

\*\*\*\*\*

Germanic

Generative

Syntax

Newsletter

\*\*\*\*\*

Vol. 14, No. 2.

Fall, 1998

Published by:

Department of General Linguistics  
University of Groningen  
PO Box 716  
NL-9700 AS Groningen  
The Netherlands

Editor-in-chief: Jan-Wouter Zwart  
Co-Editors: Kleanthes K. Grohmann (America)  
                  Alan Libert (Australia)  
                  Ad Neeleman (Europe)  
E-mail Editor: Arild Hestvik  
WWW Editor: Rene Mulder

\*\*\*\*\*

Contents

1. Newsdesk
  - 1.1 Announcements and Calls for Papers
  - 1.2 Other News
2. Lists
  - 2.1 Books and dissertations
  - 2.2 From the Journals
  - 2.3 From Edited Volumes
  - 2.4 Unpublished Material Received
3. Abstracts
  - 3.1 Books and Dissertations
  - 3.2 Papers and Articles
4. Subscription Information
5. Addresses

\*\*\*\*\*

PART ONE - PART ONE - PART ONE - PART ONE - PART ONE

\*\*\*\*\*

1. Newsdesk

1.1 Announcements and Calls for Papers

a) CGSW 14      b) GLAC 5      c) GALA 1999

THE 14TH COMPARATIVE GERMANIC SYNTAX WORKSHOP

January 8-9, 1999, Lund, Sweden

Location:

Reception: Dept. of Scandinavian Languages, Helgonabacken 14.

Conference: Old Bishop's Palace, Biskopsgatan 1.

Invited speakers:

Liliane Haegeman (Geneva)

Kenneth J. Safir (Rutgers)

Jan-Wouter Zwart (Groningen)

Program:

January 7

18:00 Reception

January 8

09:00 Liliane Haegeman, Negation in West Flemish and the derivation of SOV word order.

10:30 Thorhallur Eythorsson, VP order and clausal architecture in diachrony.

11:10 Thorbjorg Hroarsdottir, VP-preposing in Icelandic.

11:50 Shalom Zuckerman, The underlying structure of embedded participles in Dutch.

14:00 Ute Bohnacker, Root infinitives in bilingual child Icelandic-English.

14:40 Oystein Alexander Vangsnes, Optimal strategies for identifying D.

15:40 Peter Svenonius, The expression of negation in Germanic.

16:20 Johannes Gisli Jonsson, Case Absorption with -st-verbs in Icelandic.

17:00 Cedric Boeckx, Quirky agreement in Icelandic, English and elsewhere.

January 9

09:00 Ken Safir, Derived Complementary in the Pattern of Anaphora.

10:30 Ursel Luhde, Aspectual features and argument structure.

11:10 Elin Bech and Tor A. Aafarli, The syntax of two types of psychological verb in Germanic.

11:50 Anna-Lena Wiklund, Distributed Syntax: Morphosyntactic parasites and the path to PF.

14:00 Mark de Vries, Extraposition of relative clauses as specifying coordination.

14:40 Kleantes K. Grohmann, Multiple interrogatives, discourse restrictions and quantifier interaction.

15:40 Kersti Borjars, Kate Burridge and Sue Spencer, For...to constructions in varieties of German and English: consequences for clause structure.

- 16:20 Reimar Mueller, Prepositions as bare infinitival complementizers in some Westgermanic languages.  
17:10 Jan-Wouter Zwart, Bare Argument Structure and the Syntax of Middles.

Information: [www.nordlund.lu.se/cgs.html](http://www.nordlund.lu.se/cgs.html)

#### CALL FOR PAPERS

5th Germanic Linguistics Annual Conference (GLAC)

April 16-18, University of Texas at Austin, Texas (USA).

Deadline for abstract submission: January 2, 1999

Information: [www.utexas.edu/depts/german/main.html](http://www.utexas.edu/depts/german/main.html)

We invite colleagues at all levels (faculty and graduate students) to submit abstracts for 30-minute papers on any linguistic or philological aspect of any historic or modern Germanic language or dialect, including English (to 1500) and the extraterritorial varieties. Papers from a range of linguistic subfields, including phonetics, phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics, sociolinguistics, language acquisition, contact, and change, as well as differing theoretical approaches, are especially welcome.

Please send to the address below a one-page, 12-point font abstract that is headed only by the title of your paper, as well as a separate 3" x 5" index card with your name, institutional affiliation, mailing address, phone/fax numbers, e-mail address, and the title of your paper. Submissions must be received by January 2, 1999. Notifications of acceptance will be sent out by February 1, 1999.

GLAC-5, Department of Germanic Studies, E. P. Schoch 3.102, University of Texas at Austin, Austin, Texas 78712, United States.

For more information, e-mail:

Prof. Mark L. Loudon ([louden@mail.utexas.edu](mailto:louden@mail.utexas.edu)), or

Prof. Mark R. V. Southern ([m.southern@mail.utexas.edu](mailto:m.southern@mail.utexas.edu)).

#### CALL FOR PAPERS

Generative Approaches to Language Acquisition (GALA) 1999

University of Potsdam, Germany

April 10-12, 1999

Deadline for abstract submission: March 1, 1999

Information: [www.ling.uni-potsdam.de/gala99](http://www.ling.uni-potsdam.de/gala99)

#### 1.2 Other News

#### A CONCORDANCE TO BIBLICAL GOTHIC

The Institute of Linguistics, University of Iceland and The University of Iceland Press will publish a complete concordance to biblical Gothic in two volumes, compiled by Magnus Snaedal.

Volume I (100 pages) contains an introduction and the Gothic texts the concordance is based upon. The concordance includes all Gothic texts in what can be called Biblical Gothic, i.e. the Old and New testament fragments and the Skeireins, the Gothic Calendar and the Deeds from Naples and Arezzo, the Gotica Veronensia and the Codex Vindobonensis 795. This means that Gothic runic inscriptions, Crimean Gothic, etc., are not included. The text underlying the concordance is based on the text in Streitberg's edition (Die gotische Bibel, 6th edition, 1971), i.e. the text of the Old and New Testament fragments. The texts of the minor fragments are taken from other sources. These, as well as other deviations from Streitberg's text, are explained in the introduction. A lot of emendations and corrections have been made to the text, especially the text of the Pauline epistles from the Ambrosian manuscripts. The introduction contains an overview of these emendations.

Volume II (1257 pages) contains the concordance proper, which is of the type 'keyword in context'. It is a fully lemmatised concordance containing all the words in the Gothic texts mentioned above. All syncretisms have been disambiguated. The examples of each word are arranged according to grammatical category and then ordered alphabetically according to the following context.

Information: birna@rhi.hi.is or malvis@rhi.hi.is

#### SOCIETY FOR GERMANIC PHILOLOGY

Readers of the Germanic Generative Syntax Newsletter may also be interested in the newsletter of the Society for Germanic Philology, accessible at <http://www.germanic.ohio-state.edu/Sgp/>

#### SURVEY OF ENGLISH USAGE

The Survey of English Usage, University College London, is pleased to announce the release of the ICE-GB corpus, the British component of the International Corpus of English (ICE).

ICE-GB is a fully parsed corpus of adult British English from the 1990s. It contains 300 spoken texts and 200 written texts - a total of 1 million words. The texts are distributed across 32 categories, including private conversations, telephone calls, court proceedings, broadcasts, social letters, examination scripts, and academic writing.

ICE-GB has been grammatically analysed at wordclass level, and at the function and category levels. The analyses are presented as labelled syntactic trees - 83,419 trees in total.

The corpus is distributed with its own dedicated retrieval software, ICECUP. ICE-GB and ICECUP are available now on CD-ROM. A Sample Corpus of ten parsed texts, together with ICECUP, may be downloaded free from our website, at <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/english-usage/>

(Department of English, University College London, Gower Street, London, WC1E 6BT UK.  
Email: [ucleseu@ucl.ac.uk](mailto:ucleseu@ucl.ac.uk))

\*\*\*\*\*

## 2. Lists

[entries marked with an asterisk (\*) have a corresponding abstract in section 3]

## 2.1 Books and dissertations

GRONINGER ARBEITEN ZUR GERMANISTISCHEN LINGUISTIK 42. Ed. by Werner Abraham. Department of German, University of Groningen, 1998.

Katharina HARTMANN. Right Node Raising and Gapping - Interface Conditions on Prosodic Deletion. PhD Dissertation, University of Frankfurt a.M., 1998. (\*)

Erhard HINRICHS et al., eds. Ein HPSG-Fragment des Deutschen. Arbeitspapiere des SFB 340, Nr. 95. University of Tuebingen.

Paulien RIJKHOEK. On Degree Phrases and Result Clauses. Dissertation, University of Groningen, 1998.

Uli SAUERLAND. The Meaning of Chains. Dissertation, MIT, 1998.

Carson SCHUETZE. INFL in Child and Adult Language: Agreement, Case, and Licensing. Dissertation, MIT, 1997.

Ingrid TIEKEN-BOON VAN OSTADE, Marijke VAN DER WAL, and Arjan VAN LEUVENSTEIJN, eds., DO in English, Dutch and German; history and present-day variation. Nodus Publikationen, Muenster, 1998.

Hubert TRUCKENBRODT. Phonological Phrases: their relation to syntax, focus, and prominence. Dissertation, MIT, 1995 (app. 1998).

Gert WEBELHUTH, Jean-Pierre KOENIG, and Andreas KATHOL. Lexical and Constructional Aspects of Linguistic Explanation. Stanford: CSLI Publications, 1999. Distributed by Cambridge University Press. (\*)

Helmut WEISS. Syntax des Bairischen. Studien zur Grammatik einer natuerlichen Sprache. Tuebingen: Niemeyer (Linguistische Arbeiten 391). (\*)

Suzi WURMBRAND. Infinitives. Dissertation, MIT, 1998. (\*)

\*\*\*\*\*

## 2.2 From the Journals

CANADIAN JOURNAL OF LINGUISTICS 42.3 (1997)

Hewson, John

Review of Birchfield, R. (ed.), English in Britain and Overseas: Origins and Development, Vol. 5 of The Cambridge History of the English Language. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995. 342-348.

Vandeloise, Claude

Review of Wibbelt, C. Z. (ed.), The Semantics of Prepositions: From Mental Processing to Natural Language Processing. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1993. 368-371.

JOURNAL OF CHILD LANGUAGE 25.2 (1998)

Koepcke, Klaus-Michael (\*)

The acquisition of plural marking in English and German revisited: schemata vs. rules. 293-319.

