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## Double fronting and parasitic gaps in Bavarian

### 1. The phenomenon: double fronting

- A constituent (argument or adjunct) is moved from a fronted adverbial or argumental clause to a position immediately preceding that clause (*Bavarian extraction* (BE)):

- (1) [**De Mass**]<sub>i</sub> [wenn i t<sub>i</sub> no drink], bin i bsuffa.  
 this liter if I still drink am I drunk  
 'If I still drink this Mass, I will be drunk.'
- (2) [**An Hans**]<sub>i</sub> [ob i t<sub>i</sub> no amoi wähl], woäß i ned.  
 the Hans if I once more vote know I not  
 'I don't know if I will vote for Hans again.'
- (3) [**Wegn an Hans**]<sub>i</sub> [dass a t<sub>i</sub> kimmt], hätt i ned denkt.  
 because of the Hans that he comes had I not thought  
 'I would not have thought that he was going to come because of Hans.'

### 2. Crucial properties of BE

(P1) BE LICENSES A GAP IN THE MATRIX CLAUSE (see examples in (4))<sup>1</sup>

- (4) a. [**Den**]<sub>i</sub> [wenn i t<sub>i</sub> dawisch], daschlog i e<sub>i</sub>.  
 him if I catch kill I  
 'If I catch him, I will kill him.'
- b. [**An Pfarrer**]<sub>i</sub> [statt dass i t<sub>i</sub> bsuach], loss i d'Arbat e<sub>i</sub> liaba  
 the priest instead that I visit let I the-work rather  
 selber macha.  
 himself do  
 'Instead of visiting the priest, I rather let him do the work himself.'

(P2) BE REQUIRES CLAUSAL FRONTING

- (5) \*I bin bsuffa, [**de Mass**]<sub>i</sub> [wenn i t<sub>i</sub> no drink].  
 I am drunk this liter if I still drink
- (6) \*I woäß ned, [**an Hans**]<sub>i</sub> [ob i t<sub>i</sub> no amoi wähl].  
 I know not the Hans<sub>ACC</sub> if I once more vote

<sup>1</sup> While the extraction illustrated in (1) and (2) is possible with adverbial as well as argument clauses, the construction with an additional gap in the matrix clause is only possible with (a certain kind of) *wenn* ('if')-clauses but not with 'strong' complementizers in the sense of Reis (1985) such as *weil* ('because'), *obwohl* ('although'), *nachdem* ('after') (see Felix 1985). The kind of *wenn* ('if')-clauses involved concerns "central adverbial" *if*-clauses in the sense of Haegeman (2002).

- If the dependent clause is not located in the left periphery, extraction is licensed if the extracted element occupies a position in front of the matrix clause, and if the clause from which extraction takes place is an argument:

(7) [**An Hans**]<sub>i</sub> woäß i ned, [ob i t<sub>i</sub> no amoi wähl].  
 the Hans<sub>ACC</sub> know I not if I once more vote

- If the dependent clause is adverbial, extraction to the front of the matrix clause is not possible:

(8) \***[De Mass]**<sub>i</sub> bin i bsuffa, [wenn i t<sub>i</sub> no drink].  
 this liter am I drunk if I still drink

- No BE in (7) but successive cyclic movement into the matrix clause: ungrammaticality of (8) due to the islandhood of adjuncts.
- Property (P2) captures the fact that BE is possible from clauses that occur in the left periphery of a verb second complement (Lutz 1993, Weiß 1998):

(9) Da Sepp glaabd, [**an Hans**]<sub>i</sub>, [wenn a t<sub>i</sub> dawischt], daschlogt a e<sub>i</sub>.  
 the Sepp believes the Hans if he catches kills he

(P3) BE IS POSSIBLE FROM WH-CLAUSES NOT INTRODUCED BY A COMPLEX WH-ELEMENT:

(10) [**An Sepp**]<sub>i</sub> [wer (dass) t<sub>i</sub> gseng hod], woäß i ned.  
 the Sepp who that seen has know I not

(11) \***[Den Kaas]**<sub>i</sub>, [welcher Lehrer dass t<sub>i</sub> vazapft hod], mecht i  
 the cheese which teacher that told has would I  
 wissen.  
 like-to-know  
 'I would like to know which teacher has told that nonsense.'

