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## **Anke Assmann, Doreen Georgi, Fabian Heck, Gereon Müller, Philipp Weisser**

### **Ergative bewegen sich zu früh**

Wir behaupten, dass das Verbot von A'-Bewegung von Ergativargumenten in vielen Sprachen nicht durch Beschränkungen über Bewegung, wie etwa Inselbeschränkungen, erklärt werden kann. Wir wollen dafür argumentieren, dass Bewegung von Ergativargumenten nicht verboten ist, sondern dazu führt, dass dem Absolutivargument kein Kasus zugewiesen werden kann. Wir zeigen, dass diese Analyse nicht nur die Asymmetrie zwischen Ergativ- und Absolutivargumenten bzgl. A'-Bewegung ableitet, sondern auch das Fehlen einer vergleichbaren Asymmetrie in Nominativ-Akkusativ-Sprachen. Schließlich erweitern wir die Analyse dahingehend, dass sie den Unterschied zwischen

Ergativsprachen, in denen Ergativargumente nicht bewegt werden könnten, und Ergativsprachen, in denen dieses möglich ist, ableitet.

## **Markus Bader, Sascha Dümig, Friederike Kops**

### **Die Position pronominaler Objekte im Mittelfeld**

Wir präsentieren eine Korpusstudie, die die Position von Personalpronomen in Objektfunktion (Akkusativ- oder Dativobjekt) relativ zum Subjekt untersucht - "... dass der Opa ihn besucht hat" versus "... dass ihn der Opa besucht hat". Im Gegensatz zu Studien zu PPs (Fanselow, 2000) und nicht-pronominalen Objekten (Bader & Häussler, 2009) scheint die Position der Personalpronomen abhängig von der Länge des Subjekts zu sein (Heylen, 2006). Da in die Studie von Heylen primär Reflexivpronomina und nur eine geringe Anzahl von Personalpronomen (n = 179) eingingen, unterlag unserer Studie ein Datensatz von ca. 2000 Nebensätzen mit Objektpronomina. Diese wurden unter Berücksichtigung des Faktors "Länge des Subjekts" und einer Reihe linguistischer Kriterien (Belebtheit, Definitheit, Diskurstatus, Verbsemantik) analysiert. Die Ergebnisse zeigen, dass die Länge respektive das Gewicht des Subjekts relevant ist (pro Hawkins, 1984), aber nur einen Teil der beobachtbaren Variation erklärt (kontra Hawkins, 1984).

## **Maria Balbach**

### **Focus in the German postfield**

According to literature the preverbal position (at the right edge of the middlefield) is the designated position for focus in German (Uhmann (1991)). But there is another possible focus position in German – namely the postfield. This fact is mostly neglected in literature discussing German focus realization. Both possibilities to express focus are exemplified in (1a) and (1b) respectively. Focus is controlled via a context question, (1a) shows focus in its designated position and (1b) gives an example of postverbal focus (the subscript F indicates focus, the crucial verb is underlined).

(1) For what do you have to apologize to the scientists?

a. Wir mussten uns bei ihnen [F für [ACC unser Honorar]] entschuldigen.

*We must us by them for our fee apologize*

'We must apologize to them for our fee.'

b. Wir mussten uns bei ihnen entschuldigen [F für [ACC unser Honorar]].

To check whether the observation in (1b) is an isolated case or a regular possibility, a pilot experiment focusing on PP-objects was conducted: Verbs with two PP-objects were tested; one preposition required the dative and the other the accusative. The unmarked order in the middlefield is dative PP before accusative PP. 80 first- semester linguistic students participated. The results demonstrate that

answer focus can indeed be realized on PP-objects in the postfield (2c and 2d). The following ratings were observed:

(2)

answer	good	rather good	rather bad	bad
a) ACC <sub>F</sub> V DAT	3	5	15	17
b) DAT <sub>F</sub> V ACC	1	9	19	11
Total	4	14	34	28
c) ACC V DAT <sub>F</sub>	3	4	23	10
d) DAT V ACC <sub>F</sub>	1	7	22	10
Total	4	11	45	20

An example for (2d) is given in (1b) and for (2c) in (3).

(3) Ich musste mich dafür entschuldigen bei einem Läufer aus Polen.

*I must myself for.it apologize by a runner from Poland*

'I had to apologize for it to a polish runner.'

Interestingly 2a/2b (preverbal focus) vs. 2c/2d (postverbal focus) and 2a/2c (ACC V DAT) vs. 2b/2d (DAT V ACC) do not differ significantly and consequently the null hypothesis (that all orders behave alike) must be confirmed. This is rather surprising since one might have expected that orders in which the focus is in the designated preverbal position are rated much better than those with postverbal focus. Moreover the unmarked word order DAT > ACC is not favoured if the verb intervenes. The puzzling and seemingly contradictory facts can be explained if one assumes that apart from the standard preverbal focus position there is the possibility to realize (at least) answer focus on PP-objects postverbally. This leads to the following two focus positions: Either focus is realized at the right edge of the middlefield (2a) or at the right edge of the sentence (2b). This is in line with the general tendency to place focused elements as far to the right as possible (cf. Lambrecht (1994)).

- (4) a. [MF ... XP<sub>F</sub>] V  
 b. [MF ... ] V PP<sub>F</sub>

Summing up it was empirically demonstrated that (answer) focus can occur in the German postfield. But as the not overall good ratings illustrate this cannot be the whole story and clearly more research has to be done to explore the informationstructural value of the German postfield. To follow this line of thoughts we are planning to test the acceptability of contrastive focus and discourse topic in the postfield.