JOURNAL OF COMPARATIVE GERMANIC LINGUISTICS 1.3 (1997/1998)

Platzack, Christer and Inger Rosengren (\*)

On the Subject of Imperatives: A Minimalist Account of the Imperative Clause. 177-224.

Williams, Edwin

Review of Zwart, C.J.W., *The Morphosyntax of Verb Movement: A Minimalist Approach to the Syntax of Dutch*. Dordrecht: Kluwer, 1997. 263-272.

JOURNAL OF COMPARATIVE GERMANIC LINGUISTICS 2.1 (1998)

van Riemsdijk, Henk (\*)

Categorial Feature Magnetism: The Endocentricity and Distribution of Projections. 1-48.

Rohrbacher, Bernhard

Review of Anders Holmberg and Christer Platzack, *The Role of Inflection in Scandinavian Syntax*. Oxford University Press, 1995. 79-88.

JOURNAL OF LINGUISTICS 34.2 (1998)

Koopman, Willem

Review of Harris, A. C., and L. Campbell, *Historical syntax in cross-linguistic perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995. 515-520.

JOURNAL OF SEMANTICS 14.3 (1997)

Reis, Marga, and Inger Rosengren (\*)

A Modular Approach to the Grammar of Additive Particles: the Case of German 'auch'. 237-309.

LANGUAGE 74.2 (1998)

Suner, Margarita (\*)

Resumptive restrictive relatives: A crosslinguistic perspective. 335-364.

LANGUAGE ACQUISITION 6.4 (1997)

Rice, Mabel L., Karen Ruff Noll, and Hannelore Grimm (\*)

An Extended Optional Infinitive Stage in German-Speaking Children With Specific Language Impairment. 255-295.

LANGUAGE ACQUISITION 7.1 (1998)

Ingham, Richard (\*)

Tense without Agreement in Early Clause Structure. 51-81.

LANGUAGE VARIATION AND CHANGE 10.1 (1998)

Cornips, Leonie (\*)

Syntactic Variation, Parameters and Social Distribution. 1-21.

Geisler, Christer (\*)

Infinitival Relative Clauses in Spoken Discourse. 23-41.

LINGUA 105.3-4 (1998)

de Swart, Henriette (\*)  
Licensing of Negative Polarity Items under Inverse Scope. 175-200.

LINGUA 106.1-2 (1998)  
Hoekstra, Teun, and Nina Hyams (\*)  
Aspects of Root Infinitives. 81-112.  
Radford, Andrew (\*)  
Genitive Subjects in Child English. 113-131.

LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS 27.1-2 (1997)  
Acquaviva, Paolo  
Pronominal Variable Binding, NegP and Reconstruction. 3-25.  
Hatakeyama, Yuki  
An Analysis of Inverse Copula Sentences and the Theoretical Consequences for Clause Structure: A Feature Compositional Approach to the Split-CP Hypothesis. 26-65

LINGUISTIC INQUIRY 29.3 (1998)  
Baltin, Mark R.  
A Nonargument for Small Clauses as Constituents. 513-514.

LINGUISTIC INQUIRY 29.4 (1998)  
Richards, Norvin (\*)  
The Principle of Minimal Compliance. 599-629.  
Haegeman, Liliane (\*)  
Verb Movement in Embedded Clauses in West Flemish. 631-656.  
Dubinsky, Stanley, and Robert Hamilton  
Epithets as Antilogophoric Pronouns. 685-693.

THE LINGUISTIC REVIEW 14.3 (1997)  
Doherty, Cathal (\*)  
Clauses without Complementizers: Finite IP-Complementation in English. 197-220.  
Mueller, Gereon (\*)  
Partial Wh-Movement and Optimality Theory. 249-306.

THE LINGUISTIC REVIEW 15.2-3 (1998)  
Giannakidou, Anastasia, and Jason Merchant (\*)  
Reverse Sluicing in English and Greek. 233-256.

THE LINGUISTIC REVIEW 15.4 (1998)  
Helmantel, Marjon (\*)  
Simplex Adpositions and Vector Theory. 361-388.

LINGUISTIC TYPOLOGY 2.3 (1998)  
Mueller-Gotama, Franz  
Review of Ewald Lang and Gisela Zifonun, eds., *Deutsch--Typologisch*, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin. 404-410.

LINGUISTICS 36.3 (1998)  
Tenny, Carol

- Psych verbs and verbal passives in Pittsburghese. 591-597.
- LINGUISTICS 36.4 (1998)  
Behrens, Heike (\*)  
How Difficult are Complex Verbs? Evidence from German, Dutch and English. 679-712.
- LINGUISTICS 36.5 (1998)  
Comrie, Bernard  
Review of Sylvia Kouwenberg, *A Grammar of Berbice Dutch Creole*. Mouton De Gruyter, Berlin, 1994. 988-990.
- LINGUISTISCHE BERICHTE 175 (1998)  
Weiss, Helmut (\*)  
Logik und Sprache: Der Fall der doppelten Negation im Bairischen. 386-413.
- LINGUISTISCHE BERICHTE 176 (1998)  
Frey, Werner, and Karin Pittner (\*)  
Zur Positionierung der Adverbiale im deutschen Mittelfeld. 489-534.
- Molnarfi, Laszlo (\*)  
Kasusstrukturalitaet und strukturelle Kasus--zur Lage des Dativs im heutigen Deutsch. 535-580.
- Gunkel, Lutz  
Review of Tibor Kiss, *Infinitive Komplementation*. Neue Studien zum deutschen Verbum infinitum, Niemeyer, Tuebingen. 589-598.
- Steinbach, Markus  
Review of Uli Lutz and Juergen Pafel, eds, *On Extraction and Extraposition in German*, John Benjamins, Amsterdam. 601-609.
- NATURAL LANGUAGE AND LINGUISTIC THEORY 16.3 (1998)  
Alexiadou, Artemis, and Elena Anagnostopoulou (\*)  
Parametrizing AGR: Word Order, V-Movement and EPP-Checking. 491-539.
- van Riemsdijk, Henk (\*)  
Head Movement and Adjacency. 633-678.
- NATURAL LANGUAGE SEMANTICS 6.3 (1998)  
Schwarz, Bernhard (\*)  
Reduced Conditionals in German: Event Quantification and Definiteness. 271-301.
- SYNTAX. A JOURNAL OF THEORETICAL, EXPERIMENTAL, AND INTERDISCIPLINARY RESEARCH 1.2 (1998)  
Kayne, Richard S. (\*)  
Overt vs. Covert Movement. 128-191.
- SYNTAX. A JOURNAL OF THEORETICAL, EXPERIMENTAL, AND INTERDISCIPLINARY RESEARCH 1.3 (1998)  
Haegeman, Liliane (\*)  
V-Positions and the Middle Field in West Flemish. 259-299.
- WORD 49.1 (1998)



Krasukhin, Konstantin G.

Review of Thieroff, G., and J. Ballweg (eds.), *Tense systems in European languages*.  
Tuebingen: Max Niemeyer, 1994. 101-109.

WORD 49.2 (1998)

Lenker, Ursula

Review of Andersen, H. (ed.), *Historical linguistics 1993: selected papers from the 11th international conference on historical linguistics, Los Angeles, 16-20 August 1993*.  
Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1995. 278-286.

WORKING PAPERS IN SCANDINAVIAN SYNTAX 61 (June 1998)

Egerland, Verner

On Verb-Second Violations in Swedish and the Hierarchical Ordering of Adverbs. 1-22.

Josefsson, Gunloeg, and Christer Platzack

Short Raising of V and N in Mainland Scandinavian. 23-52.

Platzack, Christer

A Visibility Condition for the C-domain. 53-99.

Josefsson, Gunloeg

On the Licensing and Identification of (Optionally) Null Heads in Swedish. 101-126.

ZEITSCHRIFT FUER SPRACHWISSENSCHAFT 15.2 (1996)

Rauh, Gisa

Zur Struktur von Praepositionalphrasen im Englischen. 178-230.

Rapp, Irene (\*)

Zustand? Passiv? -- Ueberlegungen zum sogenannten "Zustandspassiv". 231-265.

Gunkel, Lutz

Review of Anita Steube and Gerhild Zybatow, eds., *Zur Ssatzwertigkeit von Infinitiven und Small Clauses*, Benjamins, Amsterdam. 273-282.

\*\*\*\*\*

## 2.3 From Edited Volumes

Artemis ALEXIADOU and Chris WILDER, eds. *Possessors, Predicates and Movement in the Determiner Phrase*. John Benjamins, Amsterdam, 1998.

Maaïke Schoorlemmer

Possessors, Articles, and Definiteness

Lars-Olof Delsing

Possession in Germanic

Thomas Lindauer

Attributive Genitive Constructions in German

Peter Gallmann

Case Underspecification in Morphology, Syntax, and the Lexicon

Marcel den Dikken

Predicate Inversion in DP

Norbert Corver

Predicate Movement in Pseudopartitive Constructions

Artemis Alexiadou and Chris Wilder  
Adjectival Modification and Multiple Determiners

A. de BRUYN and J. ARENDS, eds. 1998. Mengelwerk voor Muysken. Publicaties van het Instituut voor Algemene Taalwetenschap. Universiteit van Amsterdam.

Henk van Riemsdijk  
Syntax driven (crazy) by morphology: morphological effects in the choice of relativization strategies in Zurich German, 67-74.

NOAM CHOMSKY'S 70TH BIRTHDAY CELEBRATION SITE.  
<http://mitpress.mit.edu/celebration/>

Josef Bayer and Peter Suchsland  
Some Remarks on Expletives in German  
Anna Cardinaletti  
Case Checking in German impersonal Middles and Passives  
Liliane Haegeman  
Extraposition in the West Germanic SOV Languages  
Ken Hale and Samuel J. Keyser  
Bound Features, Merge, and Transitivity Alternations  
Richard S. Kayne  
A Note on Prepositions and Complementizers  
Howard Lasnik  
On a Scope Reconstruction Paradox  
Henk van Riemsdijk  
Trees and Scions--Science and Trees  
Nicholas Sobin  
A Brief Note on the That-trace (Non) Construction  
Jan-Wouter Zwart  
A Note on 'Principle C' in Ellipsis Constructions

Proceedings of CONSOLE 3. Antonietta Bisetti et al., eds, s.a. Distributed by Holland Academic Graphics, The Hague ([www.hagpub.com](http://www.hagpub.com)).

Gerhard Jaeger  
Topic, Scrambling, and Aktionsart  
Ellen-Petra Kester  
Adjectival Inflection and Conditions on Null Nouns  
Vidal Valmala Elguea  
VP-Ellipsis and the Syntax of Tense  
Anko Wiegel  
Icelandic Quirky NPs Revisited

Proceedings of CONSOLE 4. Joao Costa et al., eds, 1996. Distributed by Holland Academic Graphics, The Hague ([www.hagpub.com](http://www.hagpub.com)).