- To the extent that Bavarian has free relatives, BE appears not to be possible with free relatives:

(12) a. [Wos a gsogt hod], is a Schmarrn.  
 what he said has is a nonsense  
 b. \***[Da Sepp]**<sub>i</sub> [wos t<sub>i</sub> gsogt hod], is a Schmarrn.  
 the Sepp what said has is a nonsense

- There are no constraints on the elements that can undergo BE. Arguments as well as adjuncts can be extracted.

### QUESTIONS:

- Q1: Is the target position of BE in the embedded or in the matrix clause?  
 Q2: What are the properties of the gap in the matrix clause and how is this gap licensed?  
 Q3: What motivates BE and why is clausal fronting required?  
 Q4: Why is BE from wh-clauses with complex wh-elements disallowed?

### 3. Question Q1: the target position of BE

#### EVIDENCE FOR TARGET POSITION IN THE MATRIX CLAUSE:

- **1. argument:** licensing of the gap in the matrix clause (examples in (4)) (Stechow/Sternefeld 1988)
- **2. argument:** preposed quantifier phrase (Lutz 1992)

(13) [Koa Hund]<sub>i</sub>, [wenn e<sub>i</sub> g'schlogn wead], traut t<sub>i</sub> si'  
 no dog if beaten is dares himself  
 no amoal zur Tür nei'.  
 once more through the door

- (13) cannot be interpreted as (14a) but must be interpreted as (14b):

(14) a. [Wennkein Hund geschlagen wird], traut kein Hund/er sich  
 if no dog beaten is dears no dog/he himself  
 noch einmal zur Tür herein.  
 once more through the door  
 b. [Wenn er geschlagen wird], traut sich kein Hund noch  
 if he beaten is dares himself no dog once  
 einmal zur Tür herein.  
 more through the door

- Against this argument: (13) does not constitute an instance of BE.:

(15) ?a person who<sub>i</sub> people that talk to e<sub>i</sub> usually end up fascinated with t<sub>i</sub>  
 (Kayne 1983: 169)

(16) des is a Hund, [der<sub>i</sub> [wenn e<sub>i</sub> gschlogn werd], t<sub>i</sub> nimma hoam  
 this is a dog which if beaten is never home  
 kummt]  
 comes

- As expected, in sentences like (16) it is the gap in the *wenn*-clause rather than the gap in the matrix clause that can be resumed by a personal pronoun:

(17) a. des is a Hund, [der [wenn **er** gschlogn werd], nimma  
 this is a dog which if he beaten is never  
 hoam kummt]  
 home comes  
 b. \*des is a Hund, [der [wenn gschlogn werd], **er** nimma  
 this is a dog which if beaten is he never  
 hoam kummt]  
 home comes

#### EVIDENCE FOR TARGET POSITION IN THE EMBEDDED CLAUSE:

Generalization: the left periphery of the German clause cannot be occupied by more than two overt phrasal elements (SpecTopP, SpecFinP, no overt focus fronting)

- (18) a. [Den Studenten] **hat** Maria gestern geküsst.  
 the student<sub>ACC</sub> has Maria-NOM yesterday kissed  
 b. [Gestern] **hat** Maria den Studenten geküsst.  
 yesterday has Maria<sub>NOM</sub> the student<sub>ACC</sub> kissed  
 c. [Den Studenten], [den] **hat** Maria gestern geküsst.  
 the student<sub>ACC</sub> him has Maria<sub>NOM</sub> yesterday kissed  
 d. \*[Den Studenten], [gestern] [den] **hat** Maria geküsst.  
 the student<sub>ACC</sub> yesterday him has Maria<sub>NOM</sub> kissed  
 e. \*[Den Studenten], [den] [gestern] **hat** Maria geküsst.  
 the student<sub>ACC</sub> him yesterday has Maria<sub>NOM</sub> kissed  
 f. [Den Studenten], [gestern] **hat** Maria den geküsst.  
 the student<sub>ACC</sub> yesterday has Maria<sub>NOM</sub> him kissed

- **1. argument:** the interaction of left dislocation and movement to the prefield (SpecFinP) in the embedded and the matrix clause of BE

- (19) [<sub>1</sub>An **Ratzinger**]<sub>i</sub> [<sub>2</sub>dass t<sub>i</sub> nehman]<sub>j</sub> , [<sub>3</sub>des]<sub>j</sub> hätt i ned denkt.  
 the ratzinger that they-accept this had I not thought

- **2. argument:** no multiple left dislocation in German (Altmann 1981)

