



Persische Brücken in die deutschen Felder – Altes und Neues zu komplexen Sätzen

Was, in diesem Vortrag behauptet wird, dass ξ wahr sein könne . . .

1. Es gibt in Wahrheit zwei mögliche Strukturen des so genannten C-Systems (also Rizzi 1997, 328, fn. 6).

• *Embedded clauses do normally not have illocutionary force. An embedded interrogative does not denote a question – it just refers to one* (cf. Bayer 2004, 66).

(1) Syntactic Structure of the left periphery (C-Domain)

a) Matrix: [_{ForceP} [HT [frame [LD [list [contr.foc1 [contr.foc2 [inf. foc [_{FinP} . . .]]]]]]]]] (Benincà&Poletto 2004, ex. 58)

b) embedded: [_{CP} ((Topic/ Focus) [_{ModP} ((Topic) [_{FinP} . . .]]]]] (Öhl 2004, 165; cf. Roussou 2000, 79)

2. Es gibt drei potentielle Positionen für Komplementierer im C-System:

(2) Distribution of Markers in the C-Domain (cf. Öhl, in preparation)

CP: subordination markers

ForceP/ ModP: elements that indicate clause mood (and may indicate subordination) (particles, complementisers, *wh*-elements(?))

FinP: elements that indicate finiteness and verbal mood (and may indicate clause mood and subordination) (particles, complementisers, *wh*-elements(?); I-elements)

- (3) a) *pu*: subordination marker (cf. Roussou 2000, 65, 79)
 b) *oti, an*: complementisers indicating clause mood (decl., interr.)
 c) *na, tha*: modal particles (subjunctive, future)

(4) [_C *pu* [Topic/ Focus [_{Mod} *oti/ an/ na* [_{Fin} *tha/ t_{na}* [_{IP} Cl, V . . .]]]]]

3. 'C' in (1b) ist ein Kopf der Kategorie [+N]. Dieser Kopf bewirkt zum einen, dass aus CP-Komplementen, genau wie aus NPs, normalerweise nicht extrahiert werden kann.

(5) *_{[CP} *über wen*]_i hat der Wolfgang [_{DP} ein Buch *t_i*]_j geklaut ? (cf. Müller 1993, 46)

Zum anderen muss das Merkmal [+N] overt realisiert sein, damit eine CP in Objektposition stehen kann. Aus diesem Grund ist die Okkurrenz von CPs im deutschen Mittelfeld restringiert, nicht aber im Persischen (und Japanischen).

4. Komplemente *assertiver Verben* (cf. Meinunger 2004, 315f) haben in so genannten *Brückenkontexten* (Müller&Sternefeld 1993, 483), wo V2-Komplementsätze bzw. *COMP-deletion* (Poletto 2000, 128) und lange Extraktion (Müller&Sternefeld 1993, 483ff; Grewendorf 2004) erlaubt sind, die gleiche C-Domäne wie Matrixsätze.

5. Komplemente *faktiver Verben* (und auch aller anderer Verben, die kein V2-Komplement erlauben) haben immer ein C-System wie in (1b).

1. Evidenz für mehrere Komplementiererpositionen

(6) a) Non so, [_{CP} [_{TopP} a Gianni [_{ModP} *se* [avrebbero potuto dirgli la verità]]]] (cf. Rizzi 2001, 289)
 NEG - *know*-1^{sg} - DAT - G. - *if* - AUX-PQP-SUBJ-3^{pl} - *can*-PII - *say*-INF - DET - *truth*

'I do not know if they could have told the truth to John.'

b) Credo, (*a Gianni) [_{CP} *che* [_{TopP} [_{ModP} [avrebbero dovuto dirgli la verità]]]]
think-1.sg - DAT - G. - *that* - AUX-PQP-KONJ-3.pl - *must*-PII - *say*-INF - DET - *truth*

'I think that they should have told the truth to John.'

