b)

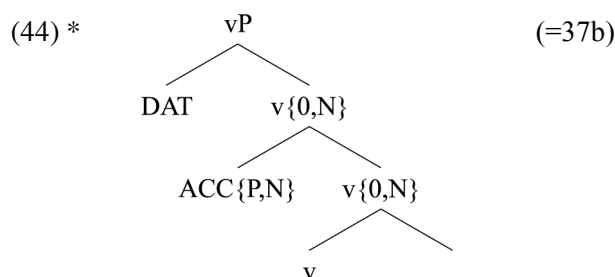


Since the accusative is 3rd (i.e. no) person, the result is grammatical.

Consider now (37) where the accusative is specified for person. When the accusative moves to v-TR first, as in (37a), it checks all of its ϕ -features, as schematized (43). On the other hand, when the dative raises first, as in (37b)/(44), it checks person on v-TR. Further movement of the 1st person accusative pronoun to v-TR leads to ill-formedness, because the pronoun ($\{P,N\}$) cannot be checked against v-TR $\{0,N\}$:

(43) (=37a)





In sum, the Swiss German facts demonstrate that word order determines the occurrence of a person restriction, a fact strongly supporting a syntactic approach towards the PCC. As mentioned in section 3.2, the same correlation between the order of weak pronouns and the presence/absence of the PCC obtains in Dutch for some speakers. They find the combination 1st DO 3rd IO in (34), repeated here as (45), grammatical under the DO>IO serialization (45b) and ungrammatical under the IO>DO serialization (45a):

- (45) a. *dat Jan* *'r/'m* *me* *voorstelde*
 IO DO
 her/ him me
 'that Jan introduced me to her/him'
 b. **dat Jan* *me* *'r/'m* *voorstelde*
 DO IO

The “tucking in” analysis of the surface order of weak pronouns in Swiss German and Dutch explains the fact that the PCC arises in the DAT>ACC order and not in the ACC>DAT order.

4.3. German?

It is evident that the varieties of German discussed in this paper are problematic for the analysis of the PCC outlined so far. Since the order of pronouns is DO>IO obligatorily¹³ we would expect the PCC not to arise, just as in Swiss German, contrary to facts. In order to accommodate the PCC facts, it is necessary to make two assumptions:

- (i) The underlying order of objects is IO>DO, i.e. the indirect object is merged higher than the direct object.

(ii) When the weak pronouns move to the Wackernagel position the dative argument moves first and the accusative second.¹⁴

Assumptions (i) and (ii) are directly contradicting the analysis of German double object constructions argued for in Müller (1995, 2001b), which was adopted in den Dikken (1995) and Anagnostopoulou (2003: 130-137). According to Müller, the underlying order of objects in German is DO>IO, an order which is reflected by the DO>IO order of Wackernagel pronouns. Assuming that order preservation results from tucking in, this would mean that the weak DO pronoun moves first to W followed by movement of the IO. Since the account of PCC facts crucially relies on the opposite assumptions ((i) and (ii) above), Müller's analysis cannot be maintained. The underlying order of the DO and IO in German is an extremely controversial issue; it is therefore necessary to summarize first the main arguments for the DO>IO analysis, turning next to the counterarguments against it.

The unmarked linearization of arguments in German can be derived from the hierarchy (46) (see, e.g. Lenerz 1977; Webelhuth 1989, 1992; Frey and Tappe 1991; Müller 1995 and many others):

(46) Subject>IO>DO>OBLIQUES>V

While this description reflects more or less "the standard view" on German ditransitives, the precise analysis of the DAT>ACC construction in (47) below is controversial:

(47) *Sie hat dem Mann das Buch geschenkt*
 She-NOM has the man-DAT the book-ACC given
 'She has given the man the book'

There is considerable debate about the question whether the DAT>ACC construction represents a base or a derived order. On the standard view (Lenerz 1977 and many others), the DAT>ACC construction is base-generated as such. However, this assumption encounters problems which come in form of the distribution of anaphoric dependencies between objects. Grewendorf (1984, 1988) points out that dative indirect objects cannot bind accusative anaphors in the IO>DO order (48a), while accusative themes may antecede dative anaphors to their right, as shown by (49a). The same effect shows up with reciprocals (48b) and (49b):