- (20) \*[Die Gretel]<sub>i</sub> , [den Hans]<sub>j</sub> , die<sub>i</sub> wird den<sub>j</sub> schon noch  
 the Gretel<sub>NOM</sub> the Hans<sub>ACC</sub> she will him yet still  
 überzeugen.  
 convince

- (21) [Am Hans]<sub>i</sub> [dass a t<sub>i</sub> an Computer schenkt]<sub>j</sub> dem<sub>i</sub> hod a des<sub>j</sub>  
 the Hans<sub>DAT</sub> that he a computer gives him has he this  
 vasprocha.  
 promised

- **3. argument:** BE of wh-element

- (22) \*[Wer]<sub>i</sub> [seit t<sub>i</sub> do is], lafft ois besser?  
 who since here is goes everything better

- **4. argument:** constituency

- (23)a. Da Peter glaabd [[de **Mass**<sub>i</sub> wenn er t<sub>i</sub> **no** **drinkt**], is a bsuffa].  
 the Peter thinks this liter if he still drinks is he drunk  
 b. [**De** **Mass**<sub>i</sub> wenn er t<sub>i</sub> **no** **drinkt**]<sub>j</sub> glaabd da Peter, [t<sub>j</sub> is a bsuffa].  
 this liter if he still drinks thinks the Peter is he drunk

#### 4. Question Q2: what are the properties of the gap in the matrix clause and how is this gap licensed?

##### THE TRUE GAP IS IN THE EMBEDDED CLAUSE:

- Semantic argument:

- (24) a. [Wegn an Hans dass a kimmt], hätt i ned denkt.  
 because of the Hans that he comes had I not thought  
 b. [Heit wenn a fehlt], werd a was dalebn.  
 today if he is-absent will he something experience

- Unlike the gap in the matrix clause, the gap in the embedded clause cannot be replaced with a resumptive pronoun:

- (25) a. \*[Den]<sub>i</sub> [wenn i'<sub>n</sub><sub>i</sub> dawisch], daschlog i e<sub>i</sub>.  
 him if I-him catch kill I  
 b. [Den]<sub>i</sub> [wenn i t<sub>i</sub> dawisch], daschlog i'<sub>n</sub><sub>i</sub>.  
 him if I catch kill I-him

QUESTION: Is the gap in the matrix clause a parasitic gap?

##### PROPERTIES TYPICALLY ASSOCIATED WITH PARASITIC GAPS :

- parasitic gaps tend to appear in positions that are inaccessible to movement (Chomsky 1982)
- (26) a. Here is the influential professor that John sent his book to t in order to impress e.  
 b. He is a man whom everyone who meets e admires t.
- (27) a. \*Here is the influential professor that John went to college in order to impress e.  
 b. \*He is a man whom everyone who meets e is sorry.
- (28) a. Which girl did you send a picture of e to e?  
 b. Which girl did you send a picture of John to e?  
 c. Which girl did you send a picture of e to John?  
 (from Engdahl 1983)
- parasitic gaps are not well-formed in finite clauses (Emonds 2001):
- (29) a. Which students did she criticize t after introducing e to the professor?  
 b. \*Which students did she criticize t after the boss had introduced e to the professor?
- (30) a. ?a person that they spoke to because they admired  
 b. ?a person who people that talk to usually end up fascinated with  
 (Kayne 1983: 166, 169)  
 c. an article that John read \_\_\_ [before Mary glanced at \_\_\_]  
 d. Who did John visit \_\_\_ [without claiming that he knew \_\_\_]  
 (Nissenbaum 2000: 33)

- position of an empty parasitic operator in Bavarian extraction if the gap in the matrix clause were the parasitic gap?

(31) [<sub>CP</sub> Den<sub>i</sub> wenn i t<sub>i</sub> dawisch, Ø<sub>i</sub> [<sub>C'</sub> **daschlog** i e<sub>i</sub>]].  
 him if I catch kill I

- Preposed *wenn* ('if')-clauses in German do not necessarily occupy the SpecFinP position (König/van der Auwera 1988, von Stechow 1994, Günthner 1999; for Italian and Northern Italian dialects see also Munaro 2009).

(32) a. [Wennich noch ein Bier trinke], [dann] **bin** ich betrunken.  
 if I one more beer drink then am I drunk  
 'If I drink one more beer, then I will be drunk.'  
 b. [Wenn er sich weigern würde], [die] **würden** ihn glatt ins  
 if he Refl. refuse would they would him even into  
 Gefängnis stecken..  
 prison put  
 'If he refused, they would even put him into prison.'