Eric Haeberli (\*)

C-subject (non)-adjacency in the Germanic Languages

Kerstin Hoge (\*)

Yiddish Object Fronting

Paulien Rijkhoek (\*)

Result Clauses: a conjunction analysis

Uli Sauerland (\*)

Guess How?

Oystein Alexander Vangsnes (\*)

A Configurational Approach to NP Interpretation

Proceedings of CONSOLE 5. Tina Cambier-Langeveld et al., eds., 1997. Distributed by Hollnad Academic Graphics, The Hague ([www.hagpub.com](http://www.hagpub.com)).

Jenny Doetjes (\*)

Measuring out, small clauses, and the semantics of telicity

Marie Christine Erb and Markus Steinbach (\*)

Middles: a view from German

Eric Haeberli (\*)

Expletives and Definite Subjects

Marjon Helmantel (\*)

Restrictions on Extraposition: PP-extraposition in Dutch

Kerstin Hoge (\*)

Yiddish Existential Sentences: neither here nor there?

Olaf Koenen (\*)

On V to I movement and flexible syntax

Susi Wurmbrand (\*)

Restructuring Infinitives

CORNELL WORKING PAPERS IN LINGUISTICS 16 (Spring 1998)

Chris Collins

A Note on Extraction from Conditionals

David Parkinson

Furniture and Equipment

Peter CULICOVER and Louise MCNALLY, eds. *The Limits of Syntax*. Syntax and Semantics 29. Academic Press, San Diego, 1998.

Ellen F. Prince

On the Limits of Syntax, with Reference to Left-Dislocation and Topicalization

Michael S. Rochemont

Phonological Focus and Structural Focus

Jan-Wouter Zwart

Where Is Syntax? Syntactic Aspects of Left-Dislocation in Dutch and English.

GRONINGER ARBEITEN ZUR GERMANISTISCHEN LINGUISTIK 42. Ed. by Werner Abraham. Department of German, University of Groningen. [to order, mail to: [abraham@let.rug.nl](mailto:abraham@let.rug.nl)]

Kleanthes K. Grohmann (\*)

Syntactic inquiries into discourse. Restrictions on multiple interrogatives.

John Edward Drury

The promise of derivations: atomic merge and multiple spell-out.

Jan-Wouter Zwart

Nonargument middles in Dutch.

Peter Ackema

On the relation between V-to-I and inflectional features.

Werner Abraham

Perfektpartizip: seine angebliche Passivbedeutung im Deutschen

Marjon Helmantel.

On the distribution of postpositions and particles in the verbal complex.

Anko Wiegel

Anaphors and pronouns: new insights.

Erhard HINRICHS, Andreas KATHOL, and Tsuneko NAKAZAWA, eds., Complex Predicates in Nonderivational Syntax (Syntax and Semantics 30). Academic Press, San Diego, 1998.

Gosse Bouma and Gertjan van Noord

Word Order Constraints on Verb Clusters in German and Dutch.

LINGUISTICS IN THE NETHERLANDS 1998. Edited by Renee van Bezooijen and Rene Kager. John Benjamins, Amsterdam, 1998. AVT Publications 15.

Sjef Barbiers

English and Dutch as SOV Languages and the Distribution of CP-Complements

Hans Bennis

Exclamatives!

Hans Broekhuis

Against Feature Strength

Irene Kraemer

Children's Interpretations of Indefinite Object Noun Phrases: Evidence from the Scope of Negation

MIT WORKING PAPERS IN LINGUISTICS 25 (1998). Working Papers in Syntax and Semantics, edited by Uli Sauerland and Orin Percus. MIT, Cambridge.

William Snyder

On the Aspectual Properties of English Derived Nominals  
Suzi Wurmbrand  
Downsizing Infinitives

MIT WORKING PAPERS IN LINGUISTICS 32 (1998). Papers from the UPenn/MIT Roundtable on Argument Structure and Aspect, edited by Heidi Harley. MIT, Cambridge.

Maya Arad

Are Unaccusatives Aspectually Characterized? (and other related questions)

Heidi Harley and Rolf Noyer

Licensing the Non-Lexicalist Lexicon: Nominalizations, Vocabulary Items, and the Encyclopedia

Angeliek van Hout and Thomas Roeper

Events and Aspectual Structure in Derivational Morphology

PENN WORKING PAPERS IN LINGUISTICS 4.2 (1997). Proceedings of the 21st Annual Penn Linguistics Colloquium.

Jochen Zeller (\*)

Against overt particle incorporation

Ingrid TIEKEN-BOON VAN OSTADE, Marijke VAN DER WAL, and Arjan VAN LEUVENSTEIJN, eds., DO in English, Dutch and German; history and present-day variation. Nodus Publikationen, Muenster, 1998.

Leonie Cornips (\*)

Habitual 'doen' in Heerlen Dutch

UCL WORKING PAPERS IN LINGUISTICS 9 (1997). Department of Phonetics and Linguistics, University College, London.

Jonathan R. White (\*)

Result Clauses and the Structure of Degree Phrases.

\*\*\*\*\*

## 2.4 Unpublished Material

Chomsky, Noam

Minimalist Inquiries: the Framework (2nd version). Ms., MIT.

Fuss, Eric. 1998. (\*)

- Zur Diachronie von Verbzweit. Die Entwicklung von Verbstellungsvarianten im Deutschen und Englischen. MA-thesis, University of Frankfurt.
- Grewendorf, Guenther. 1998. (\*)  
Multiple wh-fronting. Ms., University of Frankfurt a.M. To appear in: G. Tsoulas and B. Plunkett (eds), *Specifiers*. Oxford University Press.
- Grewendorf, Guenther, and Joachim Sabel. 1998. (\*)  
Scrambling in German and Japanese: Adjunction versus Multiple Specifiers. Ms., University of Frankfurt a.M. To appear in: *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory*.
- Grohmann, Kleanthes K. 1998.  
Infinitival Exclamatives. Ms., University of Maryland, College Park.  
[www.wam.umd.edu/~grohmann/ling/manuscripts]
- Grohmann, Kleanthes K. 1998.  
Wh-Extractions out of Wh-Ilsnads. Ms., University of Maryland, College Park.  
[www.wam.umd.edu/~grohmann/ling/manuscripts]
- Hamann, C., Z. Penner, and K. Lindner. 1997.  
German Impaired Grammar: 'Reference Time' Disorders as Indications for a Syntax-Discourse Interface Problem.
- Helmantel, Marjon. 1998.  
On the Distribution of Postpositions and Particles in the Verbal Complex. Ms., University of Leiden.
- Hinterhoelzl, Roland. 1997.  
An XP-Movement Account of Restructuring. Ms., USC.
- Hinterhoelzl, Roland. 1998.  
Licensing Movement and Stranding in the Westgermanic OV-Languages. Ms., USC.
- Hoekstra, Eric. 1998.  
On D-pronouns and the movement of topic features. Ms., Meertens Institute.
- Hroarsdottir, Thorbjorg. 1998.  
Verb Phrase Syntax in the History of Icelandic. Ms., University of Tromsø.
- Koopman, Hilda, and Anna Szabolcsi. 1998.  
Verbal Complexes. Ms., UCLA.
- Kural, Murat. 1998.  
Case Licensing and the Position of the English Verb. Ms., UC Irvine.
- de Kuthy, Kordula, and Walt Dettmar Meurers. 1998.  
On Partial Constituent Fronting in German. Ms., University of Tuebingen.
- Lasnik, Howard. 1998.  
Some Reconstruction Riddles. Ms., University of Connecticut.
- Molnarfi, Laszlo. 1998.  
Wortstellungsvariation und diskursfunktionale Ueberpruefung - 'vir' als Rhemamarkierer im Afrikaans. Ms., University of Tuebingen.
- van Riemsdijk, H.C. 1998.  
Wh-prefixes: the case of w@isch in Swiss German. Ms., University of Tilburg/Collegium Budapest.
- Sabel, Joachim. 1998. (\*)  
Coherent Infinitives in German, Polish, and Spanish. Ms., University of Frankfurt a.M. To appear in *Folia Linguistica*.
- Sabel, Joachim. 1998. (\*)  
Das Passiv im Deutschen. Derivationale Oekonomie vs. optionale Bewegung. Ms., University of Frankfurt a.M. To appear in *Linguistische Berichte*.
- Sabel, Joachim. 1998. (\*)

The MLC and the Typology of Island Violations. Ms., University of Frankfurt.  
Safir, Ken. 1998.

Vehicle Change and Reconstruction in A'-chains. Ms., Rutgers University.  
te Velde, John. 1998. (\*)

Assumptions about the Structure of Coordination. Ms., Oklahoma State University. To appear in proceedings volume of the Workshop on Ellipsis in Conjunction, held at the Research Center for Linguistics (Zentrum fuer Allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft, ZAS), Berlin, 2-3 Oct. 1998.

Williams, Edwin. 1998.

Possible Inflectional Systems. Ms., Princeton University.

Wijnen, Frank. 1998.

Verb Placement in Dutch Child Language: A Longitudinal Analysis. Ms., University of Utrecht.

Zwart, Jan-Wouter. 1998.

A Dynamic Theory of Binding. Ms., University of Groningen.

### 3. Abstracts

#### 3.1 Books and Dissertations

Katharina HARTMANN. 1998. Right Node Raising and Gapping - Interface Conditions on Prosodic Deletion. PhD Dissertation, University of Frankfurt a.M.

This thesis investigates ellipsis phenomena in German coordination concentrating mainly on two constructions, Right Node Raising (RNR) and Gapping. The aim is to show that no specific rule is necessary to derive the properties of ellipsis in these constructions which are argued to be epiphenomenal to general principles of focussing and accenting. More specifically, it is shown that ellipsis in coordination takes place at PF being constrained by prosodic, syntactic and semantic conditions. It turns out that RNR and Gapping exhibit many similarities with respect to the constraining prosodic and semantic conditions; differences concern above all the impact of syntax, which is shown to constrain the remnant's shape in Gapping but not in RNR constructions.

Gert WEBELHUTH, Jean-Pierre KOENIG, and Andreas KATHOL. 1999. Lexical and Constructional Aspects of Linguistic Explanation. Stanford: CSLI Publications. Distributed by Cambridge University Press.