- (48) a. *daß der Arzt dem Patienten_j sich_i/*_j*
 that the doctor-NOM the patient-DAT refl-ACC
im Spiegel zeigte
 in-the mirror showed
 ‘that the doctor showed himself to the patient in the mirror’
 b. **daß man den Gästen_i einander_i*
 that one-NOM the guests-DAT each other-ACC
vorgestellt hat
 introduced has
 ‘that someone has introduced the guests each other’
- (49) a. *daß der Arzt den Patienten_j sich_j*
 that the doctor-NOM the patient-ACC refl-DAT
im Spiegel zeigte
 in-the mirror showed
 ‘that the doctor showed the patient to himself in the mirror’
 b. *daß man die Gäste_i einander_i*
 that one-NOM the guests-ACC each other-DAT
vorgestellt hat
 introduced has
 ‘that someone has introduced the guests to each other’

Müller (1995: 159-160) argues that the data in (48), which attest to the inability of datives to bind anaphors to their right, militate against the widely held assumption that datives originate above accusatives (see e.g. Webelhuth 1989; Moltmann 1990 and Santorini 1990). Müller therefore suggests that the underlying order is ACC>DAT, and that in the DAT>ACC construction the goal undergoes movement to an A'-position to the left of the theme. On this view, binding in (49) proceeds straightforwardly. Moreover, the goals in (48) occupy A'-positions, and binding is therefore precluded.

Müller (2001b) furthermore argues that Wackernagel pronouns furnish independent evidence in support of the ACC>DAT hypothesis. The fact that movement of pronouns to the Wackernagel position results in a rigid NOM>ACC>DAT order is argued to result from parallel movement which reflects the base order of arguments.

However, there are many objections to this account discussed in Lechner (2001) and Sternefeld and Featherston (2002).

The first issue concerns reflexive binding. While Grewendorf and Müller claim that (49a), where the accusative DO binds the dative *sich* is well-

formed, Lechner (2001) and Sternefeld and Featherston (2002) judge such examples as ungrammatical. These authors, furthermore, point out that when the dative is a pronoun, the dative can bind the accusative, and not vice versa:¹⁵

- (50) *weil ich ihm sich im Spiegel gezeigt habe*
 because I him-DAT himself-ACC in the mirror shown have
 ‘because I showed him himself in the mirror’
- (51) a. *Fritz zeigte ihr_i sich_i im Spiegel*
 Fritz showed her-DAT herself-ACC in the mirror
 ‘Fritz showed her herself in the mirror’
 b. *?*Fritz zeigte sie_i sich_i im Spiegel*
 Fritz showed her-ACC herself-DAT in-the mirror

Hence it is not correct that accusatives bind dative reflexives in German.

Proceeding to reciprocals, the contrast between (48b) and (49b) reported above is correct. Accusatives may indeed antecede dative reciprocals and not vice versa. However, Sternefeld and Featherston (2002) argue that this fact should not be attributed to binding theory. What seems to be the case is that there is a strong preference for reciprocals to be dative instead of accusative in German. Many speakers judge as unacceptable even examples where accusative reciprocals are bound by subjects:

- (52) a. **weil die Leute dem Hans einander vorgestellt haben*
 because the people the Hans-DAT each other introduced have
 b. *??weil sie ihm einander vorgestellt haben*
 because they him-DAT each other introduced have
 c. **weil sie mir einander vorgestellt haben*
 because they me-DAT each other introduced have

Sternefeld and Featherston (2002) conduct an experiment which shows that *einander* as an IO is clearly preferred over being a DO even in cases of subject coreference illustrated in (52). They argue that the observed asymmetry in reciprocal DOCs is not the result of grammatical constraints but reflects a general tendency to interpret *einander* as a dative DP. Hence the reciprocal facts do not support the DO>IO base order either.

Having presented arguments that neither reflexive nor reciprocal binding supports the view that the underlying order of arguments is DO>IO, we now turn to evidence from scope discussed in Lechner (1996, 1998, 2001)

which argues for the opposite IO>DO base order. German is a scope rigid language in which quantifier scope is unambiguous in base orders; scope ambiguity depends on movement of quantificational elements. We can thus test whether the IO>DO/ DO>IO orders are base-generated or derived by looking at whether they show scope ambiguity or not. What we find is that the IO>DO order is the base order (no scope ambiguity) while the DO>IO order is derived (ambiguous scope):

- (53) a. *weil sie [genau einem Freund] [jeden Gast]*
 because she exactly one friend-DAT every guest-ACC
 vorgestellt hat
 introduced has $E > A, *A > E$
- b. *weil sie [genau einen Gast] [jedem Freund]*
 because she exactly one guest-ACC every friend-DAT
 vorgestellt hat
 introduced has $E > A, A > E$

The contrast between (53a) and (53b) can be explained by assuming that (53b) derives from (53a) by movement of the accusative over the dative and scope ambiguity derives from optional reconstruction of the fronted quantifier. Scope then provides evidence that the base order of arguments is the unmarked IO>DO order.