### 5. Question Q3: what motivates BE and why is clausal fronting required?

#### assumptions:

- German left clausal periphery: only two positions overtly filled (SpecTopP, SpecFinP)
- SpecCP/SpecFinP ("prefield") neutral w.r.t. discourse-semantic properties (Roberts 1999)
- BE can involve a Topic or a Focus:

(33) a. Wos hom-s g'sagt, wia-s an Xaver wieder g'seng hom?  
 what have-they said as-they the Xaver again seen have  
 'What did they say when they saw Xaver again?'  
 b. An Xaver wie-s g'seng hom hom-sa-se recht g'freit.  
 'As for Xaver, when they saw him they were really happy.'

(34) a. Wos fir-a Notn host gmoant dass-st kriegst?  
 what for-a grade have-you thought that-you get  
 'Which grade did you think you would get?'  
 b. An Oanser dass-e krieg how-e g'moant.  
 a one that-I get have-I thought  
 'Grade one I thought I would get.'  
 (Bayer 2001: 20)

Conclusion: a focus or a topic (a "salient element") in SpecFinP must be licensed by an Agree relation with a corresponding feature of a higher head in the left periphery

Crucial claim: Agree of BE-element must be with a head in the left periphery of the matrix clause, and it is the necessity of this Agree relation that motivates fronting of the embedded clause.

#### WHAT MOTIVATES BE?

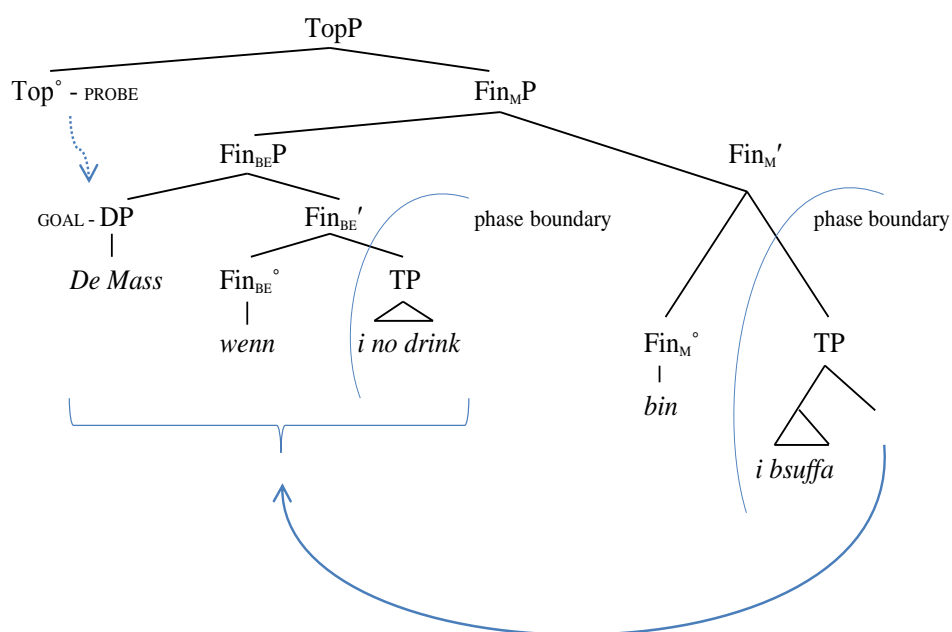
Assumption on movement: an element X in the domain of a phase head that bears an uninterpretable feature  $\pi$  moves to the edge of this phase head (otherwise PIC-violation); in other words, syntactic objects with unsatisfied feature requirements must move out of their phase (can be considered as part of the Transfer operation)

WHAT TRIGGERS OBLIGATORY FRONTING OF THE EMBEDDED CLAUSE?