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## Sabrina Bertollo

### Cleft Sentences in Standard and in Sub-Standard German

Since the 70s the syntax of cleft sentences has been largely discussed in scientific literature. Even though cleft sentences are possible constructions in Romance languages as well as in English and German, there is a huge variation in their frequency of use. Due to its structural features, German disposes of a number of focusing devices and tends to avoid using cleft constructions. This is one of the reasons why German clefts have been hardly investigated so far. However I am convinced that an analysis of German standard and substandard clefts could give a contribution to a better understanding of the nature of this kind of sentences and can bear fruits for their formal description.

First I will briefly show how traditional grammars tend to cover this topic and I will present the most common strategies used in the standard to form a cleft sentence. It will turn out that the only clefts that are unanimously considered fully grammatical are *es-clefts* in which the focused constituent is a DP followed by a subordinate clause introduced by a *d- pronoun* that agrees in gender and number with the nominative DP of the matrix clause and displays the case governed by the verb of the embedded clause. The copula must agree with the focused element.

(1) Es war die Sonne, die mir am meisten fehlte (Duden 2006)

I will then present some of the strategies used in substandard varieties to form a cleft sentence. Not all of them are universally accepted by native speakers, but a relevant group of them actually use these forms. It will emerge that some cleft formation devices which would be completely impossible in the standard are actually present in substandard varieties and challenge some of the general assumptions which had been made for German cleft sentences. I will cite here some of them:

- The copula doesn't necessarily agree with the focused element:

(2) Es **ist** ich, der das geschriebene erlebt und gefühlt hat. ([www.geo-reisecommunity.de/diskussion](http://www.geo-reisecommunity.de/diskussion))

- The case of the focused element is not always nominative, but may be the one required by the embedded verb (as happens for instance in Italian):

(3) Es ist **ihn**, den ich liebe. ([www.alina.dietberg.de](http://www.alina.dietberg.de))

- The focused element, especially when it is a pronoun, can display accusative case also when it is not selected by the embedded verb (it is probably the default case):

(3) Es ist **mich**, der in deinem neuen Buch über Lotti, die Geschichte eines afrikanischen Kindes geschrieben hat. ([www.gb.webmart.de](http://www.gb.webmart.de))

The subordinate clause of a cleft (irrespective of whether the clefted element is an Adv, a DP, a PP) can be introduced by *wo*. The verb of the embedded clause agrees in number with the focused element if the cleft is on the subject:

(4) Es warst du, **wo** ihn damals abgezogen **hast**. ([www.elitepvpers.com](http://www.elitepvpers.com))

- *Dass* is not totally banned as an introducer of a nominal/pronominal cleft, although it is subject to strong limitations.

(5) Es ist für ihn, dass wir davon profitieren.

(www.htpc-forum.de/forum)

As (6) shows, the clefted element can also be a PP.

These are only some of the facts that challenge standard assumptions on German cleft sentences. The matrix clause of a substandard cleft does not necessarily display the expected structure of the copular sentence: the copula may agree either with the focus or with the semi-argumental *es* (2). In standard German we would instead expect the copula to always agree with the focused element both in copular sentences and clefts. Specific constraints in the case of the focused element, which have been traced back to the nature of the introducer of the subordinate clause and to the mechanism of chains seem not to hold indistinctly. In other words it has been said that in German the focused element of the cleft sentence has to bear nominative case (assigned by the copula) because the *d-pronoun* that introduces the subordinate clause fully satisfies the requirements of the embedded verb and blocks the argumental chain, there is therefore no possibility for the focused element to meet the requirements of the embedded verb, but only those of the copula in the matrix. As (3) and (4) show, this is not the case in (today's) substandard German. Moreover in substandard varieties not only Adv clefts, but also DP and PP clefts can be introduced by a complementiser (see (5) and (6)), although there are specific restrictions on its selection (*wo* basically always works, at least in South varieties, while *dass* can be used only under certain conditions). This supports the idea of structural differences in complementisers, too. *Wo* can connect the embedded verb with the focused element with which it must agree if the clefted constituent is the subject; *d-pronouns* instead, having a case themselves, alter the relationship between the embedded verb and the focus: in subject clefts the verb in the subordinate clause is always inflected for 3<sup>rd</sup> person. *Dass* is very rarely used with DPs, interestingly a subject cleft that has a 1<sup>st</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular pronoun as its focus and *dass* as the introducer of the embedded clause shows the repetition of the subject inside the subordinate clause. It seems that this complementiser cannot preserve the relation between the embedded verb and its subject, which needs to be repeated. It is evidently not by chance that *d-pronouns* and *wo* are very common relativisation strategies, while *dass* is not. It is not very clear yet what the link between the two constructions is and this is a point that surely needs to be further investigated in order to get a more precise picture of this phenomenon. Even though there is no immediate semantic relation between relative clauses and cleft sentences, (the first add information about the antecedent, the second are focusing devices) there seems to be proximity between the two constructions, at least at a structural level.

The empirical data offered by German substandard varieties may shed new light to better understand the syntax of cleft sentences and can lead us to check whether these data can fit into the analyses which have been proposed for this construction in the last few decades (Akmajian 1970, Grewendorf & Poletto 1989, Reeve 2011, Belletti 2008, 2011). I will not propose a detailed theoretical account, but only descriptive conclusions that a theory of cleft sentences should take into consideration.