• German *dass* and Dutch *dat* are in Fin° (cf. Grewendorf 2002, 236f):

(7) a) jeg tror [_{CP} *at* [_{TopP} lingvistikk [_{FinP} studerer [_{IP} gutten]]]] (Norwegian)
I - believe -1^{sg} - COMP - *linguistics* - *studies* - *boy*/DET

b) Ich glaube [_{CP} (**dass*) [_{TopP} Linguistik [_{FinP} studiert [_{IP} der Junge]]]] (German)

(8) She maintains [_{CP} *that* [_{TopP} [Irish stew]_i] [_{FinP} [_{IP} she sort of likes *t_i*]]]]

(9) Ik geloof [_{CP} [_{FinP} *dat* (* [_{TopP} deze boeken) [_{IP} zij niet waarderen]]]] (Gelderer 2003)
I - think - *that* - *these* - *books* - *they* - NEG - *appreciate*

(10) a) I frag me [_{CP} [_{ForceP} *wer* [_{FinP} *dass* [_{IP} so äps liast]]]] (Swabian)
I - ask - *myself* - *who* - COMP - *such* - *thing* - *reads*

b) Ik vraag me af [_{CP} [_{ForceP} *wie* [_{ModP} *of* [_{FinP} *dat* [_{IP} taalkunde studeert]]]]
I - ask - *me* - *of* - *who* - *if* - COMP - *linguistics* - *studies*

• Entgegen Rizzi (1997) ist in italienischen Dialekten auch Topikalisierung links des Komplementierers möglich, wenn dieser in Fin° steht (→ *irrealis*).

(11) Credo, [_{CP} [_{TopP} *il tuo libro* [_{FinP} *che* [_{IP} loro lo apprezzerebbero molto]]]]. (Poletto 2000, 123ff)
glaube - DET - *dein* - *Book* - COMP - *sie* - ObjCL - *schätzen*COND - *viel*

• Persian: particles indicating clause mood in addition to SUBs like *ke*. German and English¹: COMP.

(12) a) ū porsīd [_{CP} *ke* [_{ModP} *āyā* [_{IP} man zabānšenāst xānde būdam]]]
he/she - *asked* - COMP - INT - *I* - *linguistics* - *studied*-had

'He asked if I had studied linguistics.'

b) Weisst Du, *ob* er Linguistik studiert?

c) Do you know *if* he studies linguistics?

2. Distribution of Argument Clauses

(13) Früher hat Peter öfters mal [_{VP} Unsinn erzählt].

(14) a) Ich habe niemals behauptet, [das stimmt alles].

b) *Ich habe [das stimmt alles] niemals behauptet.

c) *[das stimmt alles] habe ich niemals behauptet.

(15) a) Ich habe [_{CP} dass das alles stimmt] niemals behauptet.

b) [_{CP} Dass das alles stimmt] habe ich niemals behauptet.

(16) *Ich habe niemals [_{CP} dass das alles STIMMT] behauptet.²

(17) Ich habe niemals behauptet [_{CP} dass das alles stimmt] .

2.1. COMP-drop

• *assertive verbs* (cf. Öhl 2003, 165; Meinunger 2004, 315f):

¹ We assume that, like only few languages have explicit declarative particles although they have particles indicating other clause moods, languages with subordination particles may lack a declarative complementiser. The reason is that declaratives are the least marked clause type and may thus be modally underspecified.

² This linear order is ungrammatical under normal sentence stress, i.e. on the direct object (cf. Höhle 1982). The sentence improves if the matrix verb or other constituents are stressed. In this case we take the object clause to be in a derived position.