Answer: assumption on movement

(35) [De Mass<sub>i</sub> wenn i t<sub>i</sub> no drink], bin i bsuffa.  
 this liter if I still drink am I drunk

(36)

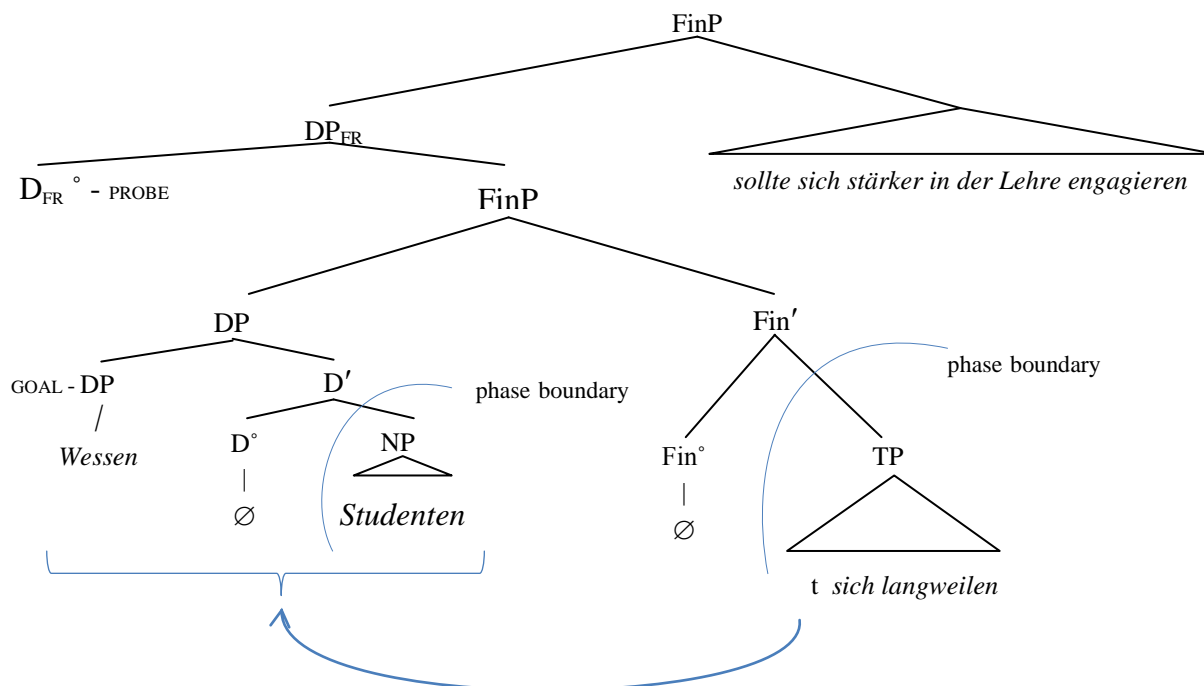


QUESTION: Is the specifier of a specifier accessible to a higher probe?

Independent evidence: free relatives with *wessen*-NPs (Fuß/Grewendorf/Groat 2012)

(37) [[Wessen<sub>sg</sub> Studenten]<sub>pl</sub> sich langweilen<sub>pl</sub>], sollte<sub>sg</sub> sich stärker in der  
 whose students Refl get bored should Refl stronger in  
 Lehre engagieren.  
 teaching involve  
 'Whoever's students get bored, should be more involved in teaching.'

(38)



For "deep search":

- Chomsky (2012) on embedded wh-interrogatives
- M. Richards (2012): Whatever hasn't undergone Transfer is accessible; therefore, everything in the Spec of a phase head is accessible.

LICENSING OF THE GAP IN THE MATRIX CLAUSE:

Problem: neither the gap nor the empty operator is c-commanded by the antecedent in the "overt" syntax (not necessarily a problem for parasitic gap).

- (39) a. ?Which senator<sub>1</sub> did you persuade \_\_\_<sub>1</sub> to borrow *which car*<sub>2</sub> [after getting an opponent of \_\_\_<sub>pg1</sub> to put a bomb in \_\_\_<sub>pg2</sub>]?  
 b. ?Which kid<sub>1</sub> did you give *which candy bar*<sub>2</sub> to \_\_\_<sub>1</sub> [without first telling a parent of \_\_\_<sub>pg1</sub> about the ingredients in \_\_\_<sub>pg2</sub>]?  
 c. ?Which book<sub>1</sub> did you give \_\_\_ to *which student* [without first showing \_\_\_ to friends of \_\_\_]?  
 (Nissenbaum 2000: 116, 130)

Implication: empty operator in SpecFinP of the matrix clause (the gap in the matrix clause) is licensed by Agree with the left peripheral head ("salience") that licenses the BE element.

