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Germanic  
Generative  
Syntax  
Newsletter

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1. Newsdesk

C G S W 17

The 17th Workshop on Comparative Germanic Syntax will take place in Reykjavik, Iceland, from 9-10 August 2002. Deadline for submission of abstracts is March 10. For full information, go to

<http://www.ismal.hi.is/imf/cgsw17>

#### G L A C 8

The 8th Germanic Linguistics Annual Conference will be held in Bloomington, Indiana, from 26-28 April 2002. Deadline for submission of abstracts is January 2, 2002. For full information, go to <http://www.indiana.edu/~glac8/index4.htm>

#### S C L 19

The 19th Scandinavian Conference of Linguistics will be held at the University of Tromsø, Norway, January 10-12, 2002. For complete information on program, schedule, workshops etc., go to <http://www.hum.uit.no/arrangementter/19-SCL/>

#### G A G L

The working paper series Groninger Arbeiten zur germanistischen Linguistik, founded by Werner Abraham, will continue after Prof. Abraham's retirement in 2000. Subscribers may expect to receive volume 44 as soon as the new publisher, the Center for Language and Cognition Groningen, has decided on a way to collect the subscription fees. For further information, go to <http://www.let.rug.nl/~zwart/gagl/>

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## 2. Conference Report

### CGSW 16

Conference report by Jeroen van Craenenbroeck (Leiden University)

The sixteenth Comparative Germanic Syntax Workshop (May 5-6, 2001) was hosted by McGill University in Montreal and was organised by Susi Wurmbrand and Jonathan David Bobaljik. Amidst an abundance of muffins, noodle soup and bagels with cream cheese, and under a scorching summer sun, 14 talks were given, including two invited talks (by Ellen Prince and Henk van Riemsdijk). The atmosphere was relaxed and friendly, the discussion in-depth and stimulating (with Ken Safir as an unexpected guest star).

Marcel den Dikken (CUNY Graduate Center) opened the conference with a talk on 'Direct and parasitic polarity item licensing'. He focused on the (previously undiscussed) negatively polar use of Dutch \*heel\* 'whole'. Den Dikken argued that 'polar-\*heel\*' can be licensed either under an overtly established Spec-Head-agreement with the negative head Neg-zero or parasitically via overtly established connectedness to the licensing chain of another NPI, thus making polar-\*heel\* a non-empty analogue to an A'-bound gap. On a comparative note, Den Dikken pointed at a possible

correlation between the presence of polar-\*heel\* and the absence of negative concord.

Joanna Blaszczak (University of Potsdam) and Hans-Martin Gärtner (ZAS, Berlin) presented a paper on 'Intonational phrasing, discontinuity, and the scope of negation'. They addressed some open questions in the theory developed in Kayne (1998) and argued that a quantifier Q can only extend its scope over a region A if A is linearly continuous and realized as a single prosodic unit. On the one hand this allowed them to do away with Kayne's constraint on long particle preposing, while on the other hand it enabled them to link wide scope of quantifiers to the possibility of restructuring, a link which they claimed to be empirically motivated on the basis of German and English data.

Uli Sauerland (Tuebingen University) presented a case study 'On the syntax of antidistributivity markers'. He studied the syntactic properties of the Q-bound reading of 'different' (and its German counterpart), of German \*je\* and of English \*each\*. Sauerland proposed that the syntax of \*different\* and \*anders\* involves comparative ACD, analogous to that found in elliptical degree comparatives (cf. Bresnan 1973), while German \*je\* has the syntax of inverse linking constructions. With respect to binominal \*each\*, he presented two possible analyses, one involving a rule of trace conversion and the other analysing \*each\* as a distributivity operator over VPs.

Peter Ackema (Utrecht University) and Kriszta Sendro*̃*i (University College London) analysed 'Determiner sharing as an instance of dependent ellipsis'. They argued against Lin (1999) and Johnson (2000), claiming that determiner sharing does involve coordinate ellipsis. Ackema and Sendro*̃*i then expounded a theory of dependent ellipsis, in which the 0-head in a coordinate ellipsis structure can license the heads of its dependents to be 0. This enabled them to account for the properties of D-zero-sharing noted by McCawley (1993) and others. Furthermore, their theory made a number of predictions (a.o. with respect to object-D-zero-sharing) which were borne out by English and Dutch data.

Oeystein Alexander Vangsnes (University of Bergen) gave a talk entitled 'Passing by numbers: on phrasal movement in the Icelandic noun phrase (and related issues)'. He argued there to be phrasal movement of an AP past a numeral in the Icelandic DP (contra Sigurdsson 1993). He identified the morphological richness of the Icelandic adjectival paradigm as the trigger which made this movement possible. Due to the absence of such morphological richness, the other Scandinavian varieties cannot resort to XP-movement when there is an adjective present, and insertion of a lexical article is the generalized strategy. The choice between the two strategies is free, however, in the context of a universal quantifier since the universal quantifier may itself raise to identify D-zero.

Jason Liley (University of Delaware) discussed 'The syntax of Germanic post-adjectival articles'. He argued against Kennedy & Merchant's (2000) movement analysis of this construction and claimed that the correct analysis involved a

recursive DP-structure. Combining Corver's (1997) distinction between Deg-words and Q-words with Higginbotham's (1985) theory of theta-binding, Liley then argued that Deg-words block theta-binding of an N by its Det, while Q-words do not. As a result only the former trigger the recursive DP-structure. Independent evidence in favour of this analysis came from constructions involving dummy articles in Northern Scandinavian dialects.

The closing lecture of day one of the workshop was the first invited talk. Ellen Prince (University of Pennsylvania) focused 'On 'odd coordinations' in Yiddish, from a discourse perspective'. She argued that so-called odd coordinations in Yiddish are best analysed as conjoined sentences with subject pro-drop in the second conjunct. Her arguments included the absence of sequence-of-tense-effects in odd coordinations (showing that they are not a case of subordination), the behaviour of the indefinite pronoun \*men\* 'one' and the restrictions on pro drop from the point of view of centering theory.

Day two began with the second invited talk. Henk van Riemsdijk (Tilburg University) discussed 'The unbearable lightness of GOing: phonetically empty light motion verbs in Continental West Germanic'. He analysed constructions whereby modal verbs take directional complements as involving a phonetically empty motion verb GO. Arguments in favour of this analysis came from Swiss German extraposition and verb doubling data. Barbiers's (1995) arguments against PF-deletion of verbs in the complement of modals forced van Riemsdijk to assume that the empty motion verb was stored as such in the lexicon. After extending the empirical coverage of his proposal to include Dutch, German and West Flemish, he concluded that all Continental West Germanic languages have the phonetically empty superlight motion verb GO, but that they differ with respect to its licensing conditions.

Marit Julien (University of Tromsø) addressed 'Optional \*ha\* in Swedish and Norwegian'. She argued that \*ha\*-deletion cannot be accounted for by a single principle. In the complement of modals \*ha\* can only be deleted if the entire sentence is monoclausal, i.e. if the past tense marker on the modal indicates counterfactuality (cf. Kayne 1993, Iatridou 2000). In Swedish embedded clauses, \*ha\* is only optional if the [+FINITE] feature of the subclause is identified by an overt subject, whereas in Norwegian this feature is always identified by the finite verb and \*ha\*-deletion is never an option. With respect to embedded infinitival \*ha\* in control, raising and ECM-constructions, Julien noted a lot of inter-speaker variation. The analyses she proposed made use of Cinque's (2000) account of restructuring and of Frampton and Gutmann's (2000) notion of feature sharing.

Jeroen van Craenenbroeck (Leiden University) and Marjo van Koppen (Leiden University) examined 'The left periphery in three southern Dutch dialects'. They argued that, given Kayne's (1994) antisymmetric framework, the higher functional domain of (at least) three southern Dutch dialects is more

articulated than is assumed by e.g. Haegeman (1992) and De Geest (1995), i.e. that the left periphery of these dialects contains a FinP and an FP (cf. Uriagereka 1995). Their arguments were based on data pertaining to object clitic placement and subject clitic doubling in these three dialects. The postulation of these extra projections allowed van Craenenbroeck and van Koppen to give a straightforward account for a strange doubling effect in constructions involving subject topicalisation.

Milan Rezac (University of Toronto) analysed 'NP-movement in Icelandic'. He showed that object shift and nominative associate movement behave alike with respect to parasitic gaps, weak crossover, binding condition A, the semantic effects they induce and their being related to structural case. On the basis of these similarities, Rezac proposed that both types of NP-movement target the Spec of T, whereby object shift can only take place after v-to-T-movement. From this analysis Holmberg's generalisation, the only remaining difference between the two types of movement, followed naturally. In order to account for the differences between English and Icelandic with respect to A-movement, Rezac proposed the T-zero-parameter: only in Icelandic does T-zero allow multiple specifiers and does it trigger V-raising.

Ken Hiraiwa (MIT) gave a talk on 'EPP: object shift and stylistic fronting in Scandinavian'. He tried to derive several parametric differences between Icelandic and Mainland Scandinavian from the Split EPP/Agree-parameter, which states that in Icelandic EPP is not contingent on the operation Agree, whereas in Mainland Scandinavian it is. This explains why object shift is only allowed in the former: the shifted object in Spec,vP moves on to Spec,T to satisfy the EPP, thus no longer blocking the Agree-relation between T-zero and the subject. In Mainland Scandinavian this is not an option and as a consequence full DP object shift is not allowed. The same parameter also explains why only Icelandic allows stylistic fronting: as the EPP-feature of T-zero is not dependent on Agree, it can be satisfied by any category. Throughout the talk Hiraiwa furthermore argued in favour of a strictly derivational approach to locality and against the phase-based approach of Chomsky (2001).

Joan Maling (Brandeis University) and Sigridur Sigurjonsdottir (University of Iceland) reported on 'The 'new passive' construction in Icelandic'. They argued that the so-called 'new passive' construction in Icelandic should be analysed as an active impersonal construction with a phonologically null pro-subject. This predicts that binding of anaphors should be possible (as there is a thematic subject), that subject control of participial adjuncts should be possible, that an agentive by-phrase should be excluded (as it would be a violation of the theta-criterion) and that unaccusative verbs should be able to occur in this construction. Maling and Sigurjonsdottir then presented the results of an extensive study of the use of the new passive construction amongst young Icelandic speakers, which showed

that their predictions are borne out. Furthermore, they pointed at some geographical variation in their data.