This anthology draws together leading linguists, logicians, and computer scientists working on Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar and Construction Grammar. Covering a wide array of linguistic topics and languages, the papers in this book document the singular ability of lexicalist theories of grammar to provide analyses which combine the advantages of explanatoriness, analytic precision, and thorough empirical data coverage. Topics that are discussed include: argument structure, idiomatic constructions, case and agreement, anaphora and ellipsis, syntactic locality and nonlocality, quantification, word structure, issues in processing and formalization, and unbounded dependencies.

Helmut WEISS. Syntax des Bairischen. Studien zur Grammatik einer natuerlichen Sprache. Tuebingen: Niemeyer (Linguistische Arbeiten 391)

This is the first systematic study of the syntax of a German dialect to combine the findings of modern syntactic theory with other linguistic areas (diachrony, morphology, semantics, discourse representation theory) for the purpose of analyzing syntactic phenomena. First, a theoretically crucial distinction is made between first-order and second-order natural languages assigning dialects to the first of these classes and arguing that this makes them the most appropriate objects of linguistic study. Four chapters are then devoted to central features of Bavarian syntax with a view to gaining insight into the functional system of a natural language. The results thus obtained confirm the necessity of such an undertaking.

Suzi WURMBRAND. Infinitives. Dissertation, MIT, 1998.

This dissertation is an investigation of the structure of control infinitives, the mechanism of control, and the general architecture of clauses involving auxiliaries and modals.

The dissertation challenges the idea that control infinitives are represented uniformly by a clausal (CP) structure. It is argued that control infinitives of a certain well-defined class are best analyzed as simple VP-complements that do not involve an embedded subject. The structure of VP-infinitives is motivated by five sets of properties that systematically differ from the properties of clausal control infinitives. First, VP-infinitives do not allow complementizer and wh-material (chapter two). Second, VP-infinitives do not exhibit tense related properties-VP-infinitives (in contrast to clausal infinitives) do not contribute independent tense information, and overt tense marker and modification of the embedded tense are prohibited in VP-infinitives (chapter two). Third, VP-infinitives do not involve a structural case position. Rather, the embedded object is assigned case by the matrix predicate (chapter three). Fourth, VP-infinitives do not involve an embedded syntactic subject (chapter four). Fifth, VP-infinitives are characterized as properties rather than as propositions semantically (chapter five).

The second major contribution of this dissertation is that it provides a new approach to control. It is argued that there are two forms of control: syntactic or variable control vs. semantic or obligatory control. In contrast to previous theories, however, it is argued that only syntactic control--which correlates with non-VP-infinitives--is a relation between an antecedent and an embedded syntactic PRO-subject. VP-infinitives, which do not have a syntactic subject, involve semantic control (chapter four) which is to be understood in terms of a semantic entailment relation. Finally, this dissertation investigates constructions with complex verb phrases. It is argued that modal verbs and raising verbs in German are functional categories that are generated outside the VP in some inflectional head (chapter six).

\*\*\*\*\*

### 3.2 Articles and Papers



Alexiadou, Artemis, and Elena Anagnostopoulou. 1998. Parametrizing AGR: Word Order, V-Movement and EPP-Checking. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 16.3, 491-539.

The paper investigates a number of asymmetries in the behavior of subjects in Germanic, Celtic/Arabic, Romance, and Greek. The languages under investigation divide into two main groups with respect to a cluster of properties, including the availability of pro-drop with referential subjects, the possibility of VSO/VOS orders, the A/A' status of subjects in SVO orders, the presence/absence of Definiteness Restriction (DR)-effects in unaccusative constructions, the existence of verb-raising independently of V-2, and others. We argue that the key factor in this split is a parametrization in the way the Extended Projection Principle (EPP) is checked: move/merge XP vs. move/merge Xo. The first option is taken in Germanic, the second in Celtic, Greek, and Romance. According to our proposal, the EPP relates to checking of a nominal feature of AGR (cf. Chomsky 1995), and move/merge Xo languages satisfy the EPP via V-raising, as their verbal agreement morphology includes the requisite nominal feature (cf. Taraldsen 1978). Moreover, we demonstrate that the further differences that exist between Celtic/Arabic on the one hand and Romance/Greek on the other are related to the parametric availability of Spec,TP for subjects (cf. Jonas and Bobaljik 1993, Bobaljik and Jonas 1996). In Celtic and Arabic, Spec,TP for subjects is licensed, resulting in VSO orders with VP external subjects. In Greek and Romance, Spec,TP is not licensed, resulting in 'subject inverted' orders with VP internal subjects. In other words, we show that within the class of move/merge Xo languages, a further partition emerges which is due to the same parameter dividing Germanic languages into two major classes. We demonstrate that combining the proposed EPP/AGR parameter with the Spec,TP parameter gives four language-types with distinct properties.

Behrens, Heike. 1998. How Difficult are Complex Verbs? Evidence from German, Dutch and English. *Linguistics* 36.4, 679-712.

Most research on the acquisition of verbs has focused on acquiring the syntactic category 'verb' and on the verb's argument structure. It is assumed that due to their specific syntactic nature verbs are acquired in a different fashion than nouns, and that due to their specific semantic nature verbs do not simply denote activities or situations but rather package meaning components in a (language-)specific way. This paper refines the problem of acquiring verbs by paying attention to differences in the internal constituency of the verb lexicon in three closely related West Germanic languages--German, Dutch, and English. It is argued that the verb lexicon is not a uniform class but consists of various semantically or morphologically defined subsets, most notably simplex verbs like 'cover' and complex verbs like 'uncover' and 'cover up'. It is shown that while complex verbs do not form an acquisition problem per se, not all (groups of) verbs are acquired in the same fashion and with the same ease. In particular, differences in the acquisition of particle and prefix verbs are discussed as well as differences in the lexical diversity of the verbal subsets in the three languages under investigation.

Cornips, Leonie. 1998. Syntactic variation, parameters and their social distribution. *Language Variation and Change* 10.1, 1-21.

This paper concerns the interrelation between the theoretical status and the social dimensions of syntactic variation in Heerlen Dutch. I will discuss syntactic variation in Heerlen Dutch which consists of (i) a range of dative constructions which are acceptable in the Heerlen dialect but unacceptable in Standard Dutch and (ii) Standard Dutch variants of the dative constructions which are rare in the Heerlen dialect. The theoretical primitive causing syntactic variation is taken to be the different values or settings of a parameter. Although all local dialect constructions in Heerlen Dutch seem superficially similar for they are construed with a dative NP or the reflexive *zich*, I will argue that these constructions must be attributed to two distinct parameters. The different social distributions of the dative constructions in Heerlen Dutch are a confirmation that two distinct parameters are involved.

Cornips, Leonie. 1998. Habitual 'doen' in Heerlen Dutch. In Ingrid Tieken-Boon van Ostade, Marijke van der Wal & Arjan van Leuvensteijn, eds., *DO in English, Dutch and German. History and present-day variation*. Muenster: Nodus Publikationen.

In this paper I argue that the grammatical status of the regional 'doen' [do] construction as in (1) in regional Dutch varieties has always been misunderstood due to its absence in Standard Dutch. I argue that the 'doen'+infinitive construction in Heerlen Dutch expresses activities of the agents that have a regular pattern and, in contrast, do not have an incidental reading. I will therefore argue that 'doen' determines the aspectual properties of the entire sentence, that is to say, the use of 'doen' brings about an event structure in which an event is depicted as habitual (presentational aspect). This can be accounted for if we assume that 'doen' indicates a functional projection *AspPhrase* which must be outside the VP. More specifically, I will assume the base structure in (1b).

- (1) HD a. Ik NP1 doe werken V-INF  
           I do work  
       b. [IP [I' [ASPP [ASP' doen [VP NP1 [V' V]]]]]]

An argument for 'doen' being the aspectual head derives from the fact that in the corpus 'doen' always appears as an auxiliary and, hence, never shows up as a past participle. The misunderstandings in the literature concerning this regional construction is a consequence of the assumption that grammars of regional varieties must reflect the grammar of the Standard language in some sense.

Doetjes, Jenny. 1997. Measuring out, small clauses, and telicity. *Proceedings of ConSole 5*, 15-28.

The syntactic generalizations regarding the influence arguments can have on the telicity properties of the predicate with which they are combined (the measuring out effect) can be nicely accounted for by an analysis based on resultative small clauses, in accordance with Hoekstra (1992). Hoekstra's analysis cannot, however, account for the semantics of the measuring out effect. In this paper I give arguments in favour of an alternative to Hoekstra's theory, in which resultatives contain an empty inchoative auxiliary. The auxiliary is responsible for the measuring out effect, the semantics of which can be accounted for in terms of Krifka (1992).

Doherty, Cathal. 1997. Clauses without Complementizers: Finite

IP-Complementation in English. *The Linguistic Review* 14.3, 197-220.

Finite subordinate clauses in English which lack an overt complementizer ('that'-less clauses) have been analyzed either as CPs with a null head (the CP-hypothesis) or as finite IP complements (the IP-hypothesis). This paper provides novel evidence from adverbial adjunction facts in favor of the IP-hypothesis. An immediate consequence is the loss of the Empty Category Principle account of the distribution of 'that'-less clauses (Stowell 1981). However, it is shown that this is not a serious objection as the ECP account is problematic in many respects. The IP analysis resonates with several strands of current research, being compatible both with the research program which seeks to eliminate c-selection in favor of s-selection (for example Pesetsky 1991) and with recent approaches which seek to eliminate superfluous levels of projection (Chomsky 1995; Grimshaw 1994).

Frey, Werner, and Karin Pittner. 1998. Zur Positionierung der Adverbiale im deutschen Mittelfeld. *Linguistische Berichte* 176, 489-534.

In this paper, we argue that there are base positions for adverbials in the middle field of the German sentence. By using a set of tests for determining base positions it is established that there are five classes of adverbials as far as their base positions are concerned: (I) frame adverbials, (II) sentence adverbials, (III) event-related adverbials, (IV) event-internal adverbials, and (V) proces-related adverbials. Within these classes, there may be semantic preferences for a certain order, but this order is not syntactically determined. The base position of these classes and their c-command-relations reflect their semantic relations to the rest of the sentence. Finally, we show that there is evidence for scrambling among members of the different classes of adverbials and it is shown that scrambling of adverbials is a meaningful concept within a projective grammar.

Fuss, Eric. 1998. Zur Diachronie von Verbzweit. Die Entwicklung von Verbstellungsvarianten im Deutschen und Englischen. MA-thesis, University of Frankfurt.

