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Knut Tarald Taraldsen
University of Tromsø

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1. Background assumptions

The agreement morpheme Agr representing subject / verb agreement is always a pronoun incorporated into a head F from a Spec-YP governed by F under strict c-command. There are two types of Agr, "heavy" and "light", corresponding to an analogous subdivision of pronominal clitics in general. The extended projection principle (EPP) defined on FP is satisfied when either Spec-FP is projected or heavy Agr is incorporated into F. Sentences with thematic null subjects can only arise in languages that have heavy Agr and therefore need not project Spec-FP to satisfy the EPP. Sentences with overt subjects in Spec-FP have light Agr corresponding to an expletive pronoun incorporated from Spec-YP. Since Spec-YP and Spec-FP are both A-positions, and a subject argument must move to Spec-FP from Spec-VP across Spec-YP, feature agreement between Spec-FP and the incorporated expletive is guaranteed by Relativized Minimality and feature agreement within chains.

The analysis presented in the following sections is largely implementation independent. In particular, it won´t matter for most purposes exactly how the notions "heavy" and "light" are characterized beyond what is said above. However, particular implementations will be suggested whenever relevant.

2. Celtic vs Romance

Within the framework I have just described, we confront the following two questions :
(A) Why must the verb have default agreement (3sg) when the subject is overt in Celtic, but not in Romance ?
(B) Why are finite clauses always V-initial (modulo movement to Spec-CP) in Celtic, but not in Romance ?
I will assume that both contrasts are controlled by the same parameter.

2.1. Celtic

I will use Welsh as a representative of the Celtic languages. (To reduce clutter, I give example sentences in a less than colloquial style, omittting particles and / or initial mutation of the verb.) In (1) , Agr must correspond to an expletive pronoun

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incorporated into F, the head of the clause (and the target for V-movement):

(1) *Canasant y bechgyn yn yr eglwys
       sang-3pl the boys   in the church

Assignment of feature values to Agr other than by default must then reflect chain formation with the thematic subject (in Spec-VP), which in turn is excluded by the following principle, unless the subject moves to Spec-FP prior to LF : In a chain containing an argument, the argument must c-command all other members of the chain at LF. If finite clauses must be V-initial (i.e. F-initial) in Celtic both at s-structure and LF, this is not possible, and a partial answer to question (A) follows.

    The EPP can be satisfied for a Welsh sentence like (2) only if the expletive pronoun incorporated into F, the head of the clause, yields heavy Agr :

(2) Canodd y bechgyn yn yr eglwys
       sang-3sg the boys   in the church
       "The boys sang in the church."

Thus, Agr is heavy in Celtic even when the source is an expletive pronoun . But movement to Spec-FP is licensed only when required to satisfy the EPP. Since the EPP is always satisfied by heavy Agr in Celtic finite clauses, movement to Spec-FP is also excluded. Whence a partial answer to question (B).

2.2. Romance

    The existence of subject-initial finite clauses in Romance now presupposes that Agr resulting from the incorporation of an expletive is light in Romance (as opposed to incorporated argument pronouns in the Romance null subject languages). This completes the answer to question (B).

    Given this, it also follows that in a language like Italian, (3) violates the EPP, since Agr is weak and Spec-FP is not projected:

(3) *Cantò i ragazzi nella chiesa
       sang-3sg the boys in-the church

What about (4) ? :

(4) Cantarono i ragazzi nella chiesa
       sang-3pl the boys   in-the church
       "The boys sang in the church."

Answer : The EPP applies at LF, and the subject moves to Spec-FP between s-structure and LF, but this presupposes, by Relativized Minimality and feature agreement within chains, that the expletive in Spec-YP agrees with the subject at LF. By assuming that the feature content of a pronoun cannot change between s-structure and LF, we then explain the contrast within Italian between (3), with default agreement, and (4). Since the obligatory agreement in Romance sentences that are subject-initial already at s-structure, also follows trivially from Relativized Minimality and agreement within chains, we complete the answer to question (A).