- (18) a) sie sagen, der Junge studiert Linguistik
 b) ich behaupte, am besten studiert der Junge Linguistik
 c) ich glaube, LINGUISTIK studiert der Junge

- (19) a) *er hat vergessen, LINGUISTIK studiert der Junge (cf. Öhl 2003, 169ff)
 b) *sie verstehen, LINGUISTIK studiert der Junge
 c) *sie leugnen, LINGUISTIK studiert der Junge
 d) *ich bedaure, LINGUISTIK studiert der Junge

- COMP-drop is subject to the following restrictions (Poletto 2000, 128):

1. The inflected verb of the embedded clause must be modally marked – it must be either *subjunctive*, *conditional* or in *future tense*.
2. The predicate selecting the CP must be of a specific class. Poletto (2000, 123) identifies this class with the so called *bridge verbs* allowing embedding of V2 in Germanic languages (cf. Vikner 1995, 71f; *assertive verbs* after Meinunger 2004, 315f).

- (20) Credo (**che**) abbia già parlato con te. (Poletto 2000, 119)
Glaube – COMP – PerfAUX-**SBJ** – *schon* – *gesprachen* – *mit* – *dir*
 'Ich glaube, er hat bereits mit dir gesprochen'.

- Reis (1997): V2-subordination is a case of *non-structural* Θ -assignment.

- (21) sie haben **pro**_a gesagt, [_{ForceP} [_{TopP} der Junge_i [_{FinP} studiere_v³ [_{IP} t_i Linguistik t_v]]]]_a

- (22) a) jeg hevder (at) gutten studerer lingvistikk (coll. Norwegian; cf. Öhl 2003, 167ff)
I - claim -1stsg – COMP – boyDET – studies – linguistics
 b) jeg vet (at) gutten studerer lingvistikk
I - know -1stsg – COMP – boyDET – studies – linguistics
 c) jeg tror (at) gutten studerer lingvistikk
I - believe -1stsg – COMP – boyDET – studies – linguistics
 d) de sier (at) gutten studerer lingvistikk
they – say – COMP – boyDET – studies – linguistics

- (23) a) jeg hevder (at) LINGVISTIKK studerer gutten
I - claim -1stsg – COMP – linguistics – studies – boyDET
 b) jeg vet (at) LINGVISTIKK studerer gutten
I - know -1stsg – COMP – linguistics – studies – boyDET
 c) jeg tror (at) LINGVISTIKK studerer gutten
I - believe -1stsg – COMP – linguistics – studies – boyDET
 d) de sier (at) LINGVISTIKK studerer gutten
they – say – COMP – linguistics – studies – boyDET

- Norwegian verbs not licensing COMP-drop never license embedded V2 either:

- (24) a) jeg er overrasket over *(at) gutten studerer lingvistikk
I - am-1stsg – amazed – about – COMP – boyDET – studies – linguistics

³ Note that like in Italian, German embedded V2 may have subjunctive inflection - which has often been associated with indirect speech.

- b) de benekter *(at) gutten studerer lingvistikk
they - deny – COMP – boyDET – studies – linguistics
 c) jeg tviler på *(at) gutten studerer lingvistikk
I - doubt -1stsg – on – COMP – boyDET – studies – linguistics
- (25) a) *jeg er overrasket over at LINGVISTIKK studerer gutten
 b) *de benekter at LINGVISTIKK studerer gutten
 c) *jeg tviler på at LINGVISTIKK studerer gutten
- (26) a) jeg hevder [_{CP} **at** [_{TopP} lingvistikk [_{FinP} studerer [_{IP} gutten]]]]
I - claim-1stsg – COMP – linguistics – studies – boyDET
 b) jeg hevder **pro** [_{ForceP} [_{TopP} lingvistikk [_{FinP} studerer [_{IP} gutten]]]]
I - claim-1stsg pro – linguistics – studies – boyDET
- (27) a) Ja dumaju **pro**, [_{ForceP} [_{ForceP} LINGVISTIKU [_{FinP} [_{IP} mal'čik [_{IP} budet [_{VP} izučat']...]]]
I – think – pro – linguistics – boy – will – studyINF
 b) Ja dumaju [_{CP} **čto** [_{TopP} lingvistiku [_{FinP} [_{IP} V Valentinov den' niko [_{VP} s'udovol'stviem učit' ne zaxočet']...]]]
I – think – COMP – linguistics – on – Valentine's – day – nobody – gladly – learn – NEG – want(FUT)-(PRF)
- (28) a) Ja otricaju, *(čto) mal'čik izučajet lingvistiku. (cf. Svetlana Poljakova)
I – deny – that – boy – studies – linguistics
 b) Ja byl udivljon, *(čto) mal'čik izučajet lingvistiku.
I – was – surprised – that – boy – studies – linguistics
 c) Ja sožaleju, *(čto) mal'čik izučajet lingvistiku.
I – regret – that – boy – studies – linguistics
- (29) *John forgot/ regrets/ understands/ is surprised Mary studies linguistics.