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## **Silke Fischer**

### **The Emergence of PRO as Repair Strategy**

Recent discussions about control compare in particular two main approaches: the movement theory of control (as put forward, for instance, by Hornstein 1999) versus PRO-based theories of control. In this talk I will address some of the main problems the two approaches face and present an alternative account of control which combines aspects of both former analyses. I argue that a feature mismatch in the numeration gives rise to the emergence of a phonetically empty argument (= PRO); i.e., the insertion of PRO in the numeration is a repair strategy. Since PRO is referentially defective, it must be syntactically licensed under Agree: in obligatory control structures by the first available DP argument; in non-obligatory control structures we get a default valuation, since no other potential licenser is accessible (hence, we get arbitrary control unless other non-syntactic factors - like discourse etc. - enforce another specific reading).

## **Eric Fuß & Günther Grewendorf**

### **Freie Relativsätze mit d-Pronomen: Wer/der daran glaubt, kennt nicht, was/\*das dagegen spricht**

In den modernen germanischen Sprachen werden freie Relativsätze (FR) in der Regel durch w-Pronomen eingeleitet (Wer das behauptet, ist nicht ganz bei Trost, sog. w-FR). Daneben gibt es in vielen Sprachen (und historischen Sprachstufen) eine weitere Option, bei der es sich bei dem satzeinleitenden Element um ein D-Pronomen handelt (Der das behauptet, ist nicht ganz bei Trost, sog. d-FR). In diesem Vortrag wird für das Deutsche gezeigt, dass es eine Reihe von Asymmetrien zwischen diesen beiden Formtypen gibt (syntaktische Distribution im Matrixsatz, Verhalten bei Matching-Effekten, Formeninventar), die gegen eine Analyse von d-FRs als genuine freie Relativsätze sprechen. Im Anschluss werden wir eine alternative Analyse von d-FRs vorschlagen, die auf der Annahme basiert, dass es sich hierbei um „normale“ attributive Relativsätze handelt, deren Bezugselement (unter Identität mit dem Relativpronomen) Gegenstand phonologischer Tilgung ist.

## **Dobrinka Genevska-Hanke**

### **Vulnerable Domains in L2 Acquisition: Null Subjects in Interlanguage**

Previous research has shown evidence for persistent deficits in the competence of L2-learners with respect to subject use in null subject target languages (pro drop) with native language background disallowing subject drop (non-pro drop). The pro drop vs. non-pro drop distinction captures the cross-linguistic variation resulting from the pro drop parameter, parameters being defined in relation to the feature specification of functional categories (e.g. Chomsky 1992). The related problematic domain in L2-acquisition is claimed to be the syntax-discourse interface (Sorace 2005). The acquisition patterns of L2-Spanish (e.g. Liceras 1988, Lozano 2009) and L2-Italian (e.g. Sorace 2003, Belletti, Benatti & Sorace 2007) reveal overproduction of null subjects to a significantly greater extent in comparison to the performance of native speakers. This holds even in the case of proficient L2-speakers. The present study investigates the interlanguage competence of learners of non-pro drop languages with a pro drop background language. This reversed picture has received little or no attention so far as to my knowledge. In particular, the study tests the language performance of 30 Bulgarian natives, considered proficient speakers of their foreign language German (as having mastered C1 of CEFR). Their results in a grammaticality judgment task show errors of both overproduction and underproduction of subjects in contexts, in which native controls perform significantly different. Hence, the results are in line with numerous studies claiming the syntax-discourse interface to remain problematic long after the syntactic properties of L2-subjects have been acquired, thus being a vulnerable domain in L2-acquisition as to subject use.

## **Daniel Gutzmann & Katharina Turgay**

### **Zur Positionierung der Adverbiale im (gesprochenen) Mittelfeld**

Frey & Pittner (1998) geben eine Theorie über die Positionierung der Adverbiale im Mittelfeld. Anhand von Daten aus dem gesprochenen Deutschen überprüfen wir ihre Thesen empirisch.

## **Jutta M. Hartmann**

### **The information structure of German specificational copula clauses**

In this talk, I discuss the information structure of specificational copula clauses as in (1a).

- (1) a. Mein bester Freund ist Peter.  
b. Peter ist mein bester Freund.

In German these sentences have to be distinguished from 'predicate fronting' examples, in which the initial DP is contrastively focused. I will present initial results of a corpus study comparing specificational and predicational copula clauses. I will show that DP1 in specificational structures ('mein bester Freund' in (1a)) can be considered a topic in the sense of Jacobs' (2001) notion of addressation. DP2 has all the properties of a focused DP. This contrasts sharply with predicational sentences like (1b) in which DP1 ('Peter' in (1b)) seems a prototypical topic that refers back to a

referent in the discourse. I propose an analysis of inversion for these sentences (as proposed for the English structures in Mikkelsen (2005) among others) taking the additional dimension of the relevance of information structure into account.

## Fabian Heck & Anke Assmann

### Barrs' Generalisierung, der LF-Zyklus und Scrambling

In der Literatur gibt es verschiedene Vorschläge dazu, wie Barrs' Generalisierung wohl abzuleiten sei. Was bisher unseres Wissens aber noch nicht vorgeschlagen wurde, ist eine Ableitung dieser Generalisierung aus dem LF-Zyklus. In unserem Vortrag werden wir Evidenz für eine solche Theorie vorbringen. Sollte diese Ableitung von Barrs' Generalisierung auf dem richtigen Weg sein -- so werden wir weiter argumentieren -- dann muss Scrambling im Deutschen auf eine Bewegungstransformation zurückgehen (und nicht auf Basisgenerierung).

## Göz Kaufmann

### *Verb Raising is Verb Projection Raising with Scrambling: Evidence from Mennonite Low German*

The question of how speakers of Continental West Germanic languages generate the different variants of clause-final verb clusters has been a research topic for decades. Since EVERS' (1975) groundbreaking work, we are used to referring to the two right-branching variants as *Verb Projection Raising* (VPR; as in (1), example (8a) from LÖTSCHER 1978: 4) and *Verb Raising* (VR; as in (2) taken from my own data set).