2.3. A note on French

The assumption that the EPP holds at LF, does not lead to the undesirable conclusion that null subject sentences are possible (at s-structure), even in languages where Agr is always light. A null subject sentence would look like (5) at s-structure, with pro an argument :

(5) $V+Agr_i+F$ [$_{YP}$ **pro**$_i$ ... [$_{VP}$ t$_i$ ...

The structure in (5) violates the EPP at both s-structure and LF, unless Spec-FP can be filled at LF. But if Agr cannot identify pro in Spec-FP, then this requirement cannot be met by movement from Spec-YP to Spec-FP, and no other NP can move across Spec-YP , given Relativized Minimality.
But we do expect that a language which is not otherwise a null subject language, can have null expletives by taking advantage of the option of satisfying the EPP at LF. The relevant s-structure would then look like (6) , where pro is an expletive :

(6) $V+Agr_j+F$ [$_{YP}$ **pro**$_j$ ... [$_{\alpha}$ **NP**$_i$ ... ([$_{VP}$ t$_i$ ...)

As we have just seen, NP$_i$ may move to Spec-FP in (6) at LF, provided j and i are equal. Actually, French is a language that fits this description rather well. Although French never has empty subject arguments, it does allow null expletives, at least in certain contexts. Notice also that the contrasts seen in the French sentences (8)-(9), have the same origin as the Italian contrast *(3) vs (4) :

(7) le jour où **il est arrivé des linguistes**, ...
(8)*le jour où **est arrivé des linguistes**, ...
(9) le jour où **sont arrivés des linguistes**, ...

(8), where the verb fails to agree with the argument NP, must have the analysis in (6), with i and j distinct . Since Agr is light, NP$_i$ must move to Spec-FP at LF, but cannot, due to Relativized Minimality, since i and j are distinct.

In (9), however, the verb agrees with the argument NP, so we have (6) with i and j equal, and NP$_i$ moves to Spec-FP at LF, just as in the Italian example (84).
In (7), the the EPP is satisfied by the overt expletive il in Spec-FP.
Notice that the French facts confirm our analysis, since this analysis accounts for the contrasts (7) vs *(8) and *(8) vs (9), which would otherwise be unexplained, as far as I know.

3. Alternatives considered and rejected

I now consider two alternative analyses of Celtic subject/verb-agreement and its relation to word order. I also provide arguments that the analysis described in the preceding sections is preferable.

3.1. Weak vs strong Agr

Chomsky (1992) suggests that Celtic AgrS is "weak" in the sense that it is inherently invisible at PF. Hence, pre-PF NP-movement to Spec-AgrSP is not required to ensure that Agr$_S$ does not appear in PF-representations, and therefore, cannot apply, by the "Procrastinate" principle. Hence, Celtic is never visibly S-

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initial. But, Chomsky´s suggestion provides no ready answer as to why (1) (repeated below) should be out , with Agr$_S$ bearing features (3 pl) corresponding to those its Spec (y bechgyn) will have at LF, as in Romance:

(1) *Canasant y bechgyn yn yr eglwys
      sang-3pl the boys   in the church

Thus, it fails to explain the link between the strict VSO order and the agreement properties of Celtic.

Chomsky´s proposal is particularly problematic if Celtic null subject sentences like (10) are taken to involve raising a subject pro to Spec-Agr$_S$P before or after SPELL-OUT :

(10) Canasant yn yr eglwys
      sang-3pl   in the church
      "They sang in the church."

The question is why this movement should license agreement features on Agr$_S$ even though LF-movement of a nonpronominal subject to Spec-Agr$_S$P doesn´t. One could of course say that Agr$_S$ loaded with non-default agreement features is strong, in Chomsky´s sense, assuming pronominal null subjects to move to Spec-Agr$_S$P prior to SPELL-OUT. But what would then exclude pre-PF movement for nonpronominal subjects, i.e. what would rule out (11) , with strong Agr$_S$? :