This M.A. thesis focuses on the development of the well-known V/2 property in the history of English and German. Based on a descriptive study of different historical stages, it is argued that a form of residual V/2 represents the historical origin of the V/2 phenomena in the modern Germanic languages. Particularly, Old English (OE) and Old High German (OHG) show significant syntactic symmetries concerning the positions of clitics and finite verbs, which suggest a uniform theoretical treatment. The thesis includes a discussion of several analyses hitherto developed in the P&P framework. Subsequently, the development of V/2 from OE and OHG to modern English and German, respectively, is outlined. The last chapter offers an alternative explanation of the historical facts. Couched in a minimalist framework, the residual V/2 character of OE and OHG is analyzed in terms of varying feature specifications of C<sub>0</sub> and T<sub>0</sub>. In these languages, only C<sub>0</sub> bearing operator-features (e.g. in questions) could attract the finite verb; normal declaratives are analyzed as "pseudo-V/2" constructions, involving topicalization of an element to SpecCP and movement of the finite verb to T<sub>0</sub> (cf. Kroch & Taylor 1997). Furthermore, it is argued that the distribution of clitic elements can be easily explained as overt movement of formal feature bundles (triggered by a weak EPP-feature) along the lines of Roberts (1998). On these assumptions, the loss of "pseudo-V/2" in the Middle English period is conceived of as an epiphenomenon, resulting

from the independently motivated development of a strong EPP-feature. In German, however, a minimal difference concerning the distribution of clitics facilitated a reanalysis of the structural position of the verb, leading to obligatory V-to-C in all unembedded declaratives.

Geisler, Christer. 1998. Infinitival Relative Clauses in Spoken Discourse. *Language Variation and Change* 10.1, 23-41.

This article concerns infinitival relative clauses, such as 'Mary is the person to ask', and their distribution in spoken English. It analyzes the correlation between the function of the antecedent in the relative clause and the function of the whole post-modified NP (the relative complex) in the matrix clause. On the basis of a quantitative analysis of a corpus of spoken British English, I show that the grammatical function of the antecedent in the infinitival relative clause depends on the function of the antecedent in the matrix clause. I argue that the distribution of antecedent functions in the matrix clause can be explained in terms of thematic properties and information structure of the clauses in which the infinitival relatives occur. A key notion is that speakers center their discourse around information that they assume to be important for the communicative event.

Giannakidou, Anastasia, and Jason Merchant. 1998. Reverse Sluicing in English and Greek. *The Linguistic Review* 15.2-3, 233-256.

In this article we identify and analyze a novel elliptical phenomenon in English and Greek which we dub reverse sluicing. We show that a complete account of reverse sluicing follows from an extension of the analysis of sluicing proposed in Chung, Ladusaw, and McCloskey (1995). Chung et al.'s operation of IP-copy, which reconstructs a missing IP at LF, supplemented by the standard Heimian analysis of indefinites, can successfully capture the facts in Greek. We discuss the difference between Greek and English and argue that these differences can be reduced to an independent difference in the availability of certain empty categories in the two languages. We claim further that the copy theory of movement (Chomsky 1995) provides a natural account for the restrictions on the interpretation of the indefinite variables involved.

Grewendorf, Guenther. 1998. Multiple wh-fronting. Ms., University of Frankfurt a.M. To appear in: G. Tsoulas and B. Plunkett (eds), *Specifiers*. Oxford University Press.

This article presents a novel account of multiple wh-fronting. I will argue that overt multiple wh-fronting in languages like Bulgarian and Romanian does not consist of separately moving individual wh-elements to SpecCP but rather of moving a single wh-cluster to SpecCP, the formation of which takes place prior to movement to SpecCP. The formation of wh-clusters is motivated by the assumption that wh-elements can act as landing sites for wh-movement and depends on a constraint stated in terms of L-relatedness. I will argue that languages such as Japanese and Chinese constitute covert instances of this process of wh-cluster formation, demonstrating that intricate constraints on multiple wh-questions in these languages such as the so-called "additional-wh effect" can be derived from this analysis. Another central claim of the paper is that despite appearances, multiple wh-questions in German equally involve the formation of wh-clusters. Adopting the Spell-out at LF hypothesis according to which all

movement (overt as well as covert) takes place before Spell-out makes it possible to analyze the German wh-clusters as consisting of one visible and one or more invisible wh-elements. Evidence for this analysis comes from the fact that it provides a new account for the lack of "short" and the presence of "long" superiority effects in German as well as for several intricate restrictions on multiple wh-questions in German. Finally, I will review Hornstein's (1995) weak crossover account of the superiority effect and compare this account with the analysis of German multiple wh-questions developed in the present paper. This analysis not only fares well with a weak crossover account of superiority but also receives independent support from such an account when it comes to the analysis of multiple wh-questions with overtly extracted wh-adjuncts.

Grewendorf, Guenther, and Joachim Sabel. 1998. Scrambling in German and Japanese: Adjunction versus Multiple Specifiers. Ms., University of Frankfurt a.M. To appear in: *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory*.

This paper argues that short (clause-internal) scrambling to a pre-subject position has A-properties in Japanese but A'-properties in German, while long scrambling (scrambling across sentence boundaries) from finite clauses, which is possible in Japanese but not in German, has A'-properties throughout. It is shown that these differences between German and Japanese can be traced back to parametric variation of phrase structure and the parameterized properties of functional heads. Due to the properties of Agreement, sentences in Japanese may contain multiple (Agro- and Agrs-) specifiers whereas German does not allow for this. In Japanese, a scrambled element may be located in a Spec AgrP, i.e. an A- or L-related position, whereas scrambled NPs in German can only appear in an AgrP-adjoined (broadly-L-related) position, which only has A'-properties. Given our assumption that successive cyclic adjunction is generally impossible, elements in German may not be long scrambled because a scrambled element that is moved to an adjunction site inside an embedded clause may not move further. In Japanese, long distance scrambling out of finite CPs is possible since scrambling may proceed in a successive cyclic manner via embedded Spec- (AgrP) positions. Our analysis of the differences between German and Japanese scrambling provides us with an account of further contrasts between the two languages such as the existence of surprising asymmetries between German and Japanese remnant-movement phenomena, and the fact that unlike German, Japanese freely allows wh-scrambling. Investigation of the properties of Japanese wh-movement also leads us to the formulation of the "Wh-cluster Hypothesis", which implies that Japanese is an LF multiple wh-fronting language.

Grohmann, Kleanthes K. 1998. Syntactic Inquiries into Discourse Restrictions on Multiple Interrogatives. In Werner Abraham, ed., *Groninger Arbeiten zur germanistischen Linguistik* 42, 1-60.

Multiple interrogatives in German involve highly thematic Wh-elements. This is captured by the notion of "Discourse-Restricted Quantification" (DRQ): discourse restrictions in German (and possibly other languages, though not English) force both Wh-elements in double questions (Multiple Wh) to move to a syntactically thematic position which is assumed to be a functional projection in an articulated CP-structure; this projection is Top(ic)P. This movement is motivated by an underlyingly complex structure assigned to the elements which in turn has overt realizations that can be found in (interrogative) partitives. The movement is

instantiated similarly to pre-subject scrambling, independently taken to be topicalization. The higher Wh-topic then moves to CP in order to check the Wh-feature; the other Wh checks its Wh-feature covertly. Evidence from a number of languages shows interesting correlations of Wh-movement and Topicalization supporting this proposal. Semantically, the scope of multiple Wh-phrases in German is subject to DRQ: the sets of referents for both Wh-elements are limited in that they must be known to speaker and hearer. The differences between German and English will be addressed and there is also plenty of cross-linguistic discussion. A wide range of phenomena are scrutinized here, including (but not exclusively) Wh-adjuncts, Wh-islands and child language. The upshot is that a conception of Wh-topics is not only more natural than one would think at first but also superior to any other account presently made public in the minimalist literature.

Haerberli, Eric. 1996. C-Subject (Non-)adjacency in the Germanic Languages. *Proceedings of ConSole 4*, 81-96.

The Germanic Verb Second languages vary with respect to the occurrence of adjuncts between the finite verb and a definite subject in main clauses and between the complementizer and a definite subject in subordinate clauses. In some languages adjuncts can occur in pre-subject position, in some other languages such orders are ruled out. In this paper I will argue that this variation can be related to other grammatical properties of the languages under consideration, namely the licensing of expletive *pro*, the presence or absence of agreement morphology, and the occurrence of oblique subjects.

Haegeman, Liliane. 1998. Verb Movement in Embedded Clauses in West Flemish. *Linguistic Inquiry* 29.4, 631-656.

This article analyzes aspects of the distribution of West Flemish verbs in terms of Kayne's (1994) antisymmetry approach. The distribution of the auxiliary in the Infinitivus pro Participio (IPP) construction provides evidence for three functional heads in the lower middle field: Neg, T, and F2. The word order in the IPP construction is derived by head movement of the auxiliary and XP-movement of the IPP complement. The IPP complement moves to [Spec, FP2] to check its formal features; the finite auxiliary moves either to F2 or to a higher functional head, T or Neg; the nonfinite auxiliary remains in F2. The analysis accounts for the finite/nonfinite asymmetry in the distribution of the negative affix \*en\*. The article includes concrete proposals for the implementation of feature checking.

Haegeman, Liliane. 1998. V-Positions and the Middle Field in West Flemish. *Syntax* 1.3, 259-299.

The distribution of the finite verb in the West Flemish Infinitivus Pro Participio construction provides evidence for embedded V-movement in the lower Middle Field of the West Germanic SOV languages. Two functional heads are postulated in the lower Middle Field, F1 (which checks tense and negation) and F2 (which checks aspect). FP1 dominates FP2. Finite verbs may remain in F2, or move to F1 (depending on feature strength), infinitives remain in F2. The analysis accounts for the finite/nonfinite asymmetry in the distribution of the negative head 'en' in West Flemish and provides indirect support for Kayne's antisymmetry hypothesis.

West Flemish bare infinitival complements remain to the right of F2, IPP complements occupy the specifier position of FP2, and past participles incorporate to F1. A parallelism between DP-positions and the positions of nonfinite verbal complements is explored in the final part of the paper.

Helmantel, Marjon. 1998. Simplex Adpositions and Vector Theory. *The Linguistic Review* 15.4, 361-388.

In this article I adopt [Joost] Zwarts's vector analysis for locative prepositions. I will formulate [Zwarts's] correlation between vector properties and modification as a causal relation. Subsequently, vector theory is extended to (i) the locational/directional distinction for prepositions, (ii) the semantic difference between pre- en postpositions and (iii) a subdivision within the class of postpositions. It is argued that in all these cases vector properties account for the distribution of modifiers. Vector theory proves to be fruitful in the adpositional domain in that it provides a unified classification mechanism and makes correct predictions about possible modification, both in locative and directional PPs.

Hoekstra, Teun, and Nina Hyams. 1998. Aspects of Root Infinitives. *Lingua* 106.1-2, 81-112.