- Stowell (1981): COMPs may be PF- \emptyset if they are in governed position. (!)

- COMP-drop is licensed by *assertive verbs* Öhl (2003, 168f) respectively *bridge verbs* (Müller&Sternefeld 1993, 493).

3. Arguments and Case Assignment

1. V2-clauses to the right of V in OV-languages are not embedded, but generated in a postverbal position. A lexical property of V licenses a *pro*-object.
2. In order to be generated in an argument position, an element must carry a feature [+N].
3. In order to be licensed in object- or subject position *of the spelt-out representation of S*, elements must be assigned case. For clauses, the visibility to case assignment depends on the local realisation of C° by a particle of the category [+N]. Otherwise, CPs must move.

- (30) **Case Principle (amended)** (cf. Öhl 2003, 185)
 In order to be licensed in SD, every overtly realised Argument-position must be able to represent abstract case.

- Kayne (1984), Müller&Sternefeld (1990, 37ff), Webelhuth (1989, ch. 4) C is a *potentially nominal category*.

- (31) *The NP-Shell Hypothesis* (Müller 1993, 60)
 All embedded finite clauses are NPs with a phonetically empty head.

- A subordination marker of the category [+N] must be present to make the clause visible for case marking.⁴

⁴ Following CHOMSKY (1995) in assuming that only exceptions from primitive properties are listed in the lexicon, it seems that *c-selection* can thus be removed from the lexical entry, if we generalise the category of structural arguments as [N] based on case

3.1. Case and the CP in Japanese

- Öhl (2003, 181f; 2004, 131f): "nominalisers" = Partikeln in C^[+N]

- (32) a) Mary wa [_{CP} John ga koohii o nomu **no**] o mi-ta
 Mary - TOP - John - DAT - her - DAT - coffee - ACC - drinks - CMP - ACC - seePST
 "Mary saw that John drank coffee".
- b) Mary wa [_{CP} John ni jibun ni hana o motteku ru **no**] o tanon da
 Mary - TOP - John - DAT - her - DAT - flower - ACC - bring - PRS - CMP - ACC - ask - PST
 "Mary asked John to bring her flowers."
- (33) a) Watashi wa [_{CP} kare ga benkyo shi-ta **koto**] o shira-nakat-ta.
 I - TOP - he - NOM - study - doPST - CMP - ACC - know-NEG-PST
 "I did not know that he studied."
- b) watasi wa [_{CP} anata ga gengogaku o benkyosi-nai **koto**] o youkyusu-ru
 I - TOP - you - NOM - linguistics - ACC - studyNeg - CMP - ACC - demand
 'I demand that you do not study linguistics.'
- (34) a) watasi wa [_{ForceP} sono syonen ga gengogaku o benkyo-siteiru **to**] it-ta
 I - TOP - this - boy - NOM - linguistics - ACC - studyIPF - PTC - sayPST
 'I said this boy was studying linguistics.'
- b) Watashi wa [_{ForceP} watashi no seito ni shiken wo suguni saiten su-ru **to**] yakusoku shi-ta.
 I - TOP - I - GEN - students - DAT - exam - OBJ - soon - correction - doPRS - PTC - promise - doPST
 'I promised to my students I would correct the exams soon.'