The last talk of the conference was given by Peter Svenonius (University of Tromsø), who, after – quite rightfully – congratulating the organisers with a very successful workshop, focused on 'Case and event structure'. Svenonius argued object case to be the reflex of an uninterpretable aspect-feature on D-zero (cf. Pesetsky & Torrego 2000 on nominative case). Structurally, this means that the case of the object-DP is checked in an aspectual head above VP. Svenonius's proposal predicts that the availability of accusative case may vary with the Aktionsart of the verb, a prediction borne out not only by Burzio's generalisation, but also by object case marking in Icelandic. Svenonius showed that the choice between accusative and dative objects in Icelandic is not so irregular and unpredictable as it has been argued to be. He claimed that the dative is used when the DP which is licensed by the Aktionsart of the verb is not a measure of the progress of the event (in the sense of Tenny 1994).

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- Haegeman, L. (1992). *Theory and description in generative grammar: a case study of West Flemish*. Cambridge: CUP.
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- Iatridou, S. (2000). The grammatical ingredients of counterfactuality. In: *Linguistic Inquiry* 31, 231-270.
- Johnson, K. (2000). Gapping determiners. In: K. Schwabe & N. Zang (eds). *Ellipsis in conjunction*. Tuebingen: Niemeyer. 95-115.
- Kayne, R.S. (1993). Toward a modular theory of auxiliary selection. In: *Studia Linguistica* 47, 3-31.
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- Kayne, R.S. (1998). Overt vs. covert movement. In: *Syntax* 1, 128-191.
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- deletion. In: Natural language and linguistic theory 18, 89-146.
- Lin, V. (1999). Determiner sharing. In: MIT Working Papers in Linguistics 33, 241-277.
- McCawley, J. (1993). Gapping with shared operators. In: J. Guenter et al. (eds). Proceedings of BLS 19. Berkeley: BLS. 245-253.
- Pesetsky, D. & E. Torrego (2000). T to C movement: Causes and consequences. In: Ken Hale: a life in language. Cambridge, MA: the MIT-press.
- Sigurdsson, H.A. (1993). The structure of the Icelandic NP. In: Studia Linguistica 47, 177-197.
- Tenny, C. (1994). Aspectual roles and the syntax-semantics interface. Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- Uriagereka, J. (1995). Aspects of clitic placement in western Romance. In: Linguistic Inquiry 26: 79-124.

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### 3. Lists

Note from the editors: as before, (\*) indicates that the entry's abstract is included in the abstracts section. However, unlike before, we have only included those abstracts that were sent to us, and not the ones that could be lifted from the published articles. Instead, we have annotated some of the entries in the lists. The authors are in no way responsible for the wordings of these annotations, and we apologize if they misrepresent content and scope of their work.

#### 3.1 Books and dissertations

- Booij, Geert. 2002. (\*)  
The Morphology of Dutch. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 2002. ISBN 0-19-829980-X (pb), 0-19-829979-6 (hb).
- Emonds, Joseph E. 2000.  
Lexicon and Grammar: the English Syntacticon. Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin. Studies in Generative Grammar 50. ISBN 3-11-016689-5.
- Holmer, Arthur, Jan-Olof Svantesson, and Ake Viberg, eds., 2000.  
Proceedings of the 18th Scandinavian Conference of Linguistics. Lund University, Dept. of Linguistics and Phonetics. ISBN 91-974116-0-4. [contents see 3.3]
- Koopman, Hilda and Anna Szabolcsi. 2001.  
Verbal complexes. MIT Press, Cambridge. Current Studies in Linguistics 34. ISBN 0-262-61154-6. [unified analysis of verb clusters and restructuring in German, Dutch, and Hungarian, whereby all patterns involve the same feature checking requirements and involve overt phrasal movement only, with variation resulting from the varying sizes of the phrases moved]
- Merchant, Jason. 2001. (\*)

- The syntax of silence: sluicing, islands, and ellipsis.  
Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Mueller, Reimar and Marga Reis, eds., 2001.  
Modalitaet und Modalverben im Deutschen. Buske Verlag,  
Hamburg. Linguistische Berichte Sonderheft 9. ISBN  
3-87548-254-9. [contents see 3.3]
- Ohkado, Masayuki. 2001.  
Old English constructions with multiple predicates. Hituzi  
Syobo, Tokyo. ISBN 4-89476-131-9.
- Wurmbrand, Susanne. 2001.  
Infinitives: restructuring and clause structure. Mouton de  
Gruyter, Berlin. Studies in Generative Grammar 55. ISBN 3-  
11-016686-0.
- Zeller, Jochen. 2001.  
Particle verbs and local domains. John Benjamins, Amsterdam.  
Linguistik Aktuell 41. ISBN 90-272-2762-4.

### 3.2 From the journals

AMERICAN JOURNAL OF GERMANIC LINGUISTICS AND LITERATURES: see  
JOURNAL OF GERMANIC LINGUISTICS

AUSTRALIAN JOURNAL OF LINGUISTICS 21.1 (2001)

Tania Strahan

The Distribution of Reflexive Pronouns in Norwegian. 159-  
169. [reports on the findings of a pilot study to  
investigate Long Distance Reflexives (LDR) in Norwegian]

COGNITIVE LINGUISTICS 12.2 (2001)

Holger Diessel and Michael Tomasello

The acquisition of finite complement clauses in English: a  
corpus-based analysis. 97-141. [in most of children's  
complex utterances that seem to include a finite complement  
clause, the main clause does not express a full proposition;  
rather, it functions as an epistemic marker, attention  
getter, or marker of illocutionary force]

DEUTSCHE SPRACHE 29.1 (2001)

Werner Abraham (\*)

Gibt es im Deutschen eine Klasse von Praepositionen mit  
Doppelrektion? 63-75.

DEUTSCHE SPRACHE 29.2 (2001)

Joerg Peters

Steigend-fallende konturen im Berlinischen. 122-147. [the  
rise-fall intonation pattern occurs in Berlin speech if  
close focus is present and the number of excluded  
alternatives is limited; includes comparison with Hamburg  
speech]

Joachim Sabel

Das deutsche Verbum infinitum. 148-175. [on the syntactic  
distribution of 'coherent infinitives'--they occur only in  
direct object position]

DIACHRONICA 17.2 (2000)

John McWhorter

Strange bedfellows: recovering the origins of Black English. 389-432. [research rapport on the occasion of The English History of African American English, ed. by Shana Poplack, Blackwell, 2000; discusses the merits of the Creolist vs. the Dialectologist hypothesis of the origin of African American English]

ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LINGUISTICS 5.1 (2001)

Maria Jose Lopez-Couso and Belen Mendez-Naya

On the History of \*if\*- and \*though\*-Links with Declarative Complement Clauses. 93-107. [examines the history of declarative clauses introduced by \*if\* and \*though\*]

Patrick Farrell

Functional shift as category underspecification. 109-130. [argues that words like 'hammer' and 'kiss' involve categorially underspecified root lexemes, acquiring the category noun/verb only as a function of the morphosyntactic context in which they appear]

Anna Zribi-Hertz

Review of Peter Siemund, Intensifiers in English and German: A Comparison. 173-178.

ENGLISH LINGUISTICS 18.1 (2001)

Masaru Honda

Ebonics as a systematic and rule-governed language. 120-141. [review article of Perry & Delpit, eds., The real Ebonics debate, Beacon Press, Boston, 1998]

Toshiaki Nishihara

Notes on null-\_that\_ clauses in English. 111-119. [corpus study evaluating the role of factivity and adjacency in allowing \_that\_-drop]

Ken'ichiro Nogawa

A semantic account of island-extraction. 32-56. [the acceptability of extraction out of islands is subject to a semantic constraint, the 'pre-existence condition']

Maki Sakamoto

The middle and related constructions in English: a cognitive network approach. 86-110. [places the middle in a cognitive network of intransitive constructions]

Hiroyuki Takagi

On so-called 'obligatory control': a cognitive account. 57-85. [the properties of control follow from the semantics of the constructional schemas evoked for categorization]

ENGLISH WORLD-WIDE 22.1 (2001)

Lieselotte Anderwald

'Was'/'were' variation in non-standard British English today. 1-21.

FOLIA LINGUISTICA 34.3-4 (2000)

Alvin Leong Ping

Identifying the theme of existential clauses: a suggested

approach. [alternative analysis of the thematic structure of existential clauses, characterizing 'theme' and 'rheme' in terms of message development; material from English]

FOLIA LINGUISTICA HISTORICA 21.1-2 (2000)

Patricia Poussa

Reanalysing 'whose': the actuation and spread of the invariable 'who' relative in Early Modern English. 159-188.

JOURNAL OF COMPARATIVE GERMANIC LINGUISTICS 3.2 (2000)

Hans-Martin Gaertner

Are there V2 relative clauses in German? 97-141. [on the type 'das Blatt hat eine Seite die ist ganz schwarz'; answer: 'no' for syntax, 'yes' for interpretation]

Andreas Kathol

Syntactic categories and positional shape alternations. 59-96. [complementizer inflection on wh-phrases and relative pronouns argues for a positional unity of complementizers and wh-phrases]

JOURNAL OF COMPARATIVE GERMANIC LINGUISTICS 3.3 (2001[sic])

Liliane Haegeman

Antisymmetry and verb-final order in West-Flemish. 207-232. [describes a 'double movement' analysis of verb-final word order in West-Flemish, where the finite verb moves to INFL followed by leftward remnant movement; the analysis is also applied to the word order in verb clusters]

Kordula de Kuthy and Walt Detmar Meurers

On partial constituent fronting in German. 143-205. [HPSG analysis of partial constituent fronting as reanalysis]

JOURNAL OF COMPARATIVE GERMANIC LINGUISTICS 4.1 (2001)

Germen J. de Haan

More is going on upstairs than downstairs. 3-38. [argues for a parataxis analysis of embedded V2 in Frisian, against a CP-recursion analysis]

E.G. Ruys

Dutch scrambling and the strong-weak distinction. 39-67. [argues against the view that the interpretation of an indefinite object NP is a function of its absolute position]

Nathan Vaillette

Review of 'Deutsche Syntax Deklarativ: Head-driven Phrase Structure Grammar für das Deutsche' by Stefan Müller. 69-84.

JOURNAL OF GERMANIC LINGUISTICS 13.1 (2001)

Claudia Felser

Wh-expletives and secondary predication: German partial wh-movement reconsidered. 5-38. [new analysis of the 'was...w' construction, where invariable 'was' is an object pronoun licensing a predicative CP in V-complement position]

John Nerbonne

Review of Stefan Mueller, Deutsche Syntax deklarativ: Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar fuer das Deutsche. 88-96.