Turning, finally, to the argument from Wackernagel pronouns (i.e. the claim that the DO>IO order of pronouns is a result of order preserving movement reflecting the base order of arguments), again this is problematic for various reasons. First, we saw that other orders are possible, e.g. examples (25), (26), (50) and (51) above. More importantly, the order DO>IO obtains even when the IO is clearly merged above the DO, as acknowledged by Müller (2001b, fn. 28). This holds e.g. for coherent infinitive constructions:

- (54) a. *weil es₂ ihm₃ keiner t₃ [t₂ zu lesen]*
 because it-ACC him-DAT no-one to read
 empfohlen hat
 recommended has
 ‘because no-one recommended him to read it’

- b. ?**weil ihm es₂ keiner t₃ [t₂ zu lesen]*
 because him-DAT it-ACC no-one to read
 empfohlen hat
 recommended has

Here the dative argument is generated as an indirect object in the higher clause while the accusative is the object of the infinitival. The dative is clearly higher than the accusative, and still the relative order of the two in the Wackernagel position is ACC>DAT. These facts, therefore, strongly undermine the claim that the relative order of pronouns in the Wackernagel position mirrors their base order.

On the basis of the discussion so far, I conclude that the base order of objects is IO>DO, in accordance with assumption (i) in the beginning of this section needed to account for the PCC. The other necessary assumption is (ii), namely that the dative moves before the accusative. But if the dative moves before the accusative, then why is it that the order of pronouns is DO>IO rather than the IO>DO serialization expected by the tucking in analysis? Even though I do not have a definitive answer to this question, I would like to compare here German Wackernagel pronouns to clitics also showing ACC>DAT orders suggesting some possible analyses for the ACC>DAT serialization.

If the linear order of clitics was determined by their syntax, DAT>ACC sequences would result from a derivation in which the dative moves before the accusative. The reverse ACC>DAT serialization from a derivation in which the accusative moves before the dative. Accordingly, the PCC would arise only in languages showing the DAT>ACC order. As discussed in Anagnostopoulou (2003), this picture is often but not always supported by the data. The order of clitics is DAT>ACC in Serbocroatian, Greek, Romanian, Albanian, Polish, Slovak, Russian, Czech (Vos and Veselovská 1999: 938), Standard Italian, Valencian, (Bonet 1991: 72), and many of these languages are reported to show the PCC. However, the surface order of clitics does not always reflect their syntax. Bonet (1991) argues that arrangement of forms within the clitic cluster is often determined by morphology. In many Romance languages, specific clitics occupy a specific position within the clitic cluster, regardless of their syntactic function. For example, the linear order of clitics is always 2nd person followed by 1st in Catalan, independently of grammatical function. In Standard Catalan and Barceloní, clitics are arranged by person, not by their syntactic role. 1st, 2nd and reflexive / impersonal clitics form a natural class, while neuter, 3rd per-

son dative and accusative clitics, locatives, partitives form another natural class with respect to their position within the clitic group. As a result of organization according to person in Catalan, 1st or 2nd dative clitics precede 3rd person accusative clitics, as in (55a). Ungrammatical combinations involving a 1st or 2nd accusative and a 3rd person dative show the reverse accusative>dative order, as illustrated by (55b) (Bonet 1991: 177):

- (55) a. *M'* *l* *va recomanar* *la* *Mireia*
 Cl-DAT,1 Cl-ACC,3 recommended-3 the Mireia
 'Mireia recommended him to me'
- b. **Me* *li* *va recomanar* *la* *Mireia*
 Cl-ACC,1 Cl-DAT,3 recommended-3 the Mireia
 'Mireia recommended me to him'

The serialization of weak pronouns corresponding to the illformed (55b) has been seen above to be grammatical in Swiss German. Unlike Swiss German, though, where the ACC>DAT and the DAT>ACC orders result from syntactic movement and tucking in the DAT>ACC and ACC>DAT sequences in (55) reflect organization of clitics according to [person] in Catalan.

As pointed out by Perlmutter (1971), French is another language where the order of clitics is determined by person rather than syntactic function. In (56) a 1st person dative clitic precedes the 3rd person accusative clitic (Kayne 1975: 83):

- (56) *Jean* *me* *le* *donnera*
 Jean Cl-DAT,1sg Cl-ACC,3sg will give-3sg
 'Jean will give it to me'

Combinations of two 3rd person clitics yield orders in which the accusative precedes the dative, as in German:

- (57) *Paul* *la* *lui* *présentera*
 Paul Cl-ACC,3sg Cl-DAT,3pl will introduce-3sg
 'Paul will introduce her to him'

Since French has the PCC it is unexpected that the order of the two 3rd person clitics is ACC>DAT, just as is in German.