⇒ The particle **to** marks quotative clauses, which are licensed by assertive verbs and alike, and which in many languages do not need syntactic marking of subordination at all (cf. Öhl 2003, 191).⁵

3.2. Determiners, Case Marking and CPs in Persian

- (35) Man midanam [_{CP} **ke** [_{IP} gorbe-ha shir doost darand]]. (Öhl 2003, 182)
 I - know - SUB - cats - milk - like - have
 'I know that cats like milk.'
- (36) a) Man **oon-o** didam
 I - him/her - saw
 b) Man **pro** didam-**esh**
 I - pro - saw-him/her
 "I saw him/her"
- (37) a) (Man) **pro** fekr ne-mikardam [(**ke**) pesar-e zabanshenasi khahad khoond]
 I - pro - thought - didn't - SUB - boy - DEF - linguistics - studiesSJT
 "I did not think that the boy would study linguistics."

assignment (cf. also PESETSKY 1982). PP-objects do not fall under c-selection either, if we assume that P is a specific realisation of lexical case.

Note that ECM verbs like *hear* seem to be exceptions to this generalisation. This exception would have to be listed in the lexicon. But note also that they nevertheless have to assign case, which is then born by the SPEC of the complement.

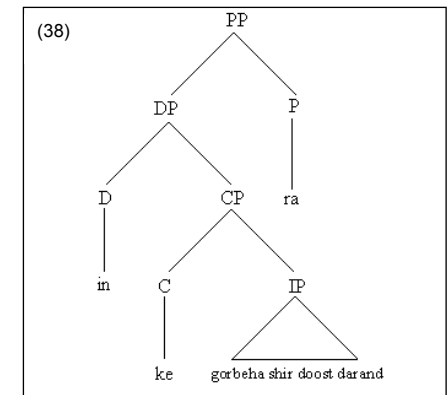
(i) I heard [_{VP} Caesar(ACC)] [_V report [_{DP} the [_{NP} Roman [_{N'} conquest [_{PP} of Gaul] ...]]

⁵ We concede that, unlike the German ones, Japanese quotative sentences precede the verb. We assume that they are not generated inside VP, though, since they can't be assigned case. Admittedly, this is a postulate based on the hypothesis we have just developed.

- b) (Man) **pro** midoonesam [(**ke**) pesar-e zabanshenasi khahad khoond]
 I - pro - knew - SUB - boy - linguistics - FUT - studied
 "I knew that the boy would study linguistics."
- c) Noam Chomsky **pro** migooyad [(**ke**) ghoveye zaban-e bashari fetri ast]
 N.C. - pro - says - SUB - human - lang. - innate - is
 "Noam Chomsky says (that) the human language faculty is innate."
- d) Skinner **pro** motaghd bood [(**ke**) faragiri-ye zaban sharti shodan-e ashkar ast]
 Skinner - pro - believe - was - SUB - acquisition-of - language - conditioning - clear - is
 "Skinner was convinced language acquisition was mere conditioning."

- Extraposed clauses that are not in their Θ -position may occur without a CMP. As soon as a CP is in A-position (i.e. the subject or an object in VP), the CMP is obligatory. Since subjects are never extraposed, they never drop the CMP. If any argument clause precedes the matrix verb, it must be determined by the definite determiner **in**. ACC object clauses must be marked by the ACC particle **rā**⁶ – exactly like nominal objects.

- (39) a) [_{DP} **In** [_{CP} **ke** [_{IP} gorbeha shir doost daran]]] tabi'i-ye.
 this - COMP - cats - milk - like - have - natural - is
 'That cats like milk is natural.'
- b) Man [_{PP} [_{DP} **in** [_{CP} **ke** [_{IP} gorbeha shir doost daran]]] **rā**]
 midoonam.
 I - this - COMP - cats - milk - like - have - ACC - know
 'I know that cats like milk'
- (40) a) **In** pesar **to** **rā** did.
 DEF - boy - you - saw.
 'This boy saw you.'
- b) Man **in** dohtar-**a** **rā** didam.
 I - DEF - girl - DEF-ACC - saw
 'I saw this girl.'