JOURNAL OF LINGUISTICS 37.1 (2001)

Andreas Kathol

Positional effects in a monostratal grammar of German. 35-66. [argues that the notion of syntactic position should not be defined in terms of tree configurations but in terms of linear distribution of constituent classes]

JOURNAL OF LINGUISTICS 37.2 (2001)

James P. Blevins

Realisation-based lexicalism. 355-365. [review article of Farrell Ackerman and Gert Webelhuth, *A Theory of Predicates*]

Frank Brisard

'Be going to': an exercise in grounding. 251-285. ['be going to' features an interpretation of the future as non-given yet present, with the pending event's being signaled or announced at the time of speaking]

James Kilbury

German noun inflection revisited. 339-353.

D. Gary Miller

Review of Bettelou Los, *Infinitival Complementation in Old and Middle English*. 455-457.

Ellen Thompson

Temporal dependency and the syntax of subjects. 287-312. [claims that the semantic relation of temporal dependency requires locality at LF; analysis of English gerundive relative clauses]

Matthew Whelpton

Elucidation of a telic infinitive. 313-337. [on the semantics of the infinitive of the type 'John hang his coat up, only to realize that he had to go out again']

LANGUAGE 77.1 (2001)

Guido Vanden Wyngaerd

Measuring Events. 61-90. [discusses the telic-atelic distinction and resultatives, with many data from Dutch]

LANGUAGE 77.3 (2001)

Harald Clahsen, Sonja Eisenbeiss, Meike Hadler, and Ingrid Sonnenstuhl

The Mental Representation of Inflected Words: An Experimental Study of Adjectives and Verbs in German. 510-543. [on the representation in the mental lexicon of morphological relationships between regular and irregular (stem changing) inflection]

Eileen Fitzpatrick

The prosodic phrasing of clause-final prepositional phrases. 544-561. [short report using English data]

LINGUA 111 (2001)

Josef Bayer, Markus Bader and Michael Meng

Morphological underspecification meets oblique case: syntactic and processing effects in German. 465-514. [oblique case-marked noun phrases in German have an extra functional layer *Kase Phrase*; comparison with English and

Dutch]

Eric Haeberli

Deriving syntactic effects of morphological case by eliminating abstract case. 279-313. [argues that the notion of abstract Case can be eliminated from the grammar, yielding a more natural account of the dependency of syntactic phenomena on the presence of morphological Case]

Olaf Koenen and Ad Neeleman

Predication, verb movement and the distribution of expletives. 189-233. [accounts for the distribution of expletives in terms of predication theory]

Joan Maling

Dative: the heterogeneity of the mapping among morphological case, grammatical functions, and thematic roles. 419-464. [evidence from English, German, and Icelandic]

Dieter Wunderlich and Renate Lakaemper

On the interaction of structural and semantic case. 277-418. [discusses structural case patterns in German, taking a correspondence-theoretic approach, as well as double object constructions, where structural and semantic case compete with each other, taking an Optimality Theoretic approach]

#### LINGUISTIC INQUIRY 32.1 (2001)

Guenther Grewendorf

Multiple Wh-fronting. 87-122. [multiple wh-questions in German involve the formation of wh-clusters consisting of one visible and one or more invisible wh-elements]

Jeffrey Lidz

Condition R. 123-140. [argues that the appropriate partitioning of reflexives is semantic, not syntactic, and proposes a principle requiring reflexivity to be lexically expressed; data from Dutch]

Roger Martin

Null Case and the distribution of PRO. 141-166. [whether or not nonfinite T can check null Case depends crucially on its temporal properties]

Norvin Richards

An idiomatic argument for lexical decomposition. 183-192. [argument based on idioms with 'give'-'get'/'take' alternations]

#### LINGUISTIC INQUIRY 32.2 (2001)

Artemis Alexiadou and Elena Anagnostopoulou

The Subject-In-Situ generalization and the role of Case in driving computations. 193-231. [discusses cases where NP-movement out of VP is not forced by the EPP, but by a CAsE-related requirement forcing one NP to vacate the VP; contains discussion of Icelandic]

Benjamin Bruening

QR obeys Superiority: frozen scope and ACD. 233-273. [discusses cases where ACD is possible (suggesting QR) but scope is frozen (suggesting no QR), and proposes that QR behaves like other movement operations in not allowing a reordering of the elements undergoing it; data from English]

Jairo Nunes

Sideward movement. 303-344. [on interarboreal movement, contains brief discussion of German 'wh...wh' constructions]

Thomas Stroik

On the light verb hypothesis. 362-369. [English 'do so' is not a proform for VP but for vP]

LINGUISTIC INQUIRY 32.3 (2001)

Gisbert Fanselow

Features, theta roles, and free constituent order. 405-437. [proposes a new base generation account of free constituent order; theta-role assignment is a by-product of checking the formal features of arguments; material from German]

Eric Reuland

Primitives of binding. 439-492. [explains the conditions on the binding of pronouns, simplex anaphors, and complex anaphors, distinguishing the roles of the computational system, interpretive procedures, and discourse storage; argues that locality conditions on binding follow (in part) from a general principle of economy counting interpretive steps]

C. Jan-Wouter Zwart

Object shift with raising verbs. 547-554. [argues that object shift in Dutch restructuring constructions with an unaccusative matrix verb shows that objects are licensed not by 'little v' but by a functional head]

LINGUISTIC INQUIRY 32.4 (2001)

Peter Ackema

Colliding complementizers in Dutch: another syntactic OCP effect. 717-727. [on conditions governing the spell-out of multiple complementizers]

Andre Meinunger

Restrictions on verb raising. 732-740. [the impossibility of verb second of main verbs across elements like 'mehr als' is shown to be an instance of a more general phenomenon, perhaps involving crossing over a P/C head]

THE LINGUISTIC REVIEW 18.1 (2001)

Marcel den Dikken

'Plurilinguals', pronouns, and quirky agreement. 19-41. [addresses the behavior of English weak and null pronouns in three agreement domains: agreement attraction, agreement with 'committee'-type noun phrases ('plurilinguals'), and agreement in 'there' sentences]

THE LINGUISTIC REVIEW 18.2 (2001)

Marit Julien

The syntax of complex tenses. 125-167. [argues in support of a biclausal analysis of periphrastic tenses]

THE LINGUISTIC REVIEW 18.3 (2001)

Peter Ackema

On the relation between V-to-I and the structure of the

inflectional paradigm. 233-263. [explains why no single definition of rich inflection can exactly divide the V-to-I languages from the non-V-to-I ones; rich inflection and V-to-I are alternative ways of avoiding a violation of the same constraint disfavoring complexity below the X-zero level]

LINGUISTICS AND PHILOSOPHY 24.6 (2001)

Kjell Johann Saeboe

The semantics of Scandinavian free choice items. 737-787. [Scandinavian FCIs have two components, a universal quantifying into modal contexts, and an operator mapping a type  $\langle s, t \rangle$  expression onto itself]

LINGUISTISCHE BERICHTE 186 (2001)

Kristina Poncin

Praeferierte Satzgliedfolge im Deutschen: Modell und experimentelle Evaluation. 175-203. [on the influence of grammatical function on the preferred word order in the German Mittelfeld]

LINGUISTISCHE BERICHTE 187 (2001)

Claudia Felser and Laura Rupp

Expletives as arguments: Germanic existential sentences revisited. 289-324. [argues that the expletive is an argument expression raising to the most external subject position in order to satisfy the EPP; it is not partitive Case-marked but has default Case]

LINGUISTISCHE BERICHTE 188 (2001)

Jochen Zeller (\*)

How syntax restricts the lexicon: Particle verbs and internal arguments. 461-494.

NATURAL LANGUAGE AND LINGUISTIC THEORY 18.4 (2000)

Hans Broekhuis

Against feature strength: the case of Scandinavian object shift. 673-721. [the distinction between strong and weak formal features can be captured by assuming an interaction between a constraint that disfavors movement (STAY) and a constraint (family) F that requires checking of formal features]

NATURAL LANGUAGE AND LINGUISTIC THEORY 19.1 (2001)

Gosse Bouma, Robert Malouf, and Ivan A. Sag

Satisfying constraints on extraction and adjunction. 1-65. [a unified feature-based theory of complement, adjunct, and subject extraction without valence reducing lexical rules or traces; offers a new account of the that-trace effect]

Soowon Kim

Chain composition and uniformity. 67-107. [argues for licensing of parasitic gaps at LF, based on the observation that parasitic gaps are incompatible with multiple quantifications that undergo absorption at LF]

Idan Landau

Control and extraposition: the case of Super-Equi. 109-152. [infinitives embedded under psychological predicates require local control, others allow nonlocal control; this corresponds with the presence or absence of extraposition and of a local Agree relation between the matrix predicate and the embedded Agr]

Anna-Lena Wiklund

Dressing up for vocabulary insertion: the parasitic supine. 199-228. [morphology-after-syntax analysis of the Swedish double participle construction]

#### NATURAL LANGUAGE AND LINGUISTIC THEORY 19.2 (2001)

Daniel Buring and Katharina Hartmann

The syntax and semantics of focus-sensitive particles in German. 229-281. [argues that German focus particles such as 'nur' always adjoin to non-arguments and that they do not undergo LF-raising]

Peter W. Culicover and Robert D. Levine

Stylistic inversion in English: a reconsideration. 283-310. [outlines the differences between inversion with light and heavy postverbal NPs; with light inversion, the fronted PP is a subject, with heavy inversion, it is a topic; heavy inversion is heavy NP shift applying to subjects]

Renate Musan

The present perfect in German: outline of its semantic composition. 355-401. [shows that the German present perfect obligatorily contains a resultant-state component and a genuine, canonically interpreted present tense]

#### NATURAL LANGUAGE AND LINGUISTIC THEORY 19.3 (2001)

Cedric Boeckx

Scope reconstruction and A-movement. 503-548. [re-examines the question of whether A-movement gives rise to reconstruction effects; it does with indefinites, and partially with non-indefinites]

#### NATURAL LANGUAGE SEMANTICS 9.2 (2001)

Claudia Maienborn

On the position and interpretation of locative modifiers. 191-240. [offers syntactic and semantic evidence for the existence of three types of locative modifiers within the verbal domain that differ with respect to syntactic base position and interpretation]

#### NEDERLANDSE TAALKUNDE 6.1 (2001)

Jan Koster

Links en rechts van het werkwoord. 38-53. [a parallel structure analysis of extraposition in Dutch deriving mirror image phenomena]

Ina Schermer-Vermeer

Grammatica, lexicon, en de dubbelobject-constructie in het Nederlands en het Engels. 22-37. [on the question which verbs can be used in a double object construction]

NEDERLANDSE TAALKUNDE 6.4 (2001)

Minne C. de Boer

Anaforisch *\_degene\_*. 290-305. [on a syntactic innovation in Dutch where a cataphoric pronoun turns into an anaphor]

NORDIC JOURNAL OF LINGUISTICS 24.1 (2001)

Johanna Barddal

The perplexity of Dat-Nom verbs in Icelandic. 47-70. [shows that a verb that selects both a dative and a nominative argument may give rise to two types of construction, with either a dative or a nominative subject]

Tavs Bjerre

Causation, event structure and process specifying adverbials. 29-46. [HPSG analysis of inchoatives, causatives, and accomplishments in Danish, with special attention to PPs specifying a subevent in these constructions]

K.E. Kristoffersen

Semantic structure of the Norwegian preposition 'mot'. 3-28. [cognitive semantics analysis based on corpus material]

Muriel Norde

The history of the Swedish genitive: the full story. 107-118. [reply to Lars-Olof Delsing's review of the author's dissertation, with postscript by Delsing]

NORDICA BERGENSIA 22 (2000)

Indridason, Thorsteinn G.