(11) *Y bechgyn canasant yn yr eglwys
      the boys   sang-3pl in the church

3.2. Locus of nominative Case-licensing

It seems more promising to say that Celtic Agr$_S$ is "weak" both at PF and LF, and that the subject´s Case-feature can be licensed in some position below Spec-Agr$_S$P. (Chomsky (1992) attributes to Bobalijk & Carnie (1992) and Jonas (1992) an idea similar to the second half of this hypothesis; see also Rouveret (1991).) Then, no NP-movement to Spec-Agr$_S$P would ever be forced.Notice that the "weakness" of Celtic Agr$_S$ is restricted to the NP-feature it inherits under incorporation of T. This is crucial, since Agr$_S$ must be "strong" (PF-visible) in other respects , as in French or Icelandic, in order to induce pre-PF V-movement to Agr$_S$. Hence, the two assumptions embodied in this alternative proposal would both be consequences of T licensing Case in situ in Celtic, whereas T must raise to Agr$_S$ in Romance. However, there is no independent motivation , that I am aware of, in favor of a parametric distinction drawn in these terms.

3.3. An independent parameter relevant to expletives

On the other hand, we know independently that the status of (non-incorporated) expletives may differ from one language to another. In particular, some languages, like French, have agreement between the verb and an expletive subject, but many other languages don´t, requiring instead agreement with some argument NP :

(7)   le jour où il est arrivé des linguistes, ...
(12) There have / *has arrived some linguists

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Assuming , as before, that the feature content of Agr is constant throughout the derivation, the agreement seen in sentences like (7) implies that the argument NP does not raise to Spec-FP/AgrₛP at any level. Therefore, the expletive itself must be able to satisfy the EPP. Correspondingly, it seems natural to assume that languages with the agreement pattern found in (12) are the way they are, because they cannot use expletives to meet the EPP. But then, there is independent evidence that having expletives that satisfy the EPP corresponds to a parametric option.

The distinction between the two types of expletives could conceivably be made in terms of Case: Assuming, like Chomsky (1992), the EPP, in the relevant cases, reduces to the requirement that the Case-feature (the NP-feature) of a head, e.g. T, must be licensed by checking against a Case-marked NP in its checking domain, we might say that some languages only allow arguments to bear Case-features, while other languages also have Case-marked expletives. "Heavy", then, would mean bearing a Case-feature as opposed to being Case-less, "light".

We need not choose, at this juncture, between this option and other alternatives that come to mind. Notice, however, that if Case-licensing is the relevant notion, we also have an alternative explanation as to why the thematic subject cannot move to Spec-FP in (1) - (2) : Assuming both that Agr, the incorporated expletive, has a Case-feature in Welsh, and that T only licenses Case on a single NP, raising the subject to Spec-FP creates a configuration where one NP must have an unlicensed Case-feature.

The important point is simply that my analysis of subject /verb agreement permits us to consider the agreement and word order contrasts between Celtic and Romance as another manifestation of an independently detectable parameter. If the agreement morpheme is in fact an incorporated expletive pronoun (in (2) and (4)), then we expect languages to differ as to whether the agreement morpheme satisfies the EPP just as we expect variation as to whether the non-incorporated expletive may satisfy the EPP in sentences like (7). In Welsh, an expletive Agr have the further properties, e.g. a Case-feature, required to satisfy the EPP. In this respect, Welsh expletive Agr is exactly like French il, but Italian expletive Agr is not.

4. Justification for the background assumptions

At the outset, I listed a set of background assumptions that my analysis rests on. I will now supply an outline of the independent motivation for these assumptions. In particular, I will concentrate on the arguments for the claim that probably is the most controversial one, viz. that subject / verb agreement always is to be viewed as pronoun incorporation.

4.1. Celtic subject/verb agreement as pronoun incorporation

In Celtic languages, subject / verb agreement and overt subjects are in complementary distribution. Agreement morphemes reflecting the person and number of the silent subject show up in null subject sentences as shown in the Welsh paradigm (13) :

(13)	cenais	"I sang"	canaswn	"we sang"
	cenaist	"you (sg) sang"	canaswch	"you (pl) sang"
	canodd	"she sang"	canasant	"they sang"

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But when the subject is overt, the verb takes on the neutral form, which is 3 sg regardless of the number of the subject :

(1) *Canasant y bechgyn yn yr eglwys
       sang-3pl the boys   in the church
(2) Canodd y bechgyn yn yr eglwys
       sang-3sg the boys   in the church
       "The boys sang in the church."