Independent evidence for the presence of an empty operator:

- licensing of the matrix gap (the empty pronominal) is no longer possible if SpecFinP of the matrix clause is occupied by another constituent (in that case, the matrix gap has to be lexicalized by a resumptive pronoun, cf. the contrast in (40) and (41):



- (40) a. [An Hans<sub>i</sub> wenn i t<sub>i</sub> dawisch] daschlog i e<sub>i</sub> mi'm Hacke.  
 the Hans-ACC if I catch kill I with the ax  
 b. \*[An Hans<sub>i</sub> wenn i t<sub>i</sub> dawisch], **mi'm Hacke** daschlog i e<sub>i</sub>.  
 the Hans-ACC if I catch with the ax kill I  
 c. [An Hans wenn i t<sub>i</sub> dawisch], **mi'm Hacke** daschlog i'n<sub>i</sub>.  
 the Hans-ACC if I catch with the ax kill I-him
- (41) a. [Den<sub>i</sub> wenn i t<sub>i</sub> dawisch], daschlog i e<sub>i</sub>.  
 him if I catch kill I  
 b. \*[Den<sub>i</sub> wenn i t<sub>i</sub> dawisch], **dann** daschlog i e<sub>i</sub>.  
 him if I catch then kill I  
 c. [Den<sub>i</sub> wenn i t<sub>i</sub> dawisch], **dann** daschlog i'n<sub>i</sub>.  
 him if I catch then kill I-him

- fronting of argument clauses (to SpecFinP) combined with BE

- (42) a. \*[An Sepp<sub>i</sub> wer dass t<sub>i</sub> bschissn hod], hob i e<sub>i</sub> gfrogt.  
 the Sepp-ACC who that cheated has have I asked  
 b. \*[Am Sepp<sub>i</sub> wer dass t<sub>i</sub> ghoifa hod], hob i e<sub>i</sub> gsogd.  
 the Sepp-DAT who that helped has have I told

- interaction of BE with Weak Crossover effects

- (43) [An Hans<sub>i</sub> wenn sei<sub>i</sub> Vata nausschmeißt], wundert me ned.  
 the Hans<sub>ACC</sub> if his father throws-out surprises me not
- (44) Den Studenten<sub>i</sub> hat sein<sub>i</sub> Professor kritisiert.  
 the student<sub>ACC</sub> has his professor<sub>NOM</sub> criticized
- (45) \*[An Hans<sub>i</sub>, wenn's t<sub>i</sub> nausschmeißn], werd sei<sub>i</sub> Vata e<sub>i</sub> daschlogn.  
 the Hans<sub>ACC</sub> if-they throw-out will his father<sub>NOM</sub> kill  
 'Intended: If they throw out Hans, his father will kill him.'
- (46) [An Hans<sub>i</sub>, wenn's t<sub>i</sub> nauschmeißn], werd sei<sub>i</sub> Vata ned traurig  
 the Hans<sub>ACC</sub> if-they throw-out will his father not sad  
 sei.  
 be  
 'If they throw out Hans, his father will not be unhappy.'

#### NEW ANALYSIS: TOPIC DROP RATHER THAN PARASITIC GAP<sup>2</sup>

#### Main characteristics of (German) topic drop (Trutkowski 2011)

- Possible with PPs (unlike parasitic gaps, see Cinque 1990)

- (47) a. Neapel liegt am Meer<sub>PP</sub>.  
 Naples lies by the sea  
 b. [ e ]<sub>PP</sub> Liegt Ostia auch.  
 lies Ostia as well

<sup>2</sup> Thanks to Erich Groat for drawing my attention to topic drop.

- (48) a. [[Mit da Susi]<sub>i</sub> wenn-a t<sub>i</sub> aufgewachsen is], is-a a e<sub>i</sub> verwandt.  
with the Susi if-he grown-up is is-he also related  
'If he grew up with Susi, he is related to her.'
- b. [[Nach Minga]<sub>i</sub> wenn's mi t<sub>i</sub> eilodn], geh i sofort e<sub>i</sub>.  
to Munich if-they me invite go I immediately  
'If they invite me to Munich, I will come immediately.'