To resolve the problem, I suggested (Anagnostopoulou 2003: 338-9 fn. 90) that the ACC>DAT order in French is either not derived by the syntax (but rather by the morphology), or, if it is derived by the syntax, it represents a case in which multiple movement does not result in tucking in. In the latter alternative, the dative clitic moves first, and the accusative, which moves second, targets a position above the dative. Exactly the same two alternatives can be extended to German. As in French, serialization of Wackernagel pronouns is either determined by another module (e.g. morphology, information structure), or, if it derives from syntax, it does not involve tucking in. Note that there is strong evidence against an analysis of ACC>DAT orders in terms of syntactic movement obeying *Shortest* and tucking in for French, as in German. Cliticization of the dative embedded subject and the accusative embedded object to the matrix verb in causative constructions also results in an ACC>DAT order (Kayne 1975: 279):

- (58) *Elle le lui fera manger*
 She it-ACC him-DAT have eat
 ‘She will have him eat it’

Since cliticization of the two arguments in causatives takes place from an underlying position in which the subject is higher than the direct object, the *direct object>subject* sequence cannot involve a derivation that preserves the base order among arguments. Recall that very similar facts have been observed to hold in German where the accusative embedded object precedes the matrix indirect object when the two occur in the Wackernagel position in coherent infinitive constructions (data in (54) above).

I conclude that German Wackernagel pronouns share many similarities with French clitics. What remains to be answered is why the order of arguments is ACC>DAT even though the dative undergoes movement before the accusative.

One option to account for ACC>DAT orders would be to suggest that they do not result from syntax but from a templating arrangement of features dictated either by the morphology or from semantic or information structure requirements similar to those regulating scrambling.

Alternatively, ACC>DAT orders are the output of a syntactic derivation not displaying tucking in. Lack of tucking could be accounted for as follows:

- (i) One option would be to follow McGinnis (1998: 115) who proposes that specifiers checking features of the same type tuck in while specifiers

checking features of different types do not tuck in. Extending this to German, one could propose that accusatives do not tuck in below datives because the two pronouns check different features (for instance, the dative checks person while the accusative number). Such an approach would face some problems, however: (i) It is implausible to claim that weak pronouns or clitics do not check features of the same type, i.e. that movement leading to person checking and movement resulting in number checking represent two different types of processes. (ii) Moreover, in weak PCC languages like German datives and accusatives enter multiple person Agree, i.e. they clearly check the same type of feature. (iii) In many languages weak pronouns and clitics do tuck in.

(ii) A, perhaps more promising, alternative would be to follow Anagnostopoulou (2003) who suggests that the base order among arguments is preserved only if all arguments uniformly undergo the same type of movement process (XP-movement or head movement). When a construction combines phrasal and head movement to the same functional head, the phrase moves to a specifier and the head moves to the head, resulting in a configuration in which the phrase precedes the head, regardless of the order of the movements. Extending this analysis to ACC>DAT orders in German it could be suggested that datives move as heads and accusatives as XPs in the constructions under discussion. Consider in this light the Swedish facts in (38), repeated below:

- (38) a. *Han visade mig henne inte*
 He showed pronoun-1 pronoun-3 not
 ‘He did not present her to me’
 b. *Han visade henne mig inte*
 He showed pronoun-3 pronoun-1 not
 ‘He did not present her to me / He did not present me to her’

Recall that according to the description of Hellan and Platzack (1999), when the order of pronouns is 1st/3rd, as in (38a), the only possible interpretation is IO>DO. When the order of pronouns is 3rd/1st, as in (38b), the interpretation IO>DO is for a group of speakers possible along with the alternative DO>IO interpretation. (Note that not all Swedish speakers accept DO>IO orders of pronouns to begin with, as pointed out to me by Gunnar Hrafn Hrafnbjargarson, and as discussed in detail in Anagnostopoulou 2003, 2006; for reasons having to do with order preservation; it would lead us too far afield to address this here.) An alternative way of

stating the facts is this: In Swedish the PCC arises only under the DO>IO and not under the IO>DO serialization. While both the DO>IO and the IO>DO orders are, in principle, possible, the DO>IO order is banned when the DO is 1st person. Crucially, in (38a) the only possible interpretation is IO>DO, i.e. the 1st person pronoun cannot be interpreted as the DO. On the other hand, the IO>DO order does not display the PCC. In (38b) the IO>DO interpretation is possible, even though the DO is 1st person. Swedish then is reverse of Swiss German. While in Swiss German the PCC is obviated in the DO>IO order, in Swedish the PCC arises in the DO>IO serialization and is obviated when the IO precedes the DO. This suggests that the Swedish DO>IO order reflects a derivation in which the IO moves first followed by the DO while in IO>DO sequences the DO moves first followed by movement of the IO; both derivations do not invoke tucking in. Turning back to the dialects of German described in this paper, if they work essentially like Swedish (except that they lack the IO>DO derivation), then lack of tucking in is the correct analysis of DO>IO Wackernagel pronouns showing the PCC, possibly because the IO moves like a head and the DO as an XP.