Various researchers have observed that this property of Celtic would seem to follow directly if the source of an agreement morpheme must always be an incorporated subject in Celtic, so that a sentence like (10) must have the s-structure representation in (14), where pro represents the incorporation trace and Agr represents the incorporated pronoun :

(10) Canasant (hwy) yn yr eglwys
       sang-3pl (they) in the church
       "They sang in the church."
(14)   canasant + Agr_i + F [$_{YP}$ pro_i ...

In general, you will get an agreement morpheme, but no overt subject, if the subject incorporates, and you will get an overt subject, but no agreement, if the subject does not incorporate. (As for the optional presence of "dependent" subject pronouns in (13), see Rouveret (1991) who suggests one way of making these compatible with an incorporation analysis of Welsh subject / verb agreement.)

There is only one major obstacle to this analysis. On almost any analysis, the agreement seen in Italian sentences like (4) (repeated below) is taken to reflect chain-formation between an expletive and the subject left in situ at s-structure :

(4) Cantarono i ragazzi nella chiesa
       sang-3pl   the boys in the church
       "The boys sang in the church."

So why couldn´t we also have a Welsh sentence like (1) (repeated below) with the agreement morpheme analyzed as an incorporated expletive agreeing with the thematic subject ? :

(1) *Canasant y bechgyn yn yr eglwys
       sang-3pl the boys   in the church

Notice that this obstacle is not automatically eliminated even if we assume that Case is assigned to the subject NP in Welsh in a position below the Spec-position filled by (the trace of the incorporated) expletive, taking this to exclude a chain-relation between the two. In certain varities of Welsh, the subject NP may appear in two distinct postverbal positions, e.g. in the Pembrokeshire dialect discussed in Rouveret (1991). Schematically, we have :

(15) V+Agr+F ... [SUBJECT X ... SUBJECT Y ...

Assuming that when the subject surfaces in Spec-XP, it has a trace in Spec-YP, the idea that only the a head of a chain can be in a Case-licensed position, will presuppose that Spec-YP may not be Case-licensed, although it can be. In fact, Rouveret suggests that Case is licensed on Spec-YP, under "chain-government by

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F, only when Spec-XP is not projected. But then, we could derive (1) by forming a chain between an expletive in Spec-XP and the thematic subject in Spec-YP. To exclude this possibility within Rouveret's framework, one would have to rely on two further assumptions : That the thematic subject must raise to Spec-FP at LF, to license the chain, and that Case is not licensed in Spec-FP. The first of these assumptions is built into the analysis presented in section 2. The second one corresponds to Rouveret's claim that F cannot license Case on Spec-FP in Welsh. Within our analysis, this in turn would follow from the assumption that F must instead license the incorporated expletive, which has its own Case-feature in Welsh.

Thus, the major contribution of the analysis presented in section 2 is to pave the way for an incorporation analysis of Welsh subject / verb agreement by eliminating the problem associated with (1) in a way that links the distinct agreement properties of Celtic to its strict VSO-order in finite clauses.

4.2. Subject/verb agreement as pronoun incorporation in SVO-languages

If we accept the incorporation analysis of Celtic subject / verb agreement, we are naturally led to ask another question : Can subject / verb agreement be analyzed as pronoun incorporation in all languages ?

With respect to null subject sentences like (16) in the Romance languages, it seems that the answer is positive :

(16) **Cantarono** nella chiesa
     sang-3pl   in-the church
     "They sang in the church."

We can analyze such sentences exactly like their Welsh counterparts, i.e. as in (17), where Spec-FP is not projected, because the incorporated pronominal argument counts as heavy and therefore suffices to satisfy the EPP :

(17) cantarono + **Agr$_i$**+ F [$_{YP}$ **pro$_i$**...