- Only salient discourse entities can be dropped
- Restricted to the position in front of the finite verb in V2 clauses

- (49)a. \*[Den<sub>i</sub> wenn i t<sub>i</sub> dawisch], [dass i e<sub>i</sub> daschlog], hob i am Hans gsogt.  
him if I catch that I kill have I to Hans told
- b. \*[Den<sub>i</sub> wenn i dawisch], hob i am Hans gsogt, [dass i e<sub>i</sub> daschlog].  
him if I catch have I to Hans told that I kill
- c. [Den<sub>i</sub> wenn i t<sub>i</sub> dawisch], glabd da Hans, [daschlog i e<sub>i</sub>].  
him if I catch, thinks the Hans kill I

- Possible with adverbials:

- (50) [Do<sub>i</sub> wenn-a t<sub>i</sub> arbatn mecht], muaß-a a e<sub>i</sub> wohna.  
there if-he work wants must-he also live  
'If he wants to have a position there, he should also live there.'

## 6. Question Q4: why is BE from wh-clauses with complex wh-elements disallowed?

Problem: BE out of wh-interrogatives

- (51)a. [[An Sepp]<sub>i</sub> **wer** (dass) t<sub>i</sub> gsehg hod], woäß i ned.  
the Sepp<sub>ACC</sub> who that seen has know I not  
'I don't know who saw Sepp.'
- b. [[Da Hans]<sub>i</sub> **warum** (dass) sie t<sub>i</sub> umbracht hod], mecht i wissen.  
the Hans why that himself killed has want I know  
'I would like to know why Hans has committed suicide.'
- (52) a. [Den Hans]<sub>i</sub> wer hat den<sub>i</sub> gesehen?  
the Hans<sub>ACC</sub> who has him seen  
'As for Hans, who has seen him?'
- b. \*Den Hans, wer hat gesehen?  
the Hans<sub>ACC</sub> who has seen

QUESTION: Why can the fronted XPs in (51) occur on the left of the wh-element although they are not resumed by a D-pronoun?

- (53) [Da Hans]<sub>i</sub> mecht i wissen, [warum (dass) t<sub>i</sub> sie umbracht hod].  
the Hans want I know why that himself killed has
- (54) [An Sepp]<sub>j</sub> wer dass t<sub>j</sub> gsehg hot]<sub>i</sub>, des<sub>i</sub> woäß i ned.  
the Sepp<sub>ACC</sub> who that seen has this know I not

Two possible answers:

- (a) wh-element does not occupy SpecFinP in embedded clauses  
 (b) BE targets TopP

Evidence for (b):

- BE from wh-clauses not possible with quantifiers (unlike "standard" cases of BE, see (55)) (same reason that prevents quantifiers from undergoing left dislocation)

(55) [[Neamd]<sub>i</sub> [wenn t<sub>i</sub> kimmt], bin i a zfriedn.  
 nobody if comes am I also satisfied

(56) a. \*[Neamd<sub>i</sub> wer (dass) gseng t<sub>i</sub> hod], mecht i wissen.  
 nobody<sub>ACC</sub> who that seen has want I know  
 b. \*[Koa Geld<sub>i</sub> wer (dass) t<sub>i</sub> verlor hod], hod a gfrogd.  
 no money<sub>ACC</sub> who that lost has has he asked

- BE elements in wh-clauses can only function as topics

(57) a. [Wen<sub>j</sub> woäßt ned [wer<sub>i</sub> dass t<sub>i</sub> t<sub>j</sub> gseng hod]]?  
 whom know-you not who that seen has  
 b. ??[An Hans<sub>i</sub> wer dass t<sub>i</sub> gseng hod], woäß i ned.  
 the Hans<sub>ACC</sub> who that seen has know I not

(58) a. [Wen<sub>i</sub> mechst wissen, [warum dass' t<sub>i</sub> umbracht ham]]?  
 whom want-you know why that-they killed have  
 b. ??[An Hans<sub>i</sub> warum dass' t<sub>i</sub> umbracht ham], mecht i wissen.  
 the Hans<sub>ACC</sub> why that-they killed have want I know

(59) a. \*[Da Sepp<sub>i</sub> welche Buam dass t<sub>i</sub> vadroschn hod], woäß i ned.  
 the Sepp which boys that beaten has know I not  
 'I don't know which boys Sepp has beaten.'  
 b. \*[Den Kaas<sub>i</sub> welcher Lehrer dass t<sub>i</sub> vazapft hod], mecht i  
 the cheese which teacher that told has would I  
 wissen.  
 like-to-know  
 'I would like to know which teacher has told that nonsense.'

account of (59): If complex wh-phrases require licensing by a Top-head (see Rizzi 2001, Grewendorf 2012) and if the BE-element extracted from wh-clauses necessarily functions as a Topic as well, the ungrammaticality of (59) might be attributed to a minimality effect.

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