- |         |                    |   |
|---------|--------------------|---|
| (1) VPR |                    | [...] wil de Joggel <b>wott</b> <sub>V1</sub> ES GOTTLETT <b>ässe</b> <sub>V2</sub>     |
|         | <i>gloss</i>       | [...] because the Joggel wanted the pork chop eat                                       |
|         | <i>translation</i> | [...] because Joggel wanted to eat the pork chop  |
| (2) VR  |                    | Wann hei DEN VERTRAG <b>wird</b> <sub>V1</sub> <b>unnerschriewe</b> <sub>V2</sub> [...] |
|         | <i>gloss</i>       | If he the contract will sign [...]  |
|         | <i>translation</i> | If he will sign the contract [...]  |

There exist many different descriptions of the internal structure of these clusters. A rather traditional one accounts for VR not with less phonetic material being moved, but with scrambling. In this view, both VPR and VR are derived via verb projection raising; the superficial difference being caused by the scrambling of the object NP in the case of VR. According to DEN BESTEN and BROEKHUIS (quoted in HAEGEMAN 1994: 512): "[...] VR is interpreted as the limiting case of VPR, an instantiation of VPR where all nonverbal material has been scrambled out of the adjoined VP." In my talk, I will show that DEN BESTEN's and BROEKHUIS's scrambling-analysis is supported by my data, at least with regard to Mennonite Low German (MLG). My analysis is based on spontaneous, oral translations of context-free English, Spanish, and Portuguese stimulus sentences into MLG. This task was performed by 313 informants in six North and South American colonies. The comparison of the informants' behavior with regard to VPR and VR and with regard to more classical scrambling contexts (the sequence of objects and adverbs) are at the center of my talk.



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## **Mihaela Marchis & Mariana Bandeira**

### **On the properties of control across languages**

In this talk we discuss several crosslinguistic properties of control constructions. Explicitly, we show that the variation in obligatory control in several languages such as Brazilian Portuguese, Bulgarian, Romanian and Spanish poses several problems to the Movement Theory of Control (cf. Hornstein 1999 & subsequent work) but which can be handled, without abandoning the movement-based approach of control. A first challenge is linked to the distinct syntactic realizations of deficient clauses wrt. tense and phi-features across languages. We account for this by proposing a unified phase-based analysis as a reflex of Internal Merge: subject obligatory control verbs always subcategorize deficient TPs (+/- phi, - tense) that are not phases while non-obligatory subject control ones CPs (phases) (+ phi, + tense). A second challenge for the MTC is the asymmetry between backward subject control in Bulgarian, Romanian and Spanish and backward object control in Brazilian Portuguese. Nevertheless, we show that backward control is triggered by different parametric properties: backward object control is available in Brazilian Portuguese only with those verbs which guarantee recoverability in case chains facilitated in this language by the strict SVO order, the gradual loss of nominative/accusative distinction and the availability of null objects. Backward subject control, on the other hand, is triggered by VSO order (cf. Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 2001) and EPP checking via V movement (Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 1998) and null subjects (see also Alexiadou, Anagnostopoulou, Iordachioaia & Marchis 2010).

## **Nora Möhrstädt**

### **Adverbialabfolgen im Theorievergleich**

Die Wortstellung der Adverbiale im deutschen Mittelfeld ist eine umstrittene Thematik, zu welcher verschiedenste Ansätze in der linguistischen Forschung vorliegen. Es werden kontinuierlich neue, innovative Denkansätze und Abfolgevorschlüsse in den Diskurs eingebracht, wobei leider nur selten bereits gewonnene Erkenntnisse von anderen Autoren aufgegriffen und daraufhin erweitert bzw. spezifiziert werden. Der Vortrag zeigt eine Möglichkeit, wie dieses Defizit behoben werden kann, indem ein Vergleich der vorliegenden Abfolgevarianten angestellt wird. Als Ausgangspunkt wird hierfür der kartographische Ansatz von Cinque (1999) herangezogen. In einem ersten Schritt soll untersucht werden, ob Cinques universalgrammatische Adverbhierarchie auf das Deutsche angewendet werden kann. Des Weiteren erfolgt eine Analyse, welche die Übertragbarkeit der lediglich für Adverbien konzipierten Abfolge auf alle Adverbialarten ermittelt. Daraufhin kann ein Vergleich mit anderen Abfolgevorschlüssen, wie z.B. von Pittner (1999), erfolgen.

## Dennis Ott

### Right Dislocation as Deletion

I argue that right-dislocated XPs are remnants of clausal ellipsis. Rather than having rightward-moved out of the host clause, a backgrounded or focused (afterthought) XP has leftward-moved internally to a parallel clause, reduced by clausal ellipsis at PF:

(1) a. Ich habe ihn gestern gesehen, den Peter.

b. [CP ich habe ihn gestern gesehen ] [CP den Peteri habe ich gestern ti gesehen ]

This analysis straightforwardly captures some core properties of right-dislocation. Most importantly, connectivity effects follow directly from clausal parallelism: the dislocated XP and its correlate are case-marked by parallel predicates, and reconstruction effects can be attributed to the A' - dependency in the elliptical clause. I will discuss various further merits of this approach, including its crosslinguistic validity beyond Germanic, and compare it to a gapping analysis of right-dislocation developed in recent work by Hubert Truckenbrodt.