There is some indication that null subject sentences not only can, but actually must, be analyzed in terms of pronoun incorporation. In Taraldsen (1992), I discuss Spanish sentences like (18) in some detail :

(18) **Los jugadores vamos** a Madrid
     the players   go-1pl to Madrid
     "We players go to Madrid."

These are actually null subject sentences with an overt NP in Spec-AgrSP, using now the standard terminology. Contrastive evidence from the Romance languages indicates that (18) should not be analyzed as in (19), and, more generally, that pro is in fact never licensed in Spec-Agr$_S$P :

(19) [$_{NP}$ **pro** los jugadores] vamos + Agr$_S$ ...

The correct analysis is rather as in (20), which is analogous to (17) except the NP in Spec-YP containing the incorporation trace also contains the trace of a NP raised to Spec-FP:

(20) [$_{NP}$ los jugadores]$_j$ vamos + **Agr$_i$** + F [$_{YP}$ [$_{NP}$ **pro$_i$** t$_j$] ...

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The raised NP is a predicate on the incorporated pronoun within the larger NP. This may turn out to be crucial, if heavy Agr is characterized as carrying a Case-feature with it, since Agr resulting from the incorporation of an argument pronoun, should be heavy in Spanish, a null subject language, and a NP in Spec-FP, therefore, should not be able to have its Case licensed, according to a suggestion made previously. We would then want to say that predicative NPs are not subject to Case-licensing. (However, this leaves open the question why the predicate must in fact raise to Spec-FP in (20).)

In Taraldsen (1992), I also consider the apparent correlation between the null subject option and "long" clitic movement within Romance. Kayne´s (1989) account of this correlation turns on making VP a barrier, for failure of L-marking, unless it is governed by "strong" Infl. However, the notion of "strong Infl" remains unclear, and there is also reason to think that the operative locality principle must Relativized Minimality rather than barrierhood determined by L-marking, since VP does not block NP-movement even in languages which must have "weak" Infl on Kayne´s assumptions. Assuming, like Kayne (1989), the critical first step in long cliticization to be movement to Y internal to the embedded clause which is subsequently raised into the matrix clause, we would then take Relativized Minimality to exclude movement across the intervening head Z :

(21)   ... Y ... Z ... Cl...

Provided none of the relevant maximal projections are barriers for want of L-marking, NP-movement from a position below Z is now allowed, possibly via Spec-ZP.

But will an analysis of long cliticization based on Relativized Minimality supply a link with the null subject option ? Presumably, the answer depends on the answer to another question : What characterizes those languages where Z does not induce a minimality effect in (22) ?
To remain faithful to the logic of Relativized Minimality, it seems that we are compelled to say that Z is not a potential target for cliticization in those languages where it does not block the long movement to Y. Holding the properties of Z and Y constant across languages, we are then led to distinguish between two types of clitics in such a way that the desired conclusion will follow. Here is a proposal :
We begin by adopting an idea by Muysken (1983) to the effect that nodes are characterized by the two binary features [+/- proj(ection)] and [+/- max(imal)]. Within this scheme, clitics will always be   [- proj], but can be either [- max] or [+ max]. I will assume that the choice is made uniformly for all clitics in a given language.

A [- max] clitic, henceforth : a "light" clitic, adjoins unproblematically to any (functional) head. But what about a "heavy" clitic, one that is marked [+ max] ? We may assume that any [- proj] element must occur in a position immediately dominated by a F^0-node. On the other hand, it seems that maximal projections can only adjoin to other maximal projections, and not to heads. Hence, although a heavy clitic, an F^{max}, can be dominated by a head, it cannot be adjoined to one. Therefore, a heavy clitic has no potential landing site at all, unless there are F^0-nodes whose internal structure actually provides a Spec-like position (in fact, possibly more than one, to accommodate clitic clusters), which can host it.

I will assume that such F^0-nodes do indeed exist. In particular, I suggest that Y in (57) is one, but Z is not, in all Romance languages. Then, Z is an appropriate landing site for

light clitics, but only Y can receive the heavy ones. Correspondingly, a language that allows long cliticization, can be characterized as a language that have heavy clitics. The languages that do not, have only light ones.