This paper discusses the phenomenon of root infinitives (RI) in child language, focusing on a distributional restriction on the verbs that occur in this construction, viz., event-denoting verbs, as well as on a related aspect of interpretation, viz. that RIs receive modal interpretations. The modality of the construction is traced to the infinitival morphology, while the eventivity restriction is derived from the modal meaning. In contrast, the English bare form, which is often taken to instantiate the RI-phenomenon, does not seem to be subject to the eventivity constraint, nor do we find a modal reference effect. This confirms the analysis, which traces these to the infinitival morphology itself, which is absent in English.

The approach not only provides a precise characterization of the distribution of the RI-phenomenon within and across languages; it also explains differences between the English bare form phenomenon and the RI-construction in languages with genuine infinitives by reference to the morphosyntax of the languages involved. The fact that children appear to be sensitive to these distinctions in the target systems at such an early age supports the general thesis of Early Morphosyntactic Convergence, which the authors argue is a pervasive property of the acquisition process.

Hoge, Kerstin. 1996. Yiddish Object Fronting. *Proceedings of ConSole 4*, 113-126.

This paper discusses fronted object constructions in Yiddish and argues that Yiddish object fronting constitutes focus movement. Previous analyses of Yiddish phrase structure, viz. the 'generalised IP approach' and the 'CP-recursion analysis', are shown to confront empirical problems related to binding facts, extraction phenomena and expletive subject constructions. In the final section of the paper, an alternative phrase structure is presented which makes use of an articulated IP and includes a Focus Phrase.

Ingham, Richard. 1998. Tense without Agreement in Early Clause Structure. *Language Acquisition* 7.1, 51-81.

Research has provided evidence for an Optional Infinitive (OI) stage of syntactic development, raising the issue of when and how children leave this stage. This article reports case study data from a British child age 2;6 to 2;9, which indicates a stage in development without a subject agreement projection (AgrSP) but with a tense phrase (TP). Negation and adverbial positioning indicated at least one functional projection above verb phrase (VP). A sharp contrast in the use of verb forms was observed, indicating that the child had left the OI stage: Bare verb forms were almost entirely restricted to present-time referring contexts, whereas in past-time referring contexts morphologically marked verb forms were almost always used. Other reflexes of tense, such as modals, were plentiful. However, the Case and agreement contrasts that would support an AgrSP were virtually absent in clauses. Because in nominals Case and agreement were regularly observed, the child's lack of Case and agreement in clauses is attributed to a clausal architecture without AgrSP rather than to a general inability to represent Case and agreement relations.

Kayne, Richard S. 1998. Overt vs. Covert Movement. *Syntax* 1.2, 128-191.

In a number of cases (involving, e.g., negation, 'only', reverse scope of 'some' and 'every', ACD) where covert (LF) phrasal movement has been postulated, it is possible and advantageous to dispense with covert movement (including feature raising) and replace it with a combination of overt movements of phonetically realized phrases.

The strongest interpretation of this conclusion is that the cases explicitly considered are typical. UG leaves no choice: Scope must be expressed hierarchically, there are no covert LF phrasal movements permitted by UG, and neither can the effect of covert phrasal movement be achieved by feature raising. Scope reflects the interaction of merger and overt movement.

Koepcke, Klaus-Michael. 1998. The acquisition of plural marking in English and German revisited: schemata vs. rules. *Journal of Child Language* 25.2, 293-319.

This article contributes to a debate in the linguistic and psychological literature that centres around the representation of morphologically complex words in the grammar and in the lexicon. The issue is whether inflectional morphology is rule-based (i.e. symbolically represented), or whether the assumption of pattern association is more adequate to account for the facts. On the basis of the analysis of acquisitional data the article argues strongly for the latter alternative. In a classic experiment that helped shape the development of acquisition theory Berko (1958) reported substantial support for ITEM-AND-PROCESS rules in the acquisition of plural morphology in English. A large part of her results were zero responses (repetition of the stimulus). A reinterpretation of these zero responses in light of schema theory and the cue strength hypothesis shows a striking departure from randomness. Berko's subjects tended to repeat stimuli just to the extent that these already resembled a plural schema. A reinterpretation of data reported in Innes (1974) achieved compatible results. This data set is far more extensive than Berko's and is used in the present study to put the schema model to a more stringent test. A reinterpretation of a parallel experiment with German children, using the cue strength analysis of the more complex plural morphology of German yielded parallel results. Finally, natural acquisitional data obtained from seven German speaking children aged between 2;1 and 2;9 are analysed. Again, strong support is found for the schema model. It is suggested that a schema-learning mechanism may underlie the acquisition of morphology, even when the end product of the learning process involves



item-and-process rules, as in the case of English plural formation. In a schema-learning model, the child builds schematic representations for possible singular and plural lexical items as whole gestalts, and attempts to map concrete forms onto these schemata in deciding whether the forms have singular or plural value.

Molnarfi, Laszlo. 1998. Kasusstrukturalitaet und struktureller Kasus -- zur Lage des Dativs im heutigen Deutsch. *Linguistische Berichte* 176, 535-580.

It is argued here that, under certain configurational conditions, dative can be thought to be the morphological realization of a structural case index in German. It will be shown that the theoretical uncertainty with regard to its typological status is due to two relevant factors: the empirical-methodological shortcomings of the English-oriented case concept of Government and Binding Theory and the Minimalist Program respectively (Chomsky 1981, 1993) and the misunderstanding of the role dative plays in the so-called dative passive in German. This paper provides a unified account of its structurality, elaborating primarily a functional concept of case, following the insights of Czepluch (1988) and Haider (1993) and presenting a theoretically adequate, structural solution to the dative passive problem.

Mueller, Gereon. 1997. Partial Wh-Movement and Optimality Theory. *The Linguistic Review* 14.3, 249-306.

Partial Wh-movement constructions in German and Hungarian exhibit a number of properties that are unexpected under standard approaches to movement. In contrast, I will show that these properties follow directly under an optimality-theoretic approach to Wh-dependencies. This approach is primarily devised so as to account for languages like English, Korean, and Bulgarian, and centers around six general and commonly accepted constraints (Proj-Prin, Der-Econ, Wh-Crit, Full-Int, Min-Chain, and Bar-Con). However, it turns out that the properties of partial Wh-movement constructions of both the German and the Hungarian type correspond exactly to one specific ranking of these constraints. On a more general note, the analysis presented here provides arguments for postulating complete derivations as members of the reference set, and for constructing the reference set via LF identity.

Platzack, Christer and Inger Rosengren. 1997/1998. On the Subject of Imperatives: A Minimalist Account of the Imperative Clause. *The Journal of Comparative Germanic Linguistics* 1.3, 177-224.

This paper presents a structural account of imperative clauses where the theoretical cornerstones are the Minimalist Program of Chomsky (1995) and the analysis of the C-domain in Rizzi (1995). According to Rizzi, the C-domain has at least two parts, the outward facing ForceP, a sentence type projection where information of the type of the clause is represented, and an inward facing part, FinP, related to tense and mood. We argue in this paper that the main difference between imperative clauses and other sentence types is the lack of FinP and hence finiteness in imperative clauses; having no FinP, imperative clauses also lack MoodP and TP. The imperative clause is thus less articulated compared with the declarative and interrogative clauses. From the lack of FinP follow the three most salient properties of imperative clauses: the morphologically meagre form of the verb, the

impossibility of embedding imperative clauses, and the lack of a prototypical subject. The last mentioned fact has the consequence that an imperative clause can never be used to refer to the addressee in the same way that a declarative and interrogative clause can: imperative clauses can only be used to talk TO the addressee, not ABOUT him or her. We support our theoretical approach by empirical evidence drawn mainly from German, English and Mainland Scandinavian.

Radford, Andrew. 1998. Genitive Subjects in Child English. *Lingua* 106.1-2, 113-131.

This chapter provides an analysis of children's so-called 'genitive subjects' (like 'my' in 'my want one') within the framework of Principles and Parameters theory. Child clauses with genitive subjects have been argued to have a very different syntactic structure from their adult counterparts, viz. to be nominal rather than clausal, or VPs rather than IPs, or projections of an underspecified (rather than a fully specified) INFL. I argue that the distribution of children's genitive subjects shows conclusively that the structures containing them are clauses rather than nominals. I go on to challenge the traditional analysis of 'her/my/our/its' subjects as genitive pronouns, arguing instead that 'her' subjects are objective, 'my/its' subjects function as strong nominative pronouns for the children who use them, and that 'our' subjects result from a lexical gap in the child's pronoun paradigm. I conclude that there is no evidence that English children go through a 'genitive subjects' stage, and hence no evidence that the grammars developed by two- and three-year old children are radically different from their adult counterparts.

Rapp, Irene. 1996. Zustand? Passiv? -- Ueberlegungen zum sogenannten "Zustandspassiv". *Zeitschrift fuer Sprachwissenschaft* 15.2, 231-265.

In vielen Grammatiken findet sich neben Aktiv und Vorgangspassiv ein drittes Genus verbi: das Zustandspassiv. Diese Kategorie wird in meinem Aufsatz gaenzlich eliminiert. Unter der Praemisse, dass die semantische Struktur von Lexemen nur in der Wortbildung, nicht aber in der Syntax veraendert wird, muss das "Zustandspassiv" durchweg als Kopula + Adjektiv-Konstruktion analysiert werden. Dies gilt insbesondere auch fuer Strukturen mit adverbialen Bestandteilen sowie fuer unpersoeliche Konstruktionen. Ziel des Aufsatzes ist es folglich, eine semantisch motivierte Vereinfachung des grammatischen Systems zu erreichen.

Reis, Marga, and Inger Rosengren. 1997. A Modular Approach to the Grammar of Additive Particles: the Case of German 'auch'. *Journal of Semantics* 14.3, 237-309.

In this paper we give a modular approach of the grammar of additive particles. In doing this we take issue with the standard description of focus particles, which are based on just one possible pattern: the particle preceding the main stressed constituent it relates to (its RC). Additive particles, however, occur in a second, equally unmarked pattern: the RC preceding the main stressed particle. Former accounts do not only miss this complementary distribution as to position and stress pattern relative to the RC, but, as we demonstrate in detail, they misrepresent the relation between syntax, semantics, and focus structure of these (and similar) particles in general.