## Eva-Maria Remberger

### Keine reine Syntax ohne informationsstrukturelle Merkmale: Überlegungen zur Schnittstelle zwischen Proposition und Äußerung

Gerade romanische Daten machen deutlich, dass Variation in der Satzgliedanordnung einerseits mit unterschiedlichen Intonationsmustern, andererseits aber auch mit unterschiedlichen informationsstrukturellen Interpretationen einhergeht. Neben der bekannten durch Rizzi (1997) herausgearbeiteten Hierarchie der syntaktischen Positionen der linken Peripherie und ihren kartographischen Weiterentwicklungen können sogar feinere Unterscheidungen, so z.B. die zwischen kontrastivem und nicht-kontrastivem Topik oder auch zwischen kontrastivem Fokus und Informationsfokus, an syntaktisch unterschiedlichen Positionen verortet werden. Informationsstrukturelle Bedeutungen können daher syntaktisch kodiert und anhand von syntaktisch eingesetzten Merkmalen erfasst werden. Das heißt allerdings nicht, dass sich alle interpretatorischen Effekte informationsstruktureller Partitionierungen direkt aus der Syntax ergeben. Vielmehr sind es erst Äußerungskontexte, die bestimmte syntaktisch (und natürlich auch prosodisch) markierte Vorgaben mit pragmatischem Leben füllen. Kontexte und Äußerungen bedingen sich gegenseitig: Kontexte disambiguieren und reduzieren Alternativenräume, Äußerungen aktualisieren und verändern Kontexte und bereichern diese an.

In meinem Vortrag möchte ich, entgegen Fanselow (2005), Fanselow & Lenertová (eingereicht) und mit Aboh (2010) für den eben skizzierten Ansatz plädieren, in dem ich anhand romanischer Beispiele herauszuarbeiten versuche, wo genau die Trennung zwischen Morphosyntax und semantisch-de-skriptiver Bedeutung (Fokus- und Topikmarkierungen inklusive) einerseits und pragmatischer Bedeutung andererseits anzusetzen ist und wie die Übergabeprozesse an der anzunehmenden Schnittstelle modelliert werden könnten.

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## Ian Roberts

### Radical Relativised Minimality

Biberauer, Holmberg & Roberts (2011) assign the diacritic movement-trigger  $\wedge$  freely to heads: a lexical head endowed with  $\wedge$  triggers movement of its complement to its specifier, a probe endowed with  $\wedge$  moves its goal to its specifier and a phase head endowed with  $\wedge$  triggers A'-movement. Given this, consider the following abstract configuration (where “...” means “asymmetrically c-commands”):

(1)  $X^\wedge \dots Y^\wedge \dots Z^\wedge$

According to relativised minimality (Rizzi 2001), movement of Z to X is blocked if Y is of the same “structural type” as X. If Y bears  $\wedge$ , Z can move to X, via Y. If Y lacks  $\wedge$ , Z cannot move. The claim to be pursued here is that, once the nature of the different triggers for the different kinds of movement (especially C) is properly understood, **(1) can account for all known locality constraints on movement** (with the exception of the Head Movement Constraint, which does not exist (Roberts 2010), and the “*that-trace* filter”, which apparently does, and remains recalcitrant), in addition to the Final over Final Constraint (FOFC; Biberauer, Holmberg & Roberts (2011)), the alleged ban on improper movement (see below) and a central property of second-position effects.

#### 1. Islands.

Accounts of island phenomena since Chomsky (1973) have assumed successive-cyclic movement involving at least the CP-edge, and, since Chomsky (1986), the VP/vP-edge. In phase terms, it is necessary to distinguish a given phase head’s ability to license movement *to* its edge and movement *through* its edge in order to account for well-known contrasts of the kind in (2):

- (2) a. Who did John (who) say [<sub>CP</sub> that Mary (who) saw (who)] ?  
b. John asked [<sub>CP</sub> who Mary (who) saw (who)] ?  
c. \*John believed [<sub>CP</sub> who Mary (who) saw (who)]?  
d. \*What did John (what) ask [<sub>CP</sub> who (who) (what) saw (what)]?

Following Rackowski & Richards (2005), den Dikken (forthcoming), we assume that v is the only “escape hatch”: successive-cyclic movement passes **through** the vP edge, movement **through** the CP edge is not possible, although movement **to** it clearly is in the relevant clause types. So, for example, we assign [ $\pm$ wh] to C. The fact that scope and selection judgements are identical for the Chinese equivalents of (2a,b), with the equivalent of *who* in situ (Huang 1982), shows that these facts are independent of (overt) movement-triggering. It is also clear from (2a) that whatever triggers successive-cyclic movement in English-type languages it is not [+wh].

We can implement the move-to vs. move-through distinction by combining Chomsky's (2008) proposal that phase heads have an Edge Feature (EF) which is licensed by a discourse interpretation assigned at the interface (wh, topic, focus, etc) with Biberauer, Holmberg & Roberts (2011)'s approach. A head bearing both EF and  $\wedge$  allows A'-movement both to and through its edge; a head bearing only EF only allows movement to its edge, "freezing" the moved category there; a head bearing only  $\wedge$  allows movement through its edge only, with no possibility of the moved element remaining there, and a head with neither property is not part of the A'-movement system (we may assume that this is true of all non-phase-heads). In English [+wh] C has the EF feature, v has only  $\wedge$  and D optionally has either. At least some of these properties can vary parametrically: so for instance languages with *Mittelfeld* scrambling and/or languages with low focus and a low target for wh-movement (e.g. many Bantu languages) have v with EF, while languages systematically allowing "left-branch" subextraction from DP have D $\wedge$ . Following Rackowski & Richards and den Dikken, though, subordinate C never has  $\wedge$ .

