In this talk I look at Conjunct vs. Independent Order in Algonquian, and Verb Second in Germanic, two apparently unrelated phenomena from unrelated language families, and I argue for a unification of the two phenomena. It is argued that both relate to the possibility of the verb moving to C, but that this operation can yield different surface results. In Algonquian languages this movement is only detectable in the morphology, whereas in Germanic languages it is visible in the word order, and can be visible in the morphology. I provide evidence that in Algonquian V-to-C movement manifests as morphological alternations of agreement suffixes and cliticization of additional agreement markers by carefully examining the morphological signatures of the different agreement markers. This analysis dispenses with Conjunct and Independent as language family specific categories, and opens new avenues of research in relation to V-to-C movement, framing it as a parametric option with potentially very different surface results in different languages depending on the setting of other parameters.