Morfologi moeter syntaks. Om genitivsammensatte ord i islandsk. 174-201.

NORSK LINGVISTISK TIDSSKRIFT 19.2 (2001)

Bernardo Christophe

Zur Kategorie der Diathese in den skandinavischen Sprachen: Versuch einer sprachhistorischen Interpretation. 207-228. [the development of the s/st-passive involves reduced volitionality; the opposition synthetic-periphrastic passive is one of aspect]

NOWELE 38 (2001)

Aune Oesterman

From 'there' to 'where': the development of relative and conjunctive adverbs in Middle English. 65-107.

NOWELE 39 (2001)

Paeti Pahta and Saara Nevanlinna

On markers of expository apposition. 3-51. [focusing on Late Middle and Early Modern English]

SNIPPETS 4 (2001)

Dirk Bury

German V3 and the origin of adverbs. 2.

SPRACHTYPOLOGIE UND UNIVERSALIENFORSCHUNG 54.1 (2001)

Janez Oreshnik

Naturalness: the passive in the Mainland Scandinavian languages. 26-34.

SPRACHWISSENSCHAFT 26.3 (2001)

Cornelia Zelinsky-Wibbelt

Grammatikalisierung und Interferenzen in der Fremdsprache English. 267-308. [compares grammaticalization in German and English]

STUDIA LINGUISTICA 55.1 (2001)

K.A. Jayaseelan

IP-internal topic and focus phrases. 39-75. [contains discussion of scrambling in German and Dutch in the context of a proposal regarding the existence of Topic and Focus Phrases in the Mittelfeld (above vP)]

STUDIA LINGUISTICA 55.2 (2001)

Concha Castillo

The configuration of ECM structures. 113-139. [on the temporal interpretation of verbal and nonverbal ECM constructions; comparison of English and Spanish]

SYNTAX 4.1 (2001)

C. Jan-Wouter Zwart

Syntactic and phonological verb movement. 34-62. [argues against the view that verb second is an effect of linearization at PF; offers an analysis of the Frisian Imperativus-pro-infinitivo construction]

SYNTAX 4.3 (2001)

Carson T. Schuetze

On the nature of default Case. 205-238. [default Case involves default morphology at Spell-Out and has no bearing on the Case Filter; analysis of accusative as the English default Case]

TAAL EN TONGVAL 52.1 (2001)

Liliane Haegeman

Genus en naamwoordverplaatsing in het Westvlaams. 115-135. [the relation between overt gender marking and DP-internal noun movement fails to apply in West-Flemish]

THEORETICAL LINGUISTICS 27.1 (2001)

Helmut Weiss (\*)

On two types of natural languages: some consequences for linguistics. 87-103.

WORKING PAPERS IN SCANDINAVIAN SYNTAX 67 (June 2001)

Johanna Barddal and Thorhallur Eythorsson

The evolution of oblique subjects in Scandinavian. 57-83. [argues against the view that Old Icelandic did not have oblique subjects]

Thorhallur Eythorsson

The syntax of verbs in Early Runic. 1-55. [refutes the view

that there was a clear SOV-SVO shift in the development of Early Runic]

Gunlog Joseffson

The true nature of Holmberg's Generalization revisited—once again. 85-102. [argues that the restriction on object shift is not phonological in nature, but the result of a conspiracy of the Principle of Minimal Compliance and a Generalized Doubly Filled COMP Filter]

Halldor Armann Sigurdsson

Case: abstract vs. morphological. 103-151. [movement out of vP is not for Case assignment but for checking of other features, most notably Person]

WORKING PAPERS IN SCANDINAVIAN SYNTAX 68 (December 2001)

Hubert Haider

How to stay accusative in Insular Germanic

Susann Fischer & Artemis Alexiadou

On Stylistic Fronting: German vs. Romance

Zeljko Boskovic

PF merger in Scandinavian: Stylistic Fronting and Object Shift

Nomi Erteschik-Shir

P-syntactic motivation for movement: imperfect alignment in Object Shift

Gunnar Hrafn Hrafnbjargarson

An Optimality Theory analysis of agreement in Icelandic DAT-NOM constructions

Lars-Olof Delsing

Stylistic Fronting, evidence from Old Scandinavian

ZEITSCHRIFT FUER DIALEKTOLOGIE UND LINGUISTIK 68.3 (2001)

Volker Harm

Zur Herausbildung der deutschen Futurumschreibung. 288-307. [on the development of the typologically rare periphrastic future with 'werden']

ZEITSCHRIFT FUER GERMANISTISCHE LINGUISTIK 29.2 (2001)

Markus Hundt

Grammatikalisierungsphaenomene bei Praepositionalobjekten in der deutschen Sprache. 167-191. [the relation 'prepositional object' in German is the result of grammaticalization]

ZEITSCHRIFT FUER SPRACHWISSENSCHAFT 20.1 (2001)

Margret Selting

Berlinische Intonationskonturen: 'Die Treppe aufwaerts'. 66-116. [on the typical rising pitch intonation used in Berlin speech with lists and particular kinds of biographic story telling]

### 3.3 From edited volumes

Kirsten ADAMZIK and Helen CHRISTEN, eds., 2001, Sprachkontakt, -vergleich, -variation: Festschrift fuer Gottfried Kolde zum

65. Geburtstag. Tuebingen: Max Niemeyer. ISBN 3-484-73055-2.

Werner Abraham

Negativ-polare Zeitangaben im Westgermanischen und die perfekte Kohäsionsstrategie.

Susanne BECKMANN, Peter-Paul KOENIG, and Georg WOLF, eds., 2000, Sprachspiel und Bedeutung: Festschrift fuer Franz Hundsnurscher zum 65. Geburtstag. Niemeyer, Tuebingen. ISBN 3-484-73054-4.

Werner Abraham

Mehrfachnegation (MN) im Deutschen und im Afrikaans.

H. BEISSWENGER et al, eds., 2001, Festschrift fuer H.E. Wiegand. Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin.

Werner Abraham

Syntax and semantics of modal verbs in German and their diachronic root: soft aspectual and robust finiteness constraints.

Andreas BITTNER, Dagmar BITTNER, and Klaus-Michael KOEPCKE, eds., 2000, Angemessene Strukturen: Systemorganisation in Phonologie, Morphologie und Syntax. Hildesheim u.a.: Georg Olms Verlag. ISBN 3-487-11267-1.

Werner Abraham

Zwischen extensionaler Oekonomie und intensionaler lokalistischer Praezisierung: Dativobjekte im Deutschen und ihre Wiedergabe im kasuslosen Niederlaendischen.

Ronnie CANN, Claire GROVER, and Philip MILLER, eds., 2000, Grammatical interfaces in HPSG. Studies in Constraint-Based Lexicalism. Stanford: CSLI-Publications.

Stefan Mueller

German Particle Verbs and the Predicate Complex. 215-229. [<http://www.dfki.de/~stefan/Pub/part-complex.html>]

Norbert CORVER and Henk van RIEMSDIJK, eds., 2001, Semi-lexical categories: the function of content words and the content of function words. Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin. Studies in Generative Grammar 59. ISBN 3-11-016685-2.

Anna Cardinaletti and Giuliana Giusti

"Semi-lexical" motion verbs in Romance and Germanic.

Kristin M. Eide and Tor A. Aafarli

Semi-lexical heads in a semantically charged syntax.

Joseph Emonds  
The flat structure economy of semi-lexical heads.  
Hubert Haider  
Heads and selection.  
Elisabeth Loebel  
Classifiers and semi-lexicality: functional and semantic  
selection.  
Susan Powers  
Children's semi-lexical heads.  
Joan Rafel  
As for `_as/for_`, they are semi-lexical heads.  
Carson T. Schuetze  
Semantically empty lexical heads as last resorts.  
Jochen Zeller (\*)  
Lexical particles, semi-lexical postpositions.

Peter W. CULICOVER and Paul M. POSTAL, eds., 2001, Parasitic  
Gaps. Current Studies in Linguistics 35. MIT Press, Cambridge.  
ISBN 0-262-03284-8.

Elisabeth Engdahl  
Parasitic gaps. [reprint of famous 1983 article]  
Elisabeth Engdahl  
Versatile parasitic gaps. [argues that parasitic gaps are  
more versatile than has been hitherto recognized]  
Robert D. Levine, Thomas E. Hukari, and Michael Calnagno  
Parasitic gaps in English: some overlooked cases and their  
theoretical implications. [argues that parasitic gaps are  
not necessarily different in kind from canonical gaps]  
Andreas Kathol  
On the nonexistence of true parasitic gaps in German.  
[argues that parasitic gaps in German are in fact  
pseudoparasitic gaps]  
Christopher Kennedy  
VP-deletion and 'nonparasitic gaps'. [reprint of 1997 LI  
article]  
Alan Munn  
Explaining parasitic gap restrictions. [a comparison of  
parasitic gaps and Across-The-Board extraction gaps w.r.t.  
Weak Crossover]  
Paul M. Postal  
Further lacunae in the English parasitic gap paradigm.  
[further evidence showing that parasitic gaps are  
incompatible with antipronominal contexts]  
Paul M. Postal  
Parasitic and pseudoparasitic gaps. [reprint of 1994 paper]  
Paul M. Postal  
Missing parasitic gaps. [a follow-up on Kennedy's paper]

N. DEHE and A. WANNER, eds., 2001, Structural Aspects of  
Semantically Complex Verbs. Frankfurt/Bern/New York: Peter  
Lang.