We can now account for many island effects in terms of (1). Since C can never bear  $\wedge$ , it does not count as an intervener so the configuration in (3) is licit and indeed is the one allowing successive-cyclic movement:

(3)  $v^\wedge \dots C \dots v^\wedge$

On the other hand, introducing a single intervener in between the two occurrences of v in (3) will block extraction:

(4) \*[  $v^\wedge \dots [ D \dots [ C \dots [ v^\wedge \dots$

This is the CNPC. Or:

(5) \*[  $v^\wedge \dots [ C \dots [ D \dots [ v^\wedge \dots$

This is the subject condition. Adjunct islands fall under (5) if adjuncts are CPs attached higher than vP. In these cases, D acts an intervener, potentially triggering movement but failing to do so here. Similarly, (6) is illicit:

(6) \*[  $v^\wedge \dots [ D \dots [ v^\wedge \dots$

This is the left-branch condition. Moreover, if conjunctions are assimilated to D and hence every coordinate structure is a DP, the Coordinate Structure Constraint would instantiate either (4) or (6).

The above is an account of strong islands. Weak islands, on the other hand, clearly allow movement of D-bearing categories through their edge (Rizzi 2001). Therefore they must bear  $\wedge$ . The key to understanding such islands must lie elsewhere. Following a line of thought initiated by Lasnik & Saito (1984), we take deletion of intermediate copies to be the key. Evidence for weak islandhood often involves scopal properties of wh-elements, e.g. the unavailability of the low-scope reading of *How did you ask whether John fixed the car*, and so the violation must involve the semantic interface. If the copy is deleted at both interfaces, the optimal assumption is that deletion is syntactic, pre-Spell-Out, as then it need only take place once. There is no reason to limit deletion to the PF interface and good reasons to think it can take place at the LF interface, e.g. in the form of expletive replacement in

*There arrived three men without identifying themselves* (Chomsky 1995). So let us say that if  $\alpha$  is deleted at both interfaces it is syntactically deleted, taking syntactic deletion of  $\alpha$  to be failure to transfer  $\alpha$  to the interfaces (in this respect, syntactic deletion does not violate the No Tampering Condition; see also Kayne (2008) on the idea that phases may have “blind spots” which fail to transfer). One result of syntactic deletion will be weak-island effects, since, in an LF configuration like (7), *wh-Adv* will be unable to bind a variable, there being no intermediate copy interpretable as a variable and no way to reach the in-situ copy in the first-merge position owing to the intervener, so here again relativised minimality is the crucial notion:

(7) *wh-Adv* ... [ C[+wh] ... (*wh-Adv*) ]

Since the copy cannot be bound, there is no variable associated with the *wh*-quantifier and so (7) is an instance of vacuous quantification, which natural language does not allow (Chomsky 1986). Following Rizzi (2001) we take it that DPs are able to bind variables across interveners, and hence are exempt from weak-island effects. Another effect of syntactic copy-deletion is the anti-reconstruction effects discussed by Huang (1993) and Heycock (1995):

- (8) a. Which pictures of himself does John think Bill likes best?  
 b. Vote for himself, John thinks Bill never would.

The reading of *himself* with *John* as antecedent is unavailable in (8b), but available in (8a); Heycock shows that (8b) is typical of “predicative” categories. Such categories lack D-features and hence irrecoverably delete in syntax, giving the effect.

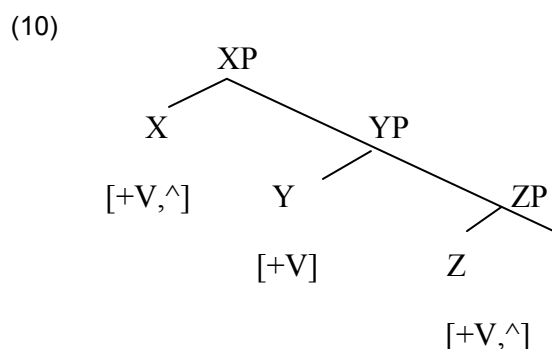
Classical *wh*-islands (with argument *wh*-movement) show a relativised-minimality effect with the [wh] feature, as follows:

(9) D[+wh] ... [ <sub>CP</sub> D[+wh] C[+wh] ... (D[+wh]) (D[+wh]) ].

The CP-external *wh*-DP cannot be in a movement relation with a copy inside CP, because of the intervening *wh*-DP in SpecCP.

## 2. FOFC

Biberauer, Holmberg & Roberts (2011) propose that a lexical head endowed with  $\wedge$  triggers movement of its complement to its specifier. The configuration in (10), inside a single Extended Projection, accounts for the Final over Final Constraint (the observation that, with a given Extended Projection, a head-final category cannot have a head-initial complement):



Assume, uncontroversially, that for instance  $v$  c-selects for [+V], therefore can merge with  $V(P)$ . Assume, however, that  $v$  is not inherently valued [+V], but inherits this value from its sister VP. This can be iterated at the T-level, making T [+V], whatever other features it has, and so on for C as well. So we see that [+V] is copied through the heads making up the Extended Projection. Now consider the interaction of  $\wedge$  with selection: if a given head can select [+V] and copy/inherit [+V], exactly the same applies in a system with [+V $\wedge$ ]. In this situation, a higher head may select [+V] and copy [+V] without  $\wedge$ , but, *crucially, no head can copy  $\wedge$  without copying [+V]*. The assumption behind this is that  $\wedge$  cannot be selected alone, since it is not a categorial feature. Parametric variation in word order can then be encoded in terms of the highest head in the Extended Projection which selects [ $\pm V\wedge$ ]. The structure in (10), clearly an instantiation of (1), violates the locality of c-selection. The locality of c-selection in turn stems from relativised minimality, since a complement head intervenes for selection of all lower heads.