⇒ CPs in argument position are DPs (cf. Lotfi 1997; Öhl 2003, 181), where C° represents the nominal head.

- (41) a) *Man [_{DP} **In** [_{IP} gorbeha shir doost darand]] **rā**] midoonam.
 I - this - COMP - cats - milk - like - have - ACC - know
- b) ***Ke** gorbeha shir doost darand tabi'i-ye.
 COMP - cats - milk - like - have - natural - is

4. Extraktion aus Objektsätzen

- (42) **Escape Hatch** (Müller 1993, 31)

γ is an escape hatch in XP iff γ is an A-bar specifier of XP.

- (43) a) *_[FOCP] **chi-o** [_{IP} pesar-e [_{PP} [_{DP} **in** [_{CP} **ke** [_{IP}(oon) doost-daare t_i bexoone]]] **rā**] goft]]
 what - boy-the - DET - that - he - likes - studies - said
- b) *_[FOCP] **be ki** [_{IP} to [_{PP} [_{DP} **in** [_{CP} **ke** [_{IP} pesar-e ketab-o t_i dad]]] **rā**] fekr-mikoni]]
 to - whom - you - DET - that - boy-the - book - gave - think

⁶ **Rā** was grammaticalised from a more general marker of specificity that was originally used also with indirect objects (cf. Hopper&Traugott 2003, 165ff); *focus marker* (Lazard 1989, 280f.; also Hopper&Traugott 2003); *case particle* with a feature [+specific] (Ghomeshi 1997; Lotfi 1997, 2003; Karimi 2003); *postposition* marking structural case and specificity (Öhl&Lotfi 2005).

(44) *Was_i habe ich (nicht) vergessen, [_{DP} [_{CP} C^{+N}] [_{FINP} **dass** [_{IP} ich _{t_i} noch sagen wollte]]]

- Persisch ist *w-in-situ*, hat aber *optional* lange und kurze *w*-Extraktion.

(45) Man [_{PP} [_{DP} in [_{CP} **ke** [_{IP} to **che** ro maxfi mikoni]]]] **rā** midoonam
I - DEF - SUB - you - what - ACC - hide - do - ACC - know

(46) a) [_{FocP} **chi-o_i** [_{IP} to fekr-mikoni [_{ForceP} [_{FocP} _{t_i} [_{FINP} (**ke**) [_{IP} pesar-e **t_i** be ki dad]]]]]] ?
what - you - think - that - boy-the - to - whom - gave

b) [_{FocP} **be ki** [_{IP} to fekr-mikoni [_{ForceP} [_{FocP} _{t_i} [_{FINP} (**ke**) [_{IP} pesar-e **chi-o** **t_i** dad]]]]]] ? (kein *Superioritätseffekt*)
to - whom - you - think - that - boy-the - what - gave

c) [_{ForceP} [**be ki** [_{IP} pesar-e **chi-o** **t_i** dad]] ? (kein *Superioritätseffekt*)
to - whom - boy-the - what - gave

(47) ū porsid [_{CP} **ke** [_{ModP} **āyā** [_{IP} man zabānšenāsī xānde būdam]]]
he/she - asked - COMP - INT - I - linguistics - studied-had

(48) Man nemidanam [_{CP} [_{ModP} **aya** [_{FocP} **chi-o_i** [_{FINP} [u _{t_i} mikhanad]]]]
I - wonder - Q - what - he - studies

(49) Man midoonam [_{ForceP} [_{FocP} **chi-o_i** [_{FINP} (**ke**) [_{IP} to _{t_i} maxfi mikoni]]]]]
I - know - you - what - hide - do

- lange Extraktion im Skandinavischen: nicht aus V2-Sätzen (cf. Vikner 1995, 112ff).