Using German 'auch' as our prime example, we argue in particular (i) that there is just one 'auch' underlying the +/- stressed variants, and that the complementary distribution cannot be explained by a movement analysis; (ii) that the set of alternatives the 'auch' proposition P and some contextually given proposition Q induced by 'auch' belong to, is not supplied by the focus structure of P but by comparing P and Q; (iii) that the syntactic scope of 'auch' is crucial for its semantics in that the adding operation applies to the material it contains, no matter whether it is the RC or predicative material common to P, Q; (iv) that the complementary distribution of +/- stressed 'auch' follows from the modular interaction of the syntax and semantics of 'auch' with focus structure; (v) that 'auch' gives rise to two utterance meanings, 'in addition/furthermore' and 'likewise', directly correlating with whether or not the scope of 'auch' contains RC material. What we argue, in short, is that so-called 'focus particles' are in reality 'scope particles'.

Rice, Mabel L., Karen Ruff Noll, and Hannelore Grimm. 1997. An Extended Optional Infinitive Stage in German-Speaking Children With Specific Language Impairment. *Language Acquisition* 6.4, 255-295.

An extended period of Optional Infinitives (OIs) has been identified in young English-speaking children with specific language impairment (SLI; Rice and Wexler (1996b), Rice, Wexler, and Cleave (1995)). Poeppel and Wexler (1993) argued that an OI period exists in young unaffected German-speaking children. In this investigation, predictions are formulated for an extended OI stage in German-speaking children with SLI and evaluated in a clinical sample of 8 young German-speaking children with SLI, ages 4;0 to 4;8, and a control group of 8 younger mean length of utterance equivalent children, ages 2;1 to 2;7. Longitudinal spontaneous language samples reveal that the affected group was more likely than the younger control group to use infinitival lexical verbs in declarative sentences and to drop copular \*SEIN\*, as predicted for an Extended Optional Infinitive (EOI) stage. As expected, lexical infinitives appeared in clause-final word order, showing that the affected children know the association between sentence position and finiteness and do not show deviant word order in verb placement. The use of OIs in the SLI group cannot be attributed to missing agreement (as argued by Clahsen and colleagues) because the use of third-person \*-t\* appeared with third-person subjects in 94% of uses and forms of \*SEIN\* agreed with the subject in 98% of overt uses. Overall, the evidence provides strong support for an EOI period in German-speaking children with SLI. Individual children, as well as group data, show the expected patterns.

Richards, Norvin. 1998. The Principle of Minimal Compliance. *Linguistic Inquiry* 29.4, 599-629.

The syntactic literature discusses a number of phenomena in which a constraint that rules out a certain class of syntactic dependencies fails to rule out structures containing both an ill-formed dependency and a well-formed dependency; well-formed dependencies seem to be able to "help" dependencies that would be ill formed in isolation. In this article I attempt to provide a unified account of these phenomena. I postulate a principle that allows the computational system to "ignore" parts of a syntactic structure that have already been checked with respect to a particular constraint.

van Riemsdijk, Henk. 1998. Head Movement and Adjacency. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 16.3, 633-678.

Considerable importance has been attributed to the problem of restricting the theory, but nevertheless certain options that generative transformational grammar provides have remained largely untouched. In the present article, one such issue is broached, viz., that of the choice between substitution and adjunction. The obvious solution of eliminating one of the two options is rejected on empirical grounds, but for the subdomain of head movement it is possible to formulate a theory which will decide whether a particular instance of head movement is a case of adjunction or of substitution. The crucial factor will be seen to be 'adjacency'. The Head Adjacency Principle (HAP) in effect says that any instance of head movement which does not take place under adjacency must be a case of substitution. Evidence for this proposal is presented from a variety of languages and constructions, with particular emphasis on the analysis of the contraction between prepositions and articles, analyzed as D-to-P Raising, in German.

Van Riemsdijk, Henk. 1998. *Categorial Feature Magnetism: The Endocentricity and Distribution of Projections*. *Journal of Comparative Germanic Linguistics* 2.1, 1-48.

The question addressed here is whether there is a systematic relationship between the internal structure of syntactic phrases and their distribution in the clause. To account for the internal coherence of syntactic phrases, their endocentricity, I develop the notion of 'extended projections' in two ways. First, evidence from two constructions of German and Dutch argues that in addition to lexical heads and functional heads, also semi-lexical heads must be introduced. The notion of categorial identity, which states that the syntactic nodes connecting the lexical and functional heads within an extended projection with the phrasal node must all be of the same category type, is shown to hold for semi-lexical heads as well. Second, the notion of 'extended projection' will be modified to accommodate the fact that prepositional elements can often be inserted within an extended projection. This exceptional status of prepositional elements is reminiscent of the fact that prepositional phrases are arguably the most flexible phrases in terms of their distribution. In earlier work, I had suggested that this fact could be expressed in terms of a constraint, the Unlike Feature Constraint, which was formulated in terms of repulsion between the positive values of the categorial features: a [+N/V] head does not tolerate a [+N/V] phrase in its immediate domain. Categorial identity is now interpreted as the mutual attraction of the positive categorial feature values: we have attraction within, but repulsion across phrasal categories. And in both cases, prepositions are the neutral element. This idea leads to a unified principle, the Law of Categorial Feature Magnetism.

Rijkhoek, Paulien. 1996. *Result Clauses: a conjunction analysis*. *Proceedings of ConSole* 4, 283-296.

This paper provides an analysis of result clauses in terms of conjunction. On the basis of similar characteristics for both result clause constructions and coordination it will be argued that it is desirable to analyse these constructions as involving the same structure. The structural configuration adopted is a conjunction phrase, in form identical to recently proposed

coordination phrases. The degree phrase introducing the result clause undergoes Quantifier Raising to license the conjunction phrase.

Sabel, Joachim. 1998. Coherent Infinitives in German, Polish, and Spanish. Ms., University of Frankfurt a.M. To appear in *Folia Linguistica*.

In this article I present a unified analysis of long scrambling (LS) (scrambling across sentence boundaries) out of infinitivals in German and Polish and clitic climbing (CC) (clitic movement across sentence boundaries) in Spanish. Infinitives exhibiting LS in German have been termed "coherent infinitives" by Bech (1955) whereas the phenomenon of infinitives allowing for clitic climbing (CC) in Spanish (and other Romance languages) is often named "restructuring" phenomenon (see for example Napoli 1981, Bordelais 1986, Choe 1988). The terms 'coherent infinitives' and 'restructuring' refer to the observation that certain control verbs as well as ECM- and raising verbs can take infinitival complements that are not barriers for clause bounded processes. Although these infinitives are usually described in terms of a list of characteristics (see for example Haider 1986), it should be emphasized that a) empirical implications for other languages than German have not been discussed from a comparative perspective and b) the theoretical status of the concept of such infinitives is not clear. Restricting myself to control complements I will show that concerning a) LS in German and Polish and CC in Spanish show up with the same class of control complements, displaying an interesting parallel between the Slavic, Germanic and Romance languages from a typological point of view. Furthermore, concerning b), I will give a unified analysis of CC and LS by discussing lexically and structurally determined options, that make a bisentential representation behave syntactically like a monoclausal structure in German, Polish, and Spanish. I will argue that CC and LS are both licensed by the same mechanisms. To account for this fact I will introduce a theory of barriers and incorporation, apply it to the data presented and extend it to the impossibility of LS and CC in the presence of certain islands.

Sabel, Joachim. 1998. Das Passiv im Deutschen. Derivationale Oekonomie vs. optionale Bewegung. Ms., University of Frankfurt a.M. To appear in *Linguistische Berichte*.

The starting point for the following investigation is the idea that different versions of the Principle and Parameters theory make different predictions concerning structurally ambiguous word orders in passive constructions in German. In a theory in which Move- $\alpha$  applies freely, as in the theory developed in Chomsky (1981) and following work (for example Chomsky 1982, 1986a, 1986b) multiple, different derivations for such orders cannot be excluded. Another situation arises if the relevant constructions are analyzed in the framework of the Minimalist Program (Chomsky 1995). In this framework, it is possible to restrict the possible derivations which are compatible with one word order via economy principles. On the basis of different syntactic tests it will be shown that the word orders of the relevant type are in fact not ambiguous but are only compatible with one derivation. It will be argued that this result can be derived from the economy principle 'X enters the numeration only if it has an effect on output'.

The paper is organized as follows. In section 2 I discuss the phenomenon of multiple derivations. If one assumes that NP-movement and scrambling may apply optionally and that no restrictions hold for potential derivations, the multiple derivation problem clearly arises in German passive constructions. In section 3, I discuss the prerequisites for the inspection

of the predictions of the different variants of the Principles and Parameters framework. On the basis of syntactic tests it will be shown that the relevant examples are in fact not structurally ambiguous but structural unambiguous, as predicted by an analysis of these constructions that is based on the framework of the Minimalist Program. Section 4 describes the consequences of my analysis for further movement types and further languages such as Dutch and Japanese. Section 5 provides the conclusion.

Sabel, Joachim. 1998. *The MLC and the Typology of Island Violations*. Ms., University of Frankfurt.

Assuming the Minimal Link Condition (MLC) as the only locality constraint on movement provides several non trivial problems for the theory of movement. It fails to account for the well-known asymmetries in wh-extraction from wh-islands which were traditionally explained with the ECP and the locality concept of Subjacency. It also offers no explanation for the other types of island phenomena, the so-called CED-effects. In this paper, I present an analysis of wh-island violations in different languages which shows that the MLC is in fact able to account for the well-known asymmetries in wh-extraction across wh-islands if several additional assumptions are made with respect to the exact mechanism of feature checking in the C-system. Although the MLC does not offer an account for CED-effects, I will argue that these island phenomena can be shown to be deriveable from the way that Merge concatenates categories. Section 1 provides a brief introduction to the theoretical foundations and main ideas of the Minimalist Program. In section 2 I discuss why wh-island violations provide a problem for the MLC. Section 3 offers a solution for this problem in terms of multiple specifiers in the embedded C-system and shows how this analysis is able to account for the fact that languages differ with respect to the observed wh-island effects. Section 4 addresses the question of CED islands. The Minimalist Program does not offer any principal reason, why extraction out of CED-islands is impossible. In section 4 I will argue that the nature of strong islands may be derived from the nature of Merge. In section 5, I discuss implications of the analysis of strong islands for different languages. Section 6 provides the conclusion.

Sauerland, Uli. 1996. *Guess How?* Proceedings of ConSOLE 4, 297-311.

This paper investigates the effect of sluicing on various island constraints. It turns out that contrary to previous assumptions not all island conditions are nullified under sluicing. Rather, the following Sluicing Island Generalization (SIG) emerges: The markedness of strong islands is nullified by sluicing, but weak islands persist. This contrast argues for a split account of island effects. The specific account presented here starts with an analysis of sluicing as PF-deletion of IP. To explain the obviation of strong islands, it is argued that the extraction site is occupied by a resumptive element. The persistence of weak islands, on the other hand, is explained by the assumption that they are the effects of interpretive conditions and hence not sensitive to the difference between traces and resumptive elements. In this way, the SIG argues for a purely semantic account of weak island phenomena.