5. Conclusions

In this paper, I identified an environment where the PCC obtains in German and I compared German to other Germanic languages showing this constraint. In order to account for the PCC with Wackernagel pronouns, I argued that the underlying order of objects is IO>DO and that the DO>IO serialization of pronouns reflects a derivation in which the IO moves first and the DO second in apparent violation of *Shortest* (Richards 1997). To account for lack of tucking in, I suggested that Wackernagel pronouns undergo different styles of movement: IOs move as heads and DOs as XPs. Whether or not this analysis is tenable awaits future research.

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sion and comments, and my German and Dutch colleagues (mentioned in footnotes 7 and 11) for their great help with the data.

Notes

1. See Seuren (1976) for Italian and Spanish, and Wanner (1987) for Italian. See also Monachesi (1996) for Italian.
2. Bonet (1994) claims that only clitic languages show the weak version of the PCC. Agreement languages always have the strong version of the PCC.
3. The ban against 1st and 2nd person direct object pronouns is absolute in languages showing the *strong version of the PCC* because these languages do not have the option of multiple Agree.
4. Cardinaletti (1999) only distinguishes between strong, weak and clitic pronouns in German. Cardinaletti's weak pronouns subsume Müller's *unstressed, weak and reduced* pronouns. Her description of weak pronoun movement does not make explicit reference to the Wackernagel position. Nevertheless, she points out that weak pronouns move to the left of adverbs, converging (partially) with Müller's description (she only considers cases where moved pronouns follow subjects; see below).
5. Clitics behave differently than other pronoun classes with respect to both placement and serialization and will not be discussed here (see Gärtner & Steinbach 2003a,b, among others, for discussion of clitics in German and references).
6. According to Susann Fischer (personal communication), stressed pronouns are allowed in the Wackernagel position. The informants she has consulted find (20) grammatical. I am concentrating here on unstressed, weak and reduced pronouns, which must undergo Wackernagel movement; the syntactic behavior of stressed pronouns (i.e. whether or not they undergo optional Wackernagel movement) is not immediately relevant for present purposes.
7. My German informants were: Uli Sauerland, Kleanthes Grohmann, Susi Wurmbrand, Winfried Lechner, Florian Schaefer and Gereon Mueller. Susann Fischer (personal communication) along with Kirsten Gengel and Eva Forster (personal communication to Susann Fischer) share these judgments. The German informants consulted are native speakers of several dialects of German (e.g. Austrian, Franconian, Swabian) as well as of Standard German.
8. For all my informants the PCC effect is stronger with 2nd person than with 1st person pronouns for reasons I do not understand.
9. This correlation could be taken to mean that the PCC arises only when true Wackernagel movement is involved. For speakers that accept both serializations pronouns undergo the same type of movement as scrambling, an operation that does not lead to ϕ -feature checking.

10. One of my informants finds (33b) deviant; for all others the example is well-formed.
11. My Dutch informants were: Angeliek van Hout, Jan-Wouter Zwart, Marcel den Dikken, Hans van de Koot, Hans Broekhuis and Henk van Riemsdijk.
12. According to this analysis, person checking of datives is optional, unlike person checking of accusatives, which is obligatory. This seems to correlate with the quirky vs. structural Case of datives and accusatives, respectively.
13. With the qualifications discussed in section 3.1. (Sternefeld and Featherston 2002).
14. Recall how the weak PCC effect is then derived: When both pronouns are [+person], multiple Agree takes place resulting in a grammatical combination of two 1st and 2nd person pronouns. When the dative is 3rd person ([−person]) and the accusative is 1st / 2nd person ([+person]) the condition on Multiple Agree (11) is violated, resulting in ungrammaticality. When the dative is 1st / 2nd ([+person]) or 3rd ([−person]) and the accusative is 3rd person (lacks person specification entirely), the dative checks person and the accusative number, a Cyclic Agree process (the one that always takes place in strong PCC languages).
15. Note that in examples (50) and (51a) the dative pronoun precedes the accusative, one more exception to the claim that the DO pronoun always precedes the IO in German.

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