(50) a) * [_{FocP} **hvordan_i** [_{IP} sagde hun [_{CP} **at** [_{TopP} i skolen [_{FINP} **havde** [_{IP} børnene altid lært historie **t_i**]]]]]] (Danish)
how - said - he - COMP - in - school - had - children-DET - always - learned - history

b) * [_{FocP} **Hvilken film_i** [_{IP} sagde hun [_{CP} **at** [_{TopP} i skolen [_{FINP} **havde** [_{IP} børnene allerede set **t_i**]]]]]]
which - film - said - he - COMP - in - school - had - children-DET - already - seen

(51) a) [_{FocP} **hvordan_i** [_{IP} sagde hun [_{ForceP} [_{FINP} **at** [_{IP} børnene altid **havde** lært historie **t_i**]]]]]]
how - said - he - COMP - children-DET - always - had - learned - history

b) [_{FocP} **hvilken film_i** [_{IP} sagde hun [_{ForceP} [_{FINP} **at** [_{IP} børnene allerede **havde** set **t_i**]]]]]]
which - film - said - he - COMP - children-DET - already - had - seen

- Kurze vs. Lange W-Extraktion im Deutschen (vgl. Grewendorf, im Erscheinen):

(52) a) **Wem_i** hat **seine_i** Tante **t_i** einen US-Aufenthalt finanziert? (kein *weak crossover*)

b) **Wem** hat **wer** geholfen **t_i**? (kein *Superioritätseffekt*)

(53) **W-Bewegung im Deutschen** (cf. Grewendorf 2002, 221)

a) Die Zielposition kurzer W-Bewegung ist im Deutschen eine nicht-Operatorposition.

b) Die Zielposition langer W-Bewegung ist im Deutschen eine Operatorposition.

(54) a) **Welchen Studenten_i** glaubt Maria [_{ForceP} [_{FINP} **t_i** [_{FIN'} hat [_{IP} seine_i Frau **t_i** verlassen]]]]]] (kein *weak crossover*)

b) ***Welchen Studenten_i** hat **sein_i** Vater angenommen [_{ForceP} [_{FINP} **t_i** [_{FIN'} liebe [_{IP} Maria **t_i**]]]]]] (weak crossover)

(55) a) ?**Wen_i** glaubt Hans [_{ForceP} [_{FINP} **t_i** [_{FIN'} dass [_{IP} wer **t_i** gesehen hat]]]]]] (kein *Superioritätseffekt*)

b) ***Wen_i** glaubt **wer** [_{ForceP} [_{FINP} **t_i** [_{FIN'} dass [_{IP} Hans **t_i** gesehen hat]]]]]] (*Superioritätseffekt*)

- Optionale *w*-Bewegung im Persischen ⇒ *Keine Operatorenbewegung!*

⇒ Kurze *w*-Bewegung geht in eine tiefere Fokusposition (cf. Beninca&Poletto 2004), die kein *w*-Merkmal trägt. Erst bei langer *w*-Bewegung wird das *w*-Merkmal in der höheren FocP realisiert.

5. Fazit

- In der VP werden nur NPs generiert. Da Kasuszuweisung von einem overtten Merkmal [+N] abhängt, können nur diejenigen Sprachen CPs in Argumentposition haben, die Subordinatoren [+N] in C° haben.
- Aus NPs kann man nicht extrahieren (vgl. Müller 1993, 46ff). Deswegen erlauben selegierte CPs keine Extraktion.
- Assertive Verben bzw. Brückenverben können, wie Matrixsätze, ForcePs sein. Deshalb erlauben sie Extraktion über eine FocP, die kein *w*-Merkmal trägt. Das *w*-Merkmal der extrahierten *w*-Phrase kann erst im Matrixsatz erlöst werden.

6. References

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