### 3. Improper movement.

The ban on improper movement is usually taken to involve the illicit nature of movement from an A-position to an A'-position and back again, as in:

(11) \*<sub>[CP Who [C is ] [TP (who) [T (is) ] [AP possible [CP (who) [C that] [TP John will see (who) ]]]]] ?</sub>

(vs. *Who is it possible that John will see?*) See Chomsky (1981:195ff.). The GB analysis was based on the principle that “a variable must be A-free in the domain in which it is A'-bound” (Chomsky (1981:201)). A minimalist architecture may define no notion of variable independently of the C-I interface, and so the question of improper movement may remain.

Suppose, following Chomsky (2008), that C is a probe, bearing uninterpretable  $\phi$ -features (which may be inherited by T). Any probe is a potential intervener for A-movement and, if (subordinate) C never has  $\wedge$ , subordinate C will always block A-movement. Hence there is no need for an independent ban on improper movement. Consider the following example, from Rizzi (1991):

(12) la voiture que j'ai dit(\*e) que j'ai conduite  
*the car that I've said(-f.) that I've driven f.*

Rizzi treats movement to the specifier position licensing participle agreement as A-movement. This is licit in the subordinate clause, where the object (probably a null wh-D) moves to that position. Direct A-movement to the corresponding position in the higher clause is impossible because of the intervening subject  $j'$  (i.e. standard relativised minimality), while movement through intervening SpecCP is ruled out as improper movement. Given the above, the latter case falls under the former, as (subordinate) C is always an intervener for A-movement being a Probe with no  $\wedge$ .

Welsh has cases which look just like the impossible French one in (13) (assuming the *ei*-pronouns are comparable to past-participle agreement – Roberts & Shlonsky (1996), Willis (2000), Roberts (2005)):

(13) Beth wyt ti 'n feddwl oedd \_\_\_ gin i pan oeddwn i'n byw yn  
*what are you PROG think-VN was \_\_\_ with me when was I PROG live-VN in*  
 fy nhŷ fy hun?  
*1S house my own*

“What do you think I had when I was living in my own house?” (TMC 97; (Willis (2000:565))

Here the mutation (*meddwl* > *feddwl*) on the VN in the main clause is, according to Willis, the reflex of movement of *beth* through the main-clause participle-agreement position (see Willis 2009 for ample substantiation of this claim). Assuming the participle-agreement/mutation position is SpecvP, the structure of the relevant part of (12) is (13):

(13) [<sub>CP</sub> beth<sub>i</sub> [<sub>AgRP</sub> wyt [<sub>TP</sub> t<sub>i</sub> [<sub>AspP</sub> 'n [<sub>VP</sub> t'<sub>i</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> feddwl [<sub>CP</sub> t'<sub>i</sub> oedd t<sub>i</sub> gin i ]]]]]]]] (Willis (2000:566))

So we have apparent evidence that improper movement is allowed in Welsh. The difference between the two cases may reside in the structure associated with French past participles as opposed to Welsh verbal nouns. In Welsh we have:

(14) [<sub>vP</sub> (beth) v\* [<sub>VP</sub> feddwl [<sub>CP</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> oedd [<sub>vP</sub> (beth) [<sub>VP</sub> (oedd) (beth) gin i ]]]]]]]]

Here *beth* is an A'-position and it is directly attracted from the lower SpecvP; thus it is a standard case of successive-cyclic A'-movement (hence, as Willis 2009 argues, the mutation on the verbal noun found in Welsh is morphophonological evidence of successive-cyclic movement of this kind).

The ungrammatical French example in (11) has the structure in (15), on the other hand:

(15) v\* [<sub>PrtP</sub> (quelle table) [<sub>Prt</sub> dite ] [<sub>VP</sub> (dite) [<sub>CP</sub> qu' [<sub>TP</sub> il avait [<sub>vP</sub> (quelle table) ...

v is the head which intrinsically bears  $\phi$ -features. PrtP (perhaps better labelled VoiceP) is the direct analogue in the vP phase of TP in the CP phase and so its  $\phi$ -features come from v, just as C gives its  $\phi$ -features to T. Most importantly, SpecPrtP is an A-position, and so the movement to this position is blocked by relativised minimality, as described above.

Finally, it is likely that non-finite C is not a probe. This would make it possible to treat raising and "ECM" complements as CPs (see Kayne 1981 for relevant discussion), as well as (argument) control (Hornstein 1999) complements and complements allowing tough-movement (in turn indicating that "arbitrary PRO" is not movement-derived). Perhaps when non-finite C is realised as *for* and probes the subject of the infinitive, it is a probe. This would derive the "for-to filter" and the fact that tough-movement is impossible over *for*:

- (16) a. \*John wants for to leave.  
 b. \*John is easy for it to appeal to (John) that the world is round.  
 c. John is easy to work for (John).  
 d. John is easy for us [<sub>CP</sub> to work for (John) ].  
 e. \*Latin is a waste of time for us [ for them to teach us (Latin)] (Chomsky 1977).