Jochen Zeller  
Prefixes as transitivizers, 1-34.

JAN TERJE FAARLUND, ed., 2001, Grammatical relations in change. Studies in Language Companion Series 56. John Benjamins, Amsterdam/Philadelphia. ISBN 90 272 3058 7. (\*)

Werner Abraham  
How far does semantic bleaching go: About grammaticalization that does not terminate in functional categories.

John Ole Askedal  
"Oblique subjects", structural and lexical case marking: Some thoughts on case assignment in North Germanic and German.

Jan Terje Faarlund  
The notion of oblique subject and its status in the history of Icelandic.

Elly van Gelderen  
Towards personal subjects in English: Variation in feature interpretability.

Lars Heltoft  
Recasting Danish subjects: Case system, word order and subject development.

D. Gary Miller  
Subject and object in Old English and Latin copular deontics.

Muriel Norde  
The loss of lexical case in Swedish.

GRONINGER ARBEITEN ZUR GERMANISTISCHEN LINGUISTIK 44 (2001). Making Sense: in honor of Werner Abraham, Geert van der Meer and Alice G.B. ter Meulen, eds. [See Newsdesk above.]

Werner Abraham  
On identifying unaccusativity.

Jon Ole Askedal  
Mysteries of response particles in Norwegian and German: toward a comparative study.

David Dowty  
The semantic asymmetry of 'argument alternations' (and why it matters).

Elly van Gelderen  
Evidentials and aspect.

Laszlo Molnarfi  
On the Interpretation of Multiple Negation in Spoken and Written Afrikaans.

Susan Olsen  
Coordination in morphology and syntax: the case of copulative compounds.

Helmut Weiss (\*)  
Information structure meets minimalist syntax: on argument

order and Case morphology in Bavarian.

Gerda HASSLER, ed., 2001, Sprachkontakt und Sprachvergleich. Nodus Publikationen, Muenster. ISBN 3-89323-134-X. (Studium Sprachwissenschaft. Beihefte. 34.). <http://go.to/nodus>

Ilse Wischer

Sprachkontakt und Grammatikalisierung. Zum Einfluss des Altnordischen auf die Entwicklung der englischen Sprache. Heide Wegener

Integration und Nichtintegration von Satzkonjunkten im Deutschen und im Franzoesischen.

Proceedings of the HPSG-2000 conference, Dan Flickinger and Andreas Kathol, eds., 2000, CSLI Publications, Stanford.

Stefan Mueller

The passive as a lexical rule. 247-266.  
[[http://www.dfki.de/~stefan/Pub/pass\\_lr.html](http://www.dfki.de/~stefan/Pub/pass_lr.html)]

Andrzej KATNY, ed., 2000, Aspektualitaet in germanischen und slawischen Sprachen. ISBN 83-232-1036-5.

Werner Abraham

Kern-oder Epiphaenomenalitaet? 'Ergativverben' und Mittelkonstruktionen im Sprachenvergleich.

Tibor KISS and Detmar MEURERS, eds., 2001, Constraint-based Approaches to Germanic syntax. Studies in Constraint-Based Lexicalism 7. Stanford: CSLI-Publications.

Stefan Mueller

Case in German - Towards an HPSG-Analysis. 217-255.  
[<http://www.dfki.de/~stefan/Pub/case.html>]

LINGUISTICS IN THE NETHERLANDS 2001. Ton van der Wouden and Hans Broekhuis, eds., John Benjamins, Amsterdam, 2001. AVT Publications 18. ISSN 0929-7332.

Leonie Cornips and Willy Jongenburger (\*)

Elicitation techniques in a Dutch syntactic dialect atlas project. 53-63.

Norbert Corver

On predicate numerals. 65-76. [argues that DP-internal numerals are predicates undergoing predicate displacement, either by head movement or by XP-movement; data from Dutch, English, Romanian, Hebrew]

Petra Hendriks

Initial coordination and the Law of Coordination of Likes.

127-138.

Matthijs van der Meer, Wouter van Atteveld, Peter Coopmans,  
and William Phillip

Subject-object asymmetries in Dutch children's comprehension  
of \*wie\*-questions. 167-176.

MIT WORKING PAPERS IN LINGUISTICS 39. A few from building E39,  
Elena Guerzoni and Ora Matushansky, eds.

Cornelia Krause

On possession and inherent Case.

Peter Svenonius

On Object Shift, scrambling and the PIC.

Reimar MUELLER and Marga REIS, eds., Modalitaet und  
Modalverben im Deutschen. Buske Verlag, Hamburg. Linguistische  
Berichte Sonderheft 9. ISBN 3-87548-254-9.

Werner Abraham (\*)

Modals: toward explaining the 'epistemic non-finiteness  
gap'.

Katrin Axel (\*)

Althochdeutsche Modalverben als Anhebungsverben.

Ulrike Demske (\*)

Zur Distribution von Infinitivkomplementen im Althoch-  
deutschen.

Gabriele Diewald (\*)

'Scheinen'-Probleme: Analogie, Konstruktionsmischung und die  
Sogwirkung aktiver Grammatikalisierungskanaele.

Serge Doitchinov (\*)

"Es kann sein, dass der Junge ins Haus gegangen ist" - Zum  
Erstspracherwerb von 'koennen' in epistemischer Lesart.

John Durbin and Rex A. Sprouse (\*)

The syntactic category of the preterite-present modal verbs  
in German.

Veronika Ehrich (\*)

Was 'nicht muessen' und 'nicht koennen' (nicht) bedeuten  
koennen: Zum Skopus der Negation bei den Modalverben des  
Deutschen.

Thomas Gloning (\*)

Gebrauchsweisen von Modalverben und Texttraditionen.

Ferdinand de Haan (\*)

The Relation between Modality and Evidentiality.

Daniel Holl (\*)

Was ist modal an Modalen Infinitiven?

Reimar Mueller (\*)

Modalverben, Infinitheit und Negation im Prosa-Lancelot.

Doris Penka and Arnim von Stechow (\*)

Negative Indefinita unter Modalverben.

Marga Reis (\*)

Bilden Modalverben im Deutschen eine syntaktische Klasse?

Proceedings of NELS 31 (2001), Minjoo Kim and Uri Strauss, eds., GLSA, Amherst, Massachusetts.

Ana Arregui

Avoid F in ACD.

Zheljko Boshkovic

Floating quantifiers and th-role assignment.

Barbara Citko

Deletion under identity in relative clauses.

Jocelyn Cohan

Reconsidering identification focus.

Marcel den Dikken and Anastasia Giannakidou

What the hell?!

Nicole Dehe

Intonation patterns of particle verb constructions in English.

William D. Davies and Stanley Dubinsky

Bypassing subjacency effects: how event structure amnesties extraction out of object NPs.

Howard Lasnik

When can you save a structure by destroying it?

Felicia Lee

Relative clauses without wh-movement.

Martha McGinnis

Phases and the syntax of applicatives.

Acrisio Pires

Clausal and TP-defective gerunds: control without tense.

Lisa deMena Travis

The syntax of reduplication.

Takae Tsujioka

Improper remnant A-movement

Proceedings of the 18th SCANDINAVIAN CONFERENCE OF LINGUISTICS (2000). Arthur Holmer, Jan-Olof Svantesson, and Ake Viberg, eds. Lund University, Dept. of Linguistics and Phonetics. ISBN 91-974116-0-4.

Johanna Barddal

The role of thematic roles in constructions? Evidence from the Icelandic inchoative.

Britta Jensen

Syntactic negative polarity item licensing: evidence from English and Danish.

Kristin Melum Eide & Torbjørn Nordgaard

Modals and the syntax-semantics interface: the Scandinavian challenge.

Elisabet Engdahl

Scandinavian passives in HPSG.

Thorhallur Eythorsson

Dative vs. nominative: changes in quirky subjects in Icelandic.

Benjamin Lyngfelt

C-command vs. logophoric control: interpretive OT applied to

Swedish adverbial infinitives.  
Helge Loedrup  
Clausal arguments and unbounded dependencies.  
Joakim Nivre  
A Scandinavian perspective on Swedish indefinite  
determiners.  
Torbjørn Nordgaard and Lars G. Johnsen  
Complex passives - a declarative analysis.  
Peter Svenonius  
Impersonal passives and the EPP: a phase-based analysis.  
Kendra Wilson  
Old Icelandic topicalization and the emergence of stylistic  
fronting.  
Ann Lindvall  
Swedish verb particles and Polish aspect marking.  
Michael Riessler  
North Scandinavian and Saami - two morphosyntactic  
parallels.  
Anneli Nilsson  
Semantic shift among adjectives in the southern-Swedish  
dialect of Scania.  
Rita Therkelsen  
The Danish discourse particles 'jo', 'da', and 'vel'

Chr. SCHANER, John RENNISON, and F. NEUBARTH, eds., 2001,  
Naturally! Linguistic studies in honour of Wolfgang Ulrich  
Dressler presented on the occasion of his 60th birthday.  
Torino: Rosenberg & Sellier.

Werner Abraham  
The evidential status of modal verbs in German.

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Eisenberg. Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin. ISBN 3-484-73053-6.

Werner Abraham and Aniek IJbema  
Die syntaktische Funktion des infinitivischen zu.

Werner THIELEMANN and Klaus WELKE, eds., 2001, Valenztheorie  
-- Einsichten und Ausblicke. Nodus Publikationen, Muenster.  
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Hans-Werner Eroms  
Geloeste und ungeloeeste Fragen der verbalen Valenz.  
Gerd Wotjak  
Valenztheorie im Aufwind? Versuch einer Bilanz.  
Ludwig M. Eichinger  
Dependentielle Analyse komplexer Praedikate.  
Helmut Glueck  
Die Verlaufsformen in den germanischen Sprachen, besonders  
im Deutschen.

John Ole Askedal

Interlinguale Valenzdivergenzen im Bereich indirekter  
Objekte: Deutsch vs. Norwegisch.

Ulrich Engel (unter Mitarbeit von Danuta Rytel-Kuc)

Kontrastive Valenzbeschreibung deutsch-slawisch.

UCL WORKING PAPERS IN LINGUISTICS 13 (2001). [also accessible  
through [www.phon.ucl.ac.uk/home/PUB/WPL/uclwpl.html](http://www.phon.ucl.ac.uk/home/PUB/WPL/uclwpl.html)]

Peter Ackema and Kriszta Szendrői.