Schwarz, Bernhard. 1998. *Reduced Conditionals in German: event quantification and definiteness*. *Natural Language Semantics* 6.3, 271-301.

This paper investigates German conditionals that are reduced in the sense that their consequent clauses lack a verb and possibly more material. Focusing on readings in which conditionals quantify over events, it is shown that there are a number of semantic contrasts between reduced conditionals and their non-reduced versions. These contrasts are derived in a unified way from a hypothesis as to how the truth conditions of a reduced conditional relate to those of its non-reduced version. This hypothesis is in turn derived from assumptions as to how the Logical Form of a reduced conditional relates to the one of its non-reduced version. It is suggested that reduced and non-reduced consequent clauses can be seen to differ in a way analogous to the way definite and indefinite noun phrases differ.

Suner, Margarita. 1998. Resumptive restrictive relatives: A crosslinguistic perspective. *Language* 74.2, 335-364.

One of the aims of linguistic theory is to account for language variation. This article contributes to that objective by examining resumptive restrictive relative clauses crosslinguistically. The major claims are (1) the core-grammar distinction between conventional and resumptive restrictive relatives is due to the feature composition of the relative complementizer; (2) the prohibition against pied-piping that some languages adhere to correlates with the lack of lexical relative pronouns; (3) particular grammars need to accommodate language-specific properties such as preferences for which elements may, must, or cannot acquire a phonological matrix; and (4) resumptive pronouns which appear in relatives in the absence of an island are inserted at PF for other than interpretive reasons.

de Swart, Henriette. 1998. Licensing of Negative Polarity Items under Reverse Scope. *Lingua* 105.3/4, 175-200.

Negative Polarity Items are licensed in the 'scope' of their trigger. In this article, I take a closer look at the relevant notion of scope, which is shown to involve syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic considerations. In general, a position in the c-command domain of its trigger at S-structure is sufficient for an NPI to be licensed. If the NPI precedes its trigger, the sentence is felicitous only if the NPI can be interpreted in the semantic scope of its trigger. The possibility of an inverse scope reading of negation is subject to a pragmatic constraint, which requires the sentence to convey positive information. The incapability of bare NPIs involving 'any' in English or 'ook maar' in Dutch to satisfy this constraint explains why they cannot precede their trigger. Embedded NPIs and the NPI 'hoeven', 'need to', in Dutch can satisfy the pragmatic constraint on inverse scope, and are therefore licensed outside of the c-command domain of the trigger.

Vangsnes, Oysten Alexander. 1996. A Configurational Approach to Noun Phrase Interpretation. *Proceedings of ConSole* 4, 313-335.

This paper sketches an integrated theory of the syntax and semantics of noun phrases. The core idea is that noun phrase internal functional projections are correlated with, on the one hand, certain morphosyntactic categories, and, on the other, certain referential categories. In section 1 I introduce three noun phrase internal functional projections and observe a correlation between them and three semantically based classes of determiners: universally

quantifying, definite and weak (indefinite) determiners. In section 2 I discuss how these classes of determiners can be defined in terms of referentiality, and arrive at three referential categories: 'uniqueness', 'specificity', and 'non-specificity'. In section 3 I first present the basic correlations between noun phrase structure and semantic properties that I will assume, and also how the correlations must be identified. I then go on to discuss the syntactic domain correlated with the referential category 'specificity', on the one hand, and the morpho-syntactic category 'definiteness' on the other. Next, I discuss how relative clauses relate to the noun phrase structure, observing that non-restrictive relatives only occur in specifically referring noun phrases. I then go on discussing some interesting facts about the Norwegian determiner 'hver', 'each, every' before I conclude the section by suggesting that the functional contribution of the domain correlated with 'specificity' has to do with discourse linking. In section 4 I discuss uniquely referring noun phrases and some interesting empirical evidence pertaining to quantifier float. First, I consider certain noun phrase internal aspects of quantifier float related to data from Modern Hebrew and Bulgarian, and then I discuss certain clausal aspects of the syntactic process with reference to Icelandic.

te Velde, John. 1998. Assumptions about the Structure of Coordination. Ms., Oklahoma State University. To appear in proceedings volume of the Workshop on Ellipsis in Conjunction, held at the Research Center for Linguistics (Zentrum fuer Allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft, ZAS), Berlin, 2-3 Oct. 1998.

In this article I provide some empirical and theoretical arguments for questioning the assumption that the structure of coordination is fundamentally and consistently asymmetric like that of a simplex sentence. Though asymmetric coordinate structures do occur, as evidenced by partial subject-verb agreement, the bulk of the data suggests that agreement, whether subject-verb, verb-object or anaphor-antecedent, is symmetric in coordinate structures. Further evidence that coordinate constructions have a symmetric structural basis comes from the structural differences between ATB and parasitic gaps. To account for the structural symmetries of coordination, I propose that coordinate structures are not derived by the projection of a conjunct by a coordinating conjunction, but rather by the right adjunction of conjuncts which are not projections of a conjunct, but rather maximal projections or heads of whatever category is being coordinated. Right symmetric adjunction allows clausal conjuncts to derive in phases, each conjunct constituting a separate phase. It supports the many asymmetries between coordinate and subordinate clauses, which give evidence of the fact that coordinating conjunctions do not project or enter into feature checking, unlike subordinating conjunctions. Furthermore, right adjunction is actually more economic/minimalistic than the derivation of coordinate structures in a strictly asymmetric manner which requires movement for which there is no empirical evidence. In addition, asymmetric coordination cannot account for many of the structural differences between coordination and subordination. In optimal coordination, the structural relations are symmetric, in mixed or mismatched coordinations, asymmetric relations between conjuncts do sometimes occur.

Weiss, Helmut. 1998. Logik und Sprache: Der Fall der doppelten Negation im Bairischen. *Linguistische Berichte* 175, 386-413.



In recent years the study of negative concord (NC) has gained increasing interest in generative grammar. The article develops a theory of double negation with NC in Bavarian which assigns a well defined function on the syntax-semantics interface to that construction: double negation is a grammatical means to harmonize competing scope effects of quantification and negation. With this explanation semantic differences between simple and double negation can be clearly demonstrated.

White, Jonathan R. 1998. Result Clauses and the Structure of Degree Phrases. UCL Working Papers in Linguistics 9, 315-333.

I am concerned here with the structure of Degree Phrases which introduce Result clauses. After demonstrating that degree words select these clauses, I look at some previous proposals regarding this structure. I consider Abney's (1987) account, an extraposition-based version using Jackendoff's (1977) work, and finally Baltin (1987), which involves both selection and extraposition. Next, I introduce my proposal, that functional categories can project shells, and analyse Degree Phrases in this way. Lastly, I propose a possible semantic analysis, which is intended to demonstrate that my syntactic account is superior to the others.

Zeller, Jochen. 1997. Against overt particle incorporation. Penn Working Papers in Linguistics, Volume 4.2 (Proceedings of the 21st Annual Penn Linguistics Colloquium 1997), 291-307.

The verb-particle construction is a phenomenon at the interface between morphology and syntax. On the one hand, particle verbs in German and Dutch look like morphological objects (e.g. they productively provide the input for further word formation processes). On the other hand, particle verbs look like syntactic constructions (e.g. the particle is always separated from the verb in verb second (V-2) contexts). The heterogeneous properties of particle verbs raise problems for a lexicalist theory of grammar, according to which morphology is done "in the lexicon" and precedes syntax. My main concern in this paper is to show that the apparent conflict between morphological and syntactic properties of particle verbs results from a misconception of lexical insertion. I outline an alternative theory of (late) insertion that argues that (i) the terminal nodes of syntax are supplied with phonological and semantic features of lexical items after syntactic operations have been performed, and that (ii) a complex X<sub>0</sub>-head can be derived both syntactically as well as "pre"-syntactically (morphologically). I will suggest that particles undergo abstract incorporation; although the particle and verb are independent syntactic elements in overt syntax, they are part of a complex V<sub>0</sub> at LF. This head serves as the target for late insertion of the semantics of both the particle and the verb. I assume with Borer (1991; 1993) that words that are derived by syntactic head movement can alternatively be formed prior to syntactic operations. Therefore, this option is also available for particle verbs. A pre-syntactically derived complex V<sub>0</sub> whose terminal elements correspond to the particle and the verb may then be subjected to further adjectival or nominal word formation or may move as a complex V<sub>0</sub> in Verb Raising constructions in Dutch.

\*\*\*\*\*

#### 4. Subscription Information

The Germanic Generative Syntax Newsletter is distributed in electronic format only.

## HOW TO SUBSCRIBE TO THE G.G.S.N.

Send a message to <majordomo@lists.uib.no>

Leave the subject line blank.

The message should contain only the following:

```
subscribe ggsn {your name}
```

For assistance, send to the same address a message consisting of the single word:

```
help
```

Please note that the editors are not in a position to manage the distribution list. For questions, get in touch with Arild Hestvik at the address below.

\*\*\*\*\*

### 5. Adresses

GGSN mailing list [ggsn@lists.uib.no](mailto:ggsn@lists.uib.no)

GGSN WWW page [www.hf-fak.uib.no/I/fonetikk/GGdb.html](http://www.hf-fak.uib.no/I/fonetikk/GGdb.html)

Kleanthes K. Grohmann   Linguistics Department  
University of Maryland  
College Park, MD 20742  
United States  
[grohmann@wam.umd.edu](mailto:grohmann@wam.umd.edu)

Arild Hestvik            Department of Linguistics and Comparative Literature  
University of Bergen  
Syndnesplassen 7  
N-5007 Bergen  
Norway  
[Arild.Hestvik@foli.uib.no](mailto:Arild.Hestvik@foli.uib.no)

Alan Libert              Department of Linguistics  
The University of Newcastle  
Newcastle  
New South Wales 2308  
Australia  
[lnarl@cc.newcastle.edu.au](mailto:lnarl@cc.newcastle.edu.au)

Ad Neeleman            University College London  
Department of Phonetics and Linguistics  
Gower Street  
London, WC1E 6BT  
United Kingdom

ad@ling.ucl.ac.uk

Jan-Wouter Zwart

Department of Linguistics  
PO Box 716  
NL-9700 AS Groningen  
The Netherlands  
zwart@let.rug.nl

Groningen, December 21, 1998

\*\*\*\*\*  
THE END - THE END - THE END - THE END - THE END - THE END  
\*\*\*\*\*→