#### 4. V2

One idea for reconciling the postulation of an elaborate left periphery of the kind put forward in Rizzi (1997) with the simple one-specifier, one-head analysis of V2 originating in Chomsky (1986) is to postulate that matrix Fin in V2 systems triggers movement of any category to its Spec. Since anything can move there, anything is an intervener by relativised minimality (see Roberts 2004, where the idea is attributed to Rizzi p.c.). Suppose that matrix Fin in V2 systems then has  $\hat{\Lambda}$ . Where  $\hat{\Lambda}$  is associated with (subject)  $\phi$ -features, the subject can move there or an expletive can appear there. This possibility, first mooted by Cardinaletti (1990), may capture some of Zwart's (1992, 1997) objections to the idea that the subject is A'-moved in SV V2 clauses. Where  $\hat{\Lambda}$  is independent of Fin's  $\phi$ -features, it triggers

movement through its specifier. If  $\hat{\Lambda}$  is “checked” by movement, only one category can move through SpecFinP, but since Fin remains a potential A'-movement trigger. It acts as an intervener for all other movements. Hence the “bottleneck in Fin” effect. In non-V2 systems Fin has no  $\hat{\Lambda}$ : higher heads in the left periphery may independently trigger movement to their specifiers (but never movement through, and so the same XP cannot be both a focus and a topic for example), giving (17) and the like:

(17) Words like that, in front of my mother, I would never say.

5. If all the above is true, phase impenetrability has a significantly diminished role to play in accounting for locality.

## **Roland Schäfer**

### **Deutsche Maskulina zwischen Schwächeanfall und Schwächeln**

Die Kasusflexion innerhalb der deutschen NP (bzw. DP) unterliegt Schwankungen in verschiedenen Bereichen, z.B. bei der sog. Stärkeflexion der Adjektive und Pronominaladjektive (vgl. z.B. die empirische Arbeit von Sahel 2005), aber auch im Bereich der Substantive, z.B. im sog. schwachen Paradigma (des Mensch-en, des Mensch-(e)s, des Menschen-s). Zu den letztgenannten Schwankungen existiert neben morphologisch-paradigmatischen Interpretationen (z.B. Thieroff 2004) eine Analysetradition, die die Erklärung tendenziell in syntaktischen Konfigurationen sucht (z.B. Gallmann 1996, Müller 2001, Sternefeld 2004).

In meinem Vortrag stelle ich belastbare quantitative Eckdaten einer dem Anspruch nach vollständigen empirischen Studie zu den Schwankungen der schwachen Substantive vor. Die Studie wurde am DECOW2012-Korpus durchgeführt (<http://hpsg.fu-berlin.de/cow/>), einem Korpus von über 9 Mrd. Token aus Internetdaten (Bildhauer und Schäfer in Vorb.). Das Korpus hat eine Zusammensetzung und eine Größe, die es erlaubt, auch Variationsphänomene zu untersuchen, die in der normnahen Sprache (und damit in anderen mittelgroßen und kleinen Korpora wie dem DEREKO oder dem DWDS-Korpus) nicht in ausreichender Zahl zu finden sind. Es wurden exhaustiv alle in einer Voruntersuchung im Korpus gefundenen Lemmata aus der traditionellen schwachen Flexionsklasse (ca. 400) bezüglich aller ihrer Vorkommnisse in den relevanten Kasuskonfigurationen halbautomatisch untersucht.

Die Resultate weisen auf einen multifaktoriellen Erklärungsansatz mit Faktoren wie Tokenfrequenz des Lemmas, seine Phonotaktik und stammbildende Suffixe (-ent, -ant, -ist usw.), aber auch Idiosynkrasien als Determinanten der Variationsstärke hin. Auf dieser Basis argumentiere ich dafür, dass ein paradigmatischer morpho-phonologischer Ansatz die beste Erklärung für die Datenlage darstellt.

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## **Volker Struckmeier**

### **Prosodie, Performanz, Pragmatik - die andere Seite von Scrambling**

Scrambling ist in den vergangenen drei Jahrzehnten Gegenstand vieler generativer Untersuchungen gewesen. Was alle Analysevorschlage eint ist die Vorstellung, dass durch Scrambling kernsyntaktische Anforderungen erfullt werden mussen. Diese Vorgehensweise krankt seit jeher daran, dass Scramblingumstellungen selten oder nie als "hart ungrammatisch" empfunden werden. Ich schlage deshalb vor, eine "linear unterspezifizierte" Kernsyntax anzusetzen: Die kernsyntaktische Derivation erzeugt eine Vielzahl von Bewegungskopien von Argumenten. Die Spellout-Komponente weist einige dieser linearen Abfolgen zuruck und bewertet die gultigen Abfolgen bezuglich ihrer prosodischen Qualitaten. Es ergibt sich die Menge der syntaktisch und prosodisch moglich, sowie prosodisch praferierten Wortstellungen. Performative Prinzipien bevorzugen ebenso manche Wortstellungsmuster vor anderen wie pragmatische Anforderungen bestehen, wie diskursneue und -alte Satzglieder zu markieren (und d.h. nicht nur: zu positionieren!) sind. Im Ergebnis entsteht so ein vielschichtiges Bild der Bewertung bestimmter Wortfolgen, welches weit uber das Schwarz-Wei-Bild "grammatisch versus ungrammatisch" hinausgeht.

## **Thilo Weber**

### **On the Clause Structure of Germanic OV varieties – Evidence from Low German *do*-periphrasis**

In sharp contrast to other West Germanic – in particular High German – varieties, Low German *do*-periphrasis does not occur in main clauses but is very common in embedded clauses with verb last order, where periphrastic *do* occurs in complementary distribution with modals and auxiliaries. The Low German data will be taken to provide evidence for the presence of a syntactic INFL position in a Germanic OV-variety. This is in contrast to recent analyses of other OV varieties such as High German, where INFL has been identified as a morphological category and where the presence of INFL has even been challenged altogether.