Determiner sharing as an instance of dependent ellipsis.

[Argues that determiner sharing involves a two-step elision  
process of coordinate ellipsis and 'determiner ellipsis'.]

Ad Neeleman and Hans van de Koot.

Bare resultatives.

[A complex-predicate analysis of resultatives in terms of  
bare phrase structure.]

Petra M. VOGEL and Bernard COMRIE, eds., 2000, Approaches to  
the typology of word classes. Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin. ISBN  
3-11-016102-8.

Werner Abraham

Modal particles in German: word classification and legacy  
beyond grammaticalization.

Sheila WATTS, Jonathan WEST, and Hans-Joachim SOLMS, eds.,  
2001, Zur verbmorphologie germanischer Sprachen. Niemeyer,  
Tuebingen.

Werner Abraham

Peculiarities of verbal classes in German, particularly in  
relation to English and Dutch.

ZAS PAPERS IN LINGUISTICS 23 (2001)

Carsten Breul.

Focus structure and the referential status of indefinite  
quantificational expressions. 23-38.

### 3.4 Unpublished material received

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Context-sensitive Spell-Out and adjacency. Ms., Utrecht  
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A-chains and the PF-interface: copies and covert movement.  
Ms., McGill University. To appear in Natural Language and  
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- Hankamer, Jorge and Line Mikkelsen. 2001.  
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Grammaticalization and infinitival complements in Dutch. Ms., Leiden University.
- Julien, Marit. 2001.  
Determiners and word order in Scandinavian nominal phrases. Ms., University of Tromsø.
- Kayne, Richard S. 2001.  
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Argumentstructuur in het Nederlands. Ms., Utrecht University. [book length study, available from <http://www.let.uu.nl/~nltaal/kerstens/boek.htm>]
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Review of Meurers and Kiss, eds. Constraint-Based Approaches to Germanic Syntax. To appear in Nordic Journal of Linguistics 24.2.
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- Molnarfi, Laszlo. 2001.  
Focus and Antifocus in modern Afrikaans and West Germanic. Ms., University of Vienna.
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Representation, ed. Horst Simon and Heike Wiese. Amsterdam,  
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- Weiss, Helmut. 2001. (\*)  
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#### 4. GGSN News and Information

##### NEW EDITORS

Arild Hestvik has indicated that he would like to withdraw from the editorial team of the Newsletter. Arild's job was to supervise the email distribution of the Newsletter from our office in Bergen, Norway. This job he executed splendidly and for many years. We thank him for his service. Arild will be replaced by Oeystein Alexander Vangsnes from the University of Tromsøe, Norway, who will also act as Scandinavian correspondent. Also new in our team is Cedric Boeckx, from the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, who fills the position of American correspondent. The former American correspondent, Kleantes Kostas Grohmann, will continue as European correspondent, following his move from College Park, Maryland, to Frankfurt, Germany.

## WEB SITE

The Germanic Generative Syntax Newsletter has a web site which allows you to SUBSCRIBE, SUBMIT contributions, and READ or PRINT previous issues of the GGSN (in PDF format). The URL is:  
<http://go.to/ggsn>

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## 5. Abstracts

Abraham, Werner. 2001. Modals: toward explaining the 'epistemic non-finiteness gap'. In: Reimar Mueller and Marga Reis, eds., *Modalitaet und Modalverben im Deutschen*. Buske Verlag, Hamburg. *Linguistische Berichte Sonderheft 9*, 7-36.

Modal verbs in German are subject to remarkable distributional constraints with respect to embedded structures, both on the basis of aktionsart perfectivity and finiteness. Only the root, but not the epistemic readings suspend these restrictions. It will be argued that this is due, in essence, to different theta marking. From this several interesting conclusions follow: First, if both types of readings are taken as deriving raising verbs, then there are two syntactically different types of raising predicates; or else, the root readings derive from control type predicates, an assumption that is heavily debated in modern literature. Second, the 'non-finiteness gap' of epistemics ('no infinitival epistemic readings') is explained on the basis of their basic position in the functional domain under InflP or some MoodP, in minimal terms. Since all this as well as other similarities of the German modals with full verbs is completely absent in Modern English and since, furthermore, Modern English, ever since Middle English, has lost its aktionsart marking of perfectivity, it is speculated that modals in Modern German still betray their

origin as preterite presents. It is demonstrated, moreover, that the aspectual system of Modern English is a novel development. This, in turn, permits the conclusion that the strong tendency of losing deontic readings in Modern American English is due to the loss of the earlier aspectual system akin to that of Old High German and preserved in traces unto Modern German.

Axel, Katrin. 2001. Althochdeutsche Modalverben als Anhebungsverben. In: Reimar Mueller and Marga Reis, eds., *Modalitaet und Modalverben im Deutschen*. Buske Verlag, Hamburg. *Linguistische Berichte Sonderheft 9*, 37-60.

This paper argues against accounts correlating the late rise of epistemic variants of modal verbs (MV) with the diachronic emergence of raising constructions. It is widely claimed that in early Germanic, epistemic readings of MV were at best marginal, but that Old High German (OHG) had already acquired epistemic readings in a number of examples with 'mugan' [may]. Concentrating on OHG, I will argue that (i) these examples are spurious, (ii) that OHG MV, though almost completely lacking epistemic readings, act like raising verbs in various diagnostic contexts: Not only do they embed impersonal predicates and impersonal passives, but they also occur with non-referential subjects such as subject clauses, expletive subjects and idiom chunks subjects. Thus, the historical record shows, that in the case of German MV, raising cannot be the only precondition for epistemicity.

Geert Booij, *The Morphology of Dutch*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 2002. ISBN 0-19-829980-X (pb), 0-19-829979-6 (hb).

This book on the morphology of Dutch has two aims. First, it is meant as an internationally accessible description of the morphology of Dutch. So far, a full-fledged description of the Dutch morphological system was not available in English. The availability of such a description, that is, of a theoretically informed reference work on Dutch morphology appeared to be a desideratum among colleagues working on descriptive, typological, theoretical or computational issues in linguistics. Moreover, it is now possible to write such a reference work because there are a lot of detailed studies of Dutch morphology, both with a descriptive and a theoretical orientation, on which it can be based. This book can also be used to gain access to these detailed studies which can be found in the references. The list of references is a selection only from the vast number of publications on the morphology of Dutch.

The second ambition of this book is to show that the morphology of Dutch poses many interesting descriptive and

theoretical challenges, and that its detailed analysis can contribute substantially to the ongoing discussion on theoretical issues such as the nature of word formation processes, the relation between the syntagmatic axis and the paradigmatic axis of language structure, the interaction of morphology with phonology, syntax, and semantics, rule-based versus constraint-based grammar, and the balance between storage and computation. Therefore, this book can also be used in advanced courses in morphology for the clarification and illustration of theoretical issues.

Cornips, Leonie and Willy Jongenburger. 2001. Elicitations techniques in a Dutch syntactic dialect atlas project. *Linguistics in the Netherlands* 2001, 53-63.

In this paper we present the design and the methodology of the SAND (Dutch syntactic dialect atlas)-project. Dialectological, sociolinguistic and generative syntactic researchers in the Netherlands and in Dutch-speaking Belgium join forces in order to make a syntactic atlas that, unlike the traditional atlases, is based on theoretical generative insights. The design of the data collection of syntactic variation in the Dutch dialects (grid of 250 locations) is focussed on the following research topics: left and right periphery of the clause, pronominal reference and negation and quantification. The SAND-project is demanding with respect to the methodology. In order to be able to investigate the distribution of syntactic variables in the Dutch dialects in a systematical way, several elicitation techniques, such as written questionnaires and oral elicitation tasks, are used in the different phases of fieldwork.

Demske, Ulrike. 2001. Zur Distribution von Infinitivkomplementen im Althochdeutschen. In: Reimar Mueller and Marga Reis, eds., *Modalitaet und Modalverben im Deutschen*. Buske Verlag, Hamburg. *Linguistische Berichte Sonderheft* 9, 61-86.

The increasing use of 'zu'-infinitives at the expense of bare infinitives is a well-known fact in the history of German. Its interpretation in terms of desemanticization of the prepositional 'zu' suggests (i) that the distribution of both forms is semantically governed in Old High German (OHG), and (ii) that infinitives are nominal categories. Thus, infinitival complements are predicted to be semantically and syntactically licensed by the governing verb. Yet, a thorough investigation of infinitival constructions in OHG reveals (i) that we have to distinguish between nominal and verbal uses of the infinitive, (ii) that 'zu' denotes purpose only with adverbial and predicative uses of the infinitive, and (iii) that verbs selecting

infinitival complements fall into two groups: modal verbs, AcI-verbs and raising verbs are restricted to bare infinitives, whereas control verbs allow both forms. Their distribution is shown to be influenced by factors of language use. Regarding the issue of  $\pm$ coherent construction in OHG, the form of the infinitive has no diagnostic value.

Diewald, Gabriele. 2001. 'Scheinen'-Probleme: Analogie, Konstruktionsmischung und die Sogwirkung aktiver Grammatikalisierungskanaele. In: Reimar Mueller and Marga Reis, eds., *Modalitaet und Modalverben im Deutschen*. Buske Verlag, Hamburg. *Linguistische Berichte Sonderheft 9*, 87-110.

The verb 'scheinen' in constructions with an infinitive with 'zu', like in 'Sie scheint zu arbeiten' [She seems to be working], as acquired the function of an evidential marker in present-day German, and, in this use, is integrated into the paradigm of the grammaticalized modals. This paper addresses the question why 'scheinen', in opposition to the modals, takes an infinitive with 'zu', and how the constructional variations of this verb should be accounted for. These problems are investigated from a diachronic angle, assuming that channelization effects induced by the grammaticalization of the German modal verbs, analogy, and the merger of different constructions play an important role in the development of 'scheinen'.

Doitchinov, Serge. 2001. "Es kann sein, dass der Junge ins Haus gegangen ist" - Zum Erstspracherwerb von 'koennen' in epistemischer Lesart. In: Reimar Mueller and Marga Reis, eds., *Modalitaet und Modalverben im Deutschen*. Buske Verlag, Hamburg. *Linguistische Berichte Sonderheft 9*, 111-134.

