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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**]_i [wenn i t_i 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**]_i [ob i t_i 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**]_i [dass a t_i 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))¹

- (4) a. [**Den**]_i [wenn i t_i dawisch], daschlog i e_i.
 him if I catch kill I
 'If I catch him, I will kill him.'
- b. [**An Pfarrer**]_i [statt dass i t_i bsuach], loss i d'Arbat e_i 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**]_i [wenn i t_i no drink].
 I am drunk this liter if I still drink
- (6) *I woäß ned, [**an Hans**]_i [ob i t_i no amoi wähl].
 I know not the Hans_{ACC} if I once more vote

¹ 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**]_i woäß i ned, [ob i t_i no amoi wähl].
 the Hans_{ACC} 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]**_i bin i bsuffa, [wenn i t_i 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**]_i, [wenn a t_i dawischt], daschlogt a e_i.
 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**]_i [wer (dass) t_i gseng hod], woäß i ned.
 the Sepp who that seen has know I not

(11) ***[Den Kaas]**_i, [welcher Lehrer dass t_i 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]**_i [wos t_i 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]_i, [wenn e_i g'schlogn wead], traut t_i 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_i people that talk to e_i usually end up fascinated with t_i
 (Kayne 1983: 169)

(16) des is a Hund, [der_i [wenn e_i gschlogn werd], t_i 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_{ACC} has Maria-NOM yesterday kissed
 b. [Gestern] **hat** Maria den Studenten geküsst.
 yesterday has Maria_{NOM} the student_{ACC} kissed
 c. [Den Studenten], [den] **hat** Maria gestern geküsst.
 the student_{ACC} him has Maria_{NOM} yesterday kissed
 d. *[Den Studenten], [gestern] [den] **hat** Maria geküsst.
 the student_{ACC} yesterday him has Maria_{NOM} kissed
 e. *[Den Studenten], [den] [gestern] **hat** Maria geküsst.
 the student_{ACC} him yesterday has Maria_{NOM} kissed
 f. [Den Studenten], [gestern] **hat** Maria den geküsst.
 the student_{ACC} yesterday has Maria_{NOM} 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) [₁An **Ratzinger**]_i [₂dass t_i nehman]_j , [₃des]_j 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]_i , [den Hans]_j , die_i wird den_j schon noch
 the Gretel_{NOM} the Hans_{ACC} she will him yet still
 überzeugen.
 convince

- (21) [Am Hans]_i [dass a t_i an Computer schenkt]_j dem_i hod a des_j
 the Hans_{DAT} that he a computer gives him has he this
 vasprocha.
 promised

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

- (22) *[Wer]_i [seit t_i do is], lafft ois besser?
 who since here is goes everything better

- **4. argument:** constituency

- (23)a. Da Peter glaabd [[de **Mass**_i wenn er t_i **no** **drinkt**], is a bsuffa].
 the Peter thinks this liter if he still drinks is he drunk
 b. [**De** **Mass**_i wenn er t_i **no** **drinkt**]_j glaabd da Peter, [t_j 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]_i [wenn i'_n_i dawisch], daschlog i e_i.
 him if I-him catch kill I
 b. [Den]_i [wenn i t_i dawisch], daschlog i'_n_i.
 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) [_{CP} Den_i wenn i t_i dawisch, Ø_i [_{C'} **daschlog** i e_i]].
 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?

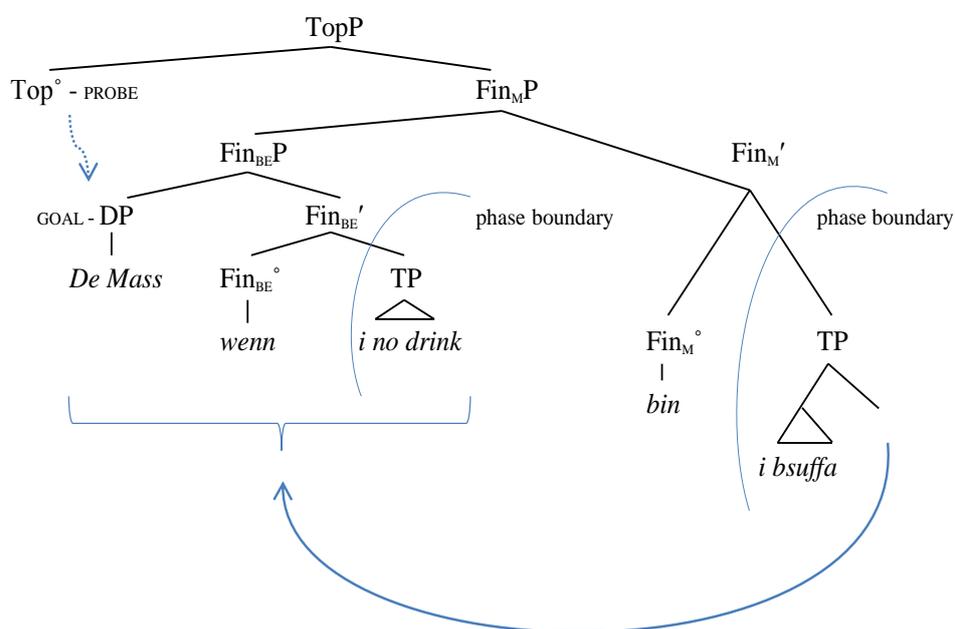
Assumption on movement: an element X in the domain of a phase head that bears an uninterpretable feature π moves to the edge of this phase head (otherwise PIC-violation); in other words, syntactic objects with unsatisfied feature requirements must move out of their phase (can be considered as part of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

WHAT TRIGGERS OBLIGATORY FRONTING OF THE EMBEDDED CLAUSE?

Answer: assumption on movement

(35) [De Mass_i wenn i t_i no drink], bin i bsuffa.
 this liter if I still drink am I drunk

(36)