To provide the link with the null subject option, we now consider the effect of imposing the extended part of the projection principle (EPP) on FP in conjunction with the claim that Agr, incorporated in F, cannot license a null NP (pro) in Spec-FP. It follows from the latter claim plus Relativized Minimality and the assumption that Spec-FP must be an A-position, that a null subject sentence must be one where Spec-FP is in fact not projected. But the EPP would generally require that Spec-FP to be projected. Hence, a null subject language must be such that it can circumvent the normal effect of the EPP. I suggest that EPP can actually be satisfied in two ways : Either Spec-FP is projected in the standard fashion, or there is a filled Spec-position internal to the head F.

Clearly, a language can take advantage of the second option, and be a null subject language, only if the Agr incorporated into F is [+ max] in addition to [- proj], i.e. if it has "heavy" Agr to fill the Spec-position inside F, since a Spec-position can in general only be filled by a maximal projection. But if Agr is essentially a clitic element, as I have proposed earlier, and a language must choose the "heavy" option for all its clitics or none of them, then Agr can be heavy only in a language which has heavy clitics in general. Since we have already seen that such a language will permit long cliticization, the link between long cliticization and the null subject option is established.
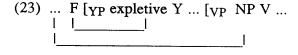
From the point of view of this analysis, having "strong" INFL simply means having heavy clitics, including Agr, as opposed to only light ones.

Relating this discussion to previous suggestions, we could say that Agr may induce Case-licensing by F just in case it is [+ max], like a NP in Spec-TP. If the EPP is simply a consequence of of T's need to act as a Case-licenser, then, incorporating a pronoun into T may satisfy the EPP only if the resulting Agr is heavy, i.e. [+ max].

Even if the incorporation analysis of subject / verb agreement seems appropriate for null subject sentences in general, it would still appear problematic for sentences like (23), since these contain overt subjects in addition to agreement :

(22) **I ragazzi** cantarono nella chiesa
     the boys sang-3pl in-the church
     "The boys sang in the church."

However, we have already seen that the the agreement morpheme in (22) can be regarded as an incorporated expletive. Since an incorporated expletive cannot satisfy the EPP in Italian, the subject still must move to Spec-FP at some point. Thus, we have a derivation like the one depicted in (23) :

(23) ... F [YP expletive Y ... [VP NP V ...
      | |_____|
      |_____|

Given Relativized Minimality, this yields a well-formed output just in case the expletive is analyzed as part of the chain linking the preposed subject to its source position inside the VP. Hence, agreement between the subject and the expletive follows from the principle of feature sharing among the members of a chain. Since the agreement morpheme simply reflects the features of the incorporated expletive, subject / verb agreement therefore is a consequence of agreement within chains.

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5. Conclusion

Besides providing an account of the relationship between subject / verb agreement and word order in Celtic and Romance, the most important feature of the analysis presented here is that it clears the ground for an incorporation analysis of all varieties of subject / verb agreement. From the point of view of this analysis, the notion of Spec / head agreement is not called for in an account of subject / verb agreement. The agreement between Spec-FP and an expletive pronoun incorporated into F follows from Relativized Minimality and feature sharing within chains. The obligatory presence of Agr, i.e. an incorporated pronoun, under F, may, on the other hand, be accounted for as follows, adapting a proposal by Rizzi (1990) : Assume that a head F provides "formal licensing" for an empty category Z only if F is a V or dominates Y sharing features with Z. Assume also that all members of a chain except the head must be empty categories. Now, let F be a head distinct from V taking YP as its complement. Then, no chain linking Spec-FP to a thematic position dominated by YP can be formed, given Relativized Minimality, unless Spec-YP contains an expletive which incorporates into F. In general, we therefore expect that any non-V head subject to a principle with the effect of the EPP will bear Agr.

This suggests that the notion of Spec / head agreement can be eliminated from syntactic theory. Whether or not this is true, will depend on the investigation of agreement phenomena other than subject / verb agreement.

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