An experimental study was conducted on how children understand the epistemic meaning of the German modal verb 'koennen' [may] as compared to comprehension of the epistemic adverbial 'vielleicht' [maybe/perhaps]. The hypotheses are (a) that the epistemic meaning of 'koennen' is acquired gradually, and (b) that children will have more difficulties to understand 'koennen' correctly than 'vielleicht', due to the polyfunctionality of the modal 'koennen'. The comprehension of sentences with vielleicht and non-ambiguous sentences with 'koennen' by 91 children from 5;7 to 9;6 in four groups was tested in a picture-selection task. The results show that the 7 to 9-year-olds were significantly better than the 6-year-olds regarding vielleicht, and the 8 to 9-year-olds were significantly better than the younger groups regarding 'koennen'. The results also show that the 6 to 8-years-olds understood the sentences with 'vielleicht' significantly better than the sentences with 'koennen'. These findings support Shatz & Wilcox's (1991) claim that the late

acquisition of the epistemic meaning of modal verbs cannot be solely explained by the overall cognitive development of the child, but that, on the contrary, specific linguistic constraints may also play a role in the acquisition of the different epistemic devices.

Durbin, John and Rex A. Sprouse. 2001. The syntactic category of the preterite-present modal verbs in German. In: Reimar Mueller and Marga Reis, eds., *Modalitaet und Modalverben im Deutschen*. Buske Verlag, Hamburg. *Linguistische Berichte Sonderheft 9*, 135-148.

In analyses of modal verbs in Modern Standard English and Modern Standard German, syntactic tests tend to classify English modals as auxiliaries, whereas the same tests do not distinguish German modals from other full lexical verbs. These well-known contrasts, however, are based on an underlying distinction between epistemic and non-epistemic interpretations, so that the behavior of English modals as opposed to English full verbs corresponds to a similar distinction between the German epistemic and non-epistemic modal verbs. While this argues for a syntactic position higher up from the VP for epistemic modals (and English modal verbs in general), empirical evidence also speaks against the classification of German non-epistemic modals as full verbs. The hypothesis is proposed that German modal verbs are base-generated in the head of an Aspect Phrase within vP (cf. Travis 2000). The particular behavior of modal verbs with respect to the embedded complement is thereby explained in terms of aspect, leading to questions about theta-role assignment.

Ehrich, Veronika. 2001. Was 'nicht muessen' und 'nicht koennen' (nicht) bedeuten koennen: Zum Skopus der Negation bei den Modalverben des Deutschen. In: Reimar Mueller and Marga Reis, eds., *Modalitaet und Modalverben im Deutschen*. Buske Verlag, Hamburg. *Linguistische Berichte Sonderheft 9*, 149-176.

German modal verbs govern bare infinitives in coherent constructions. Accordingly, sentence negators ('nicht' [not]) combined with modal verbs allow for two different scope assignments, wide scope negation 'Neg (Mod)' or narrow scope negation 'Mod (Neg)'. As a matter of fact, wide scope negation is the default case in German. Based on Kratzer's notion of relative modality, I discuss various scope assignment patterns in the field of negation and modality. A peculiarity of German is the lexical coexistence between 'nicht muessen' [not must] and 'nicht brauchen' [not need], which are both to be analysed with wide scope negation. I argue, that 'nicht muessen' and 'nicht brauchen', while conveying the same logical meaning 'not (Nec) p', are, nonetheless, semantically distinct, in that they express a

distinction between unnecessary vs. superfluous courses of action. A further peculiarity is that negated 'wollen' [will] and 'sollen' [shall] often convey equivalent meanings, no matter whether the negation is assigned wide or narrow scope. I explain this fact by reference to modal force: 'wollen'/'sollen' can be used as necessity or as possibility operators, such that wide scope negation of the necessity variant equals narrow scope negation of the possibility variant and vice versa. The restriction of quotative modals to narrow scope negation is another issue discussed. Rejecting the auxiliarization hypothesis, I argue that this restriction cannot be explained in syntactic terms, but rather follows from semantic/pragmatic properties of quotative as opposed to perceptual evidentiality. Finally, despite the general predominance of wide scope negation, narrow scope negation seems unmarked in cases where 'nicht' combines with restrictive focus particles like 'nur' [only]. I show that, in these cases, narrow scope negation does not apply to the subject-infinitive-predication, but rather cancels the restriction expressed by 'nur'. This is why different negation scopes do not correlate with different interpretations and convey pragmatically equivalent readings.

Faarlund, Jan Terje, ed. 2001. Grammatical relations in change. SLCS 56. John Benjamins, Amsterdam/Philadelphia. ISBN 90 272 3058 7.

The eleven selected contributions making up this volume deal with grammatical relations, their coding and behavioral properties, and the change that these properties have undergone in different languages. The focus of this collection is on the changing properties of subjects and objects, although the scope of the volume goes beyond the central problems pertaining to case marking and word order. The diachrony of syntactic and morphosyntactic phenomena are approached from different theoretical perspectives, generative grammar, valency grammar, and functionalism. The languages dealt with include Old English, Mainland Scandinavian, Icelandic, German and other Germanic languages, Latin, French and other Romance languages, Northeast Caucasian, Eskimo, and Popolocan. This book provides an opportunity to compare different theoretical approaches to similar phenomena in different languages and language families.

Gloning, Thomas. 2001. Gebrauchsweisen von Modalverben und Texttraditionen. In: Reimar Mueller and Marga Reis, eds., Modalitaet und Modalverben im Deutschen. Buske Verlag, Hamburg. Linguistische Berichte Sonderheft 9, 177-200.

In this paper, I shall highlight some interrelations between text types and certain usages of modals in the history of German. On the one hand, there are instances of a specific profile of the use of modals in certain text types (e.g. charters, cookery recipes etc.), on the other hand, certain usages of modals are prominent in certain text types (e.g. epistemic usages in chronicles, newspapers etc.). An explanation for both interrelations is given in terms of communicative tasks. In addition, it is shown, how knowledge of text types can be both a resource of mutual understanding in communication with modals and an important factor in the mechanism of semantic change.

de Haan, Ferdinand. 2001. The Relation between Modality and Evidentiality. In: Reimar Mueller and Marga Reis, eds., *Modalitaet und Modalverben im Deutschen*. Buske Verlag, Hamburg. *Linguistische Berichte Sonderheft 9*, 201-216.

This paper examines the relation between evidentiality and epistemic modality in a crosslinguistic perspective. It is shown that contrary to what many scholars believe, there is no close relationship between the two. Rather, the two areas are different ways of talking about the role of the speaker: evidentials assert the evidence the speaker has while epistemic modals evaluate the statement in terms of speaker beliefs. Finally it is shown that for an understanding of the Germanic modal system the notion of confirmativity is needed.

Holl, Daniel. 2001. Was ist modal an Modalen Infinitiven? In: Reimar Mueller and Marga Reis, eds., *Modalitaet und Modalverben im Deutschen*. Buske Verlag, Hamburg. *Linguistische Berichte Sonderheft 9*, 217-238.

This paper is about so-called Modal Infinitives in German. The core cases consist of the auxiliaries 'sein' or 'haben' and a 'zu'-infinitive. It is argued that in contrast to modal verb constructions it is the ('zu'-)infinitive, not the auxiliary, which bears the structurally relevant properties of Modal Infinitives. It is this type of 'zu'-infinitive that leads to a modal interpretation and to a passive effect (in certain structural contexts) that is observable with 'sein-zu'-constructions. Furthermore it preserves residues of a purposive meaning. A semantic analysis shows that 'sein-zu'-constructions and 'haben-zu'-constructions share, in spite of some prima facie differences, important semantic properties so that the same type of 'zu'-infinitive is taken to be part of both constructions. The fact that Modal Infinitives are restricted to a few types of circumstantial modal readings, which is a substantial difference to German modal verbs, is shown to be correlated with the syntactic and semantic

properties of the 'zu'-infinitive as the bearer of modal meaning. Thus, even the puzzling polysemy between necessity and possibility readings found with 'sein-zu'-constructions appears to be evidence for assuming a modal 'zu'-infinitive.

Merchant, Jason. 2001. The syntax of silence: Sluicing, islands, and the theory of ellipsis. Oxford University Press: Oxford.

Two of the best studied and most intriguing areas in syntax and semantics are ellipsis and wh-movement, and although these areas have generated immense interest individually, their intersection --in elliptical wh-questions known as sluicing-- has remained largely neglected. This book aims to fill that gap. It does so on the basis of a wide-ranging empirical investigation of sluicing, drawing on novel data from over two dozen languages, with a special emphasis on Germanic in general and on Dutch, German, and English in particular. Sluicing is argued to arise via wh-movement followed by ellipsis of IP, implemented as "deletion" (non-pronunciation) at PF; the deletion itself is conditioned, however, by a novel semantic requirement.

Mueller, Reimar. 2001. Modalverben, Infinitheit und Negation im Prosa-Lancelot. In: Reimar Mueller and Marga Reis, eds., Modalitaet und Modalverben im Deutschen. Buske Verlag, Hamburg. Linguistische Berichte Sonderheft 9, 239-262.

Modal verbs systematically have circumstantial as well as epistemic uses in German ('polyfunctionality') - a phenomenon dating back to the 15th/16th century. This paper deals with the question whether this fact can be correlated with the emergence of coherence in the verbal complex. After examining which of the usual tests for coherence are appropriate for older language stages, two candidates (ambiguity of negation and 'infinitivus pro participio') are selected and applied to the Middle High German 'Prose-Lancelot' text. It is shown that the phenomena in question can be linked to a diachronic expansion of the projection selected by modal verbs and that, therefore, a causal relation between them is at least plausible.

Penka, Doris and Arnim von Stechow. 2001. Negative Indefinita unter Modalverben. In: Reimar Mueller and Marga Reis, eds., Modalitaet und Modalverben im Deutschen. Buske Verlag, Hamburg. Linguistische Berichte Sonderheft 9, 263-286.

Starting from data on negation split, where a modal takes scope between the negative and the indefinite part of an n-word, we propose a theory of negative indefinites in German. They are analysed as very special Negative Polarity

Items that have to be in the immediate scope of an abstract negation. This is reminiscent of Ladusaw's (1992) account of negative concord in that n-words do not themselves express negation, but rather refer to sentential negation which is realized in a different way. The strongest arguments in favour of such an analysis come from n-words in idioms embedded under modal verbs ('Peter muss keinen Finger rühren'/'Peter doesn't need to lift a finger'). Although the n-word is part of the idiom and as such cannot undergo Quantifier Raising [QR], negation still has wide scope over the modal. This does not only refute analyses of negation split that crucially involve QR (e.g. de Swart 2000), but also shows that LF movement of n-words to SpecNeg, as assumed in the NEG-Criterion by Haegeman and Zanuttini (e.g. 1991), is untenable for semantic reasons. The paper gives a syntactic and semantic analysis of the examples discussed. It traces the construction back to its roots in the diachronic development of German and addresses the issue of negative concord in Bavarian. The analysis carries over to negative concord straightforwardly, suggesting a general account of negative indefinites across languages. Possible counterexamples involving modification of n-words by 'almost' (It. 'non ha detto quasi niente' [he said almost nothing]) are discussed without arriving at a definite conclusion.

Reis, Marga. 2001. Bilden Modalverben im Deutschen eine syntaktische Klasse? In: Reimar Mueller and Marga Reis, eds., *Modalitaet und Modalverben im Deutschen*. Buske Verlag, Hamburg. *Linguistische Berichte Sonderheft 9*, 287-318.

The defining semantic property of modal verbs (MV) in Modern German is that they are 'polyfunctional', i.e. all of them have not only circumstantial but also epistemic uses. The question asked in this paper is whether this property systematically depends on correlating syntactic properties of MVs. Three possible answers are discussed: Polyfunctionality depends on (i) the auxiliary viz. 'functional' status of MVs, (ii) their double orientation as control vs. raising verbs, (iii) their obligatory coherent viz. bare infinitival construction. By closely examining the arguments advanced in favour of (i)-(ii), it is shown that neither hypothesis can be upheld. This leaves (iii), the coherence hypothesis of Ehrich & Reis (1998): I will refine this hypothesis by distinguishing degrees of coherence (with polyfunctionality contingent on 'strong' coherence as induced by bare infinitival construction), and provide some positive, synchronic as well as diachronic, evidence for its being on the right track.

Weiss, Helmut. 2001. On Two Types of Natural Languages. Some Consequences for Linguistics. *Theoretical Linguistics* 27: 87-

First of all, this paper attempts to introduce and define the difference between first order and second order natural languages based on the difference of being subject to L1 acquisition or not. Secondly, I will try to show some consequences resulting from this distinction w.r.t. language change (natural vs. semi-natural LC) and thirdly, following from this, for linguistic research in general. The results may be of relevance for linguistic theory (and methodology) as well as for a theory of LC (allowing, e.g., to draw the borderline between the (bio)linguistic and social domains of languages more accurately). Finally, I will try to show how one could figure out constructions resulting from semi-natural LC (via diachronic, comparative and dialectological comparisons).

Weiss, Helmut. 2001. Information structure meets Minimalist syntax. On argument order and case morphology in Bavarian, in: Geart van der Meer, Alice ter Meulen (eds.): Making Sense: From Lexeme to Discourse. In honor of Werner Abraham at the occasion of his retirement, 21-34 Center for Language and Cognition, University of Groningen (GAGL 44). [Revised version submitted to: Werner Abraham, Alice ter Meulen (eds.): Making Sense: From Lexeme to Discourse. Oxford University Press]

This article (i) focuses on the interplay of case morphology and (relatively) free word order in Middle Bavarian and (ii) draws some theoretical consequences regarding the relation between information structure and narrow syntax in the Minimalist sense (Chomsky 1999). There are especially two types of scrambling movements which are investigated: (i) scrambling of a definite direct object to the left of an indefinite indirect object; (ii) focus scrambling. The main claim is that the first type, which looks at first like being informationally driven, can be analyzed as purely feature driven, as conceived within the Minimalist Program (MP), whereas the other type does not fall into the range of narrow syntax. In order to find a way out of the dilemma that the MP is „too strong a theory to do justice to empirical phenomena in such languages as German [etc.]“ (Abraham 1997a: 3), I adopt and develop further Chomsky's (1995: 524f.) distinction between core computational operations and more or less „stylistic“ ones. Additionally, the Principle of Strong Morphology (PSM) will be introduced: it claims - in contrast to the Feature Strength Hypothesis (cf. Haegeman 1998) - that strong morphology delays feature checking to Logical Form (LF). It will play a crucial role in explaining the typological difference between free word order languages (like Bavarian or Malayalam) and rigid word order languages (like Dutch or English).

Weiss, Helmut. 2001. Three types of Negation. A case study in

Bavarian. To appear in *Syntactic Microvariation*, ed. Sjeff Barbiers.

My goal here is to present and investigate some data showing that there are three types of non-constituent negation in Bavarian which do not only differ semantically but syntactically as well (which does not seem to be the case in all languages, see section VI). The two types of (non-expletive) clausal negation differ in their syntactic position: negation 1 - as predicate negation it constitutes the unmarked case of sentence negation - immediately dominates VP, whereas negation 2 is located higher in the sentence structure. There are some further differences, for instance that only Neg 1 induces negative concord, but not Neg 2. Both types of clausal negations contribute negative force to sentence meaning, putting them in clear contrast to expletive negation which contributes no negative meaning despite the presence of the negative particle. Expletive negation occurs, e.g., in questions or in *before*-sentences.

Weiss, Helmut. 2001. *Indefinite Pronouns. Morphology and Syntax in Cross-linguistic Perspective*. To appear in *Pronouns: Grammar and Representation*, ed. Horst Simon and Heike Wiese. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: Benjamins.

The paper cross-linguistically investigates the systems of indefinite pronouns (corresponding in meaning to ‚some-/any-/no-one‘) in three contexts: normal negation (NEG), negative polarity (NPI), positive polarity (PPI). Given the basic distinction between NC (negative concord) languages and Non-NC-languages, the following distribution results: if a language possesses only two kinds of indefinites, then in NC-languages, indefinites in PPI-contexts pattern with those in NPI-contexts, and are distinct from those in NEG-contexts (e.g., German: *jemand* vs. *niemand*), whereas in Non-NC-languages indefinites in NPI- and NEG-contexts are the same, and are distinct from those in PPI-contexts (e.g., Hindi: *koi bhii* vs. *koi*).

Based on these typological findings which show n-indefinites to be neither NPIs nor quantifiers, I attempt to give a new Minimalist explanation of NC in section IV which ties together the semantic and syntactic side of negation. The basic semantic assumptions are that negation is a tripartite quantifier (quantifying over events) and n-indefinites get existentially closed. I further try to implement this in a Minimalist framework: the NEG feature of n-indefinites is conceived as a formal feature (like the *wh*-feature of interrogatives) which has to be checked and gets deleted thereafter. Under this conception, NC loses most of its traditional senses: it is neither a form of reinforcement (Horn 1978, Haspelmath 1997) nor is it a negative polarity phenomenon (Progovac 1994) nor does the n-indefinite introduce the negative force (e.g., Beghelli & Stowell 1997,

Haegeman & Zanuttini 1991, Haegeman 1995).

Weiss, Helmut. 2001. How to define dialect and language. A proposal for further discussion. Ms., University of Regensburg.

This article proposes definitions of two key concepts in linguistics, dialect and language, and formulates these in analogy to the biological concepts population and species. This allows for a much more coherent way of defining these concepts. In addition, a three-level model of language consisting of (i) an innate faculty of language (FL), (ii) I-language, and (iii) utterances will be proposed. Some of the more radical consequences resulting therefrom concern standard languages which are considered as entirely different entities, and languages traditionally known as Chinese, German, Dutch etc. which are claimed not to exist from a strictly linguistic point of view.

Weiss, Helmut. 2001. AGR-in-COMP? An explanation of (the emergence of) partial pro-drop. Ms., University of Regensburg.

The paper attempts to give an explanation of the typological difference between pro-drop languages of the Romance type and partial pro-drop languages as exemplified in many German dialects and of the historical emergence of the latter. Languages of investigation are mainly Italian and Bavarian (including (sub-)dialects). Bavarian, which allows pro-drop only in the 2. Pers., is a language with rich agreement morphology on the verb, thus indicating that pro-drop is not (only) a question of richness of AGR. Therefore, it is argued that the basic factor distinguishing between pro-drop and partial pro-drop comes from different properties of the positions where clitics land in both language types: I-zero (in Italian) vs. C-zero (in German dialects). Whereas I-zero bears AGR-features, C-zero in general does not. An analysis of some new data from Bavarian shows that pro-drop of the German type needs V2 and cliticization to C-zero as historical preconditions. The way in which AGR-in-COMP developed in Bavarian can be reconstructed from the 1. Pers. Pl. SCL 'ma' (we), which represents an interesting transition stage: it possesses properties of verbal inflection (e.g., allowing to be doubled by the full pronoun 'mia') as well as of clitics (being restricted to second position). However, in some regional variants 'ma' has completely changed into the inflection paradigm and appears there even on sentence final verbs. This being the case, the original SCL 'ma' cannot be considered as a clitic any longer, but must be an inflectional morpheme. AGR-in-COMP appears thus to be a secondarily developed property of C-zero. This explains why pro-drop occurs only partially (namely in those instances where SCLs have changed into

inflection). This result has far reaching consequences for some proposals made in literature, e.g., V- or AGR-features of C-zero cannot trigger V2 or cliticization to C-zero, since both are the preconditions for the emergence of AGR-in-COMP.

Zeller, Jochen. 2001. Lexical particles, semi-lexical postpositions. In N. Corver and H. van Riemsdijk, eds., *Semi-lexical categories: the function of content words and the content of function words*. Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin. *Studies in Generative Grammar* 59. ISBN 3-11-016685-2.

This paper offers a comparison of the syntactic, semantic, and morphological properties of particles and postpositions in German and Dutch. Particles are analyzed as heads of non-functional complements of their base verbs, whereas it is suggested that postpositions are functional elements (heads of the extended projection of P), but with full semantic content. In order to account for the properties of postpositions, it is suggested that these semi-lexical elements are always morphologically complex, consisting of a lexical preposition and a functional suffix, the latter functioning as an operator that alters the semantics of the prepositional stem in a significant way.

Zeller, Jochen. 2001. How syntax restricts the lexicon: particle verbs and internal arguments. *Linguistische Berichte* 188, 461-494.

Particles in German have the capacity to introduce new arguments when they combine with a verb. Based on this observation, I argue that the internal arguments of a particle verb are *always* introduced by the particle. I suggest that this follows from the fact that syntactically, the particle is the head of a maximal projection that occupies the single complement position of the verb; therefore, none of the base verb's arguments can be linked to a syntactic object position if a particle is present. In providing empirical evidence for my claim, I discuss in some detail the derivation of a variety of particle verbs, representing their semantics as Lexical Conceptual Structures, according to the framework developed in Jackendoff (1983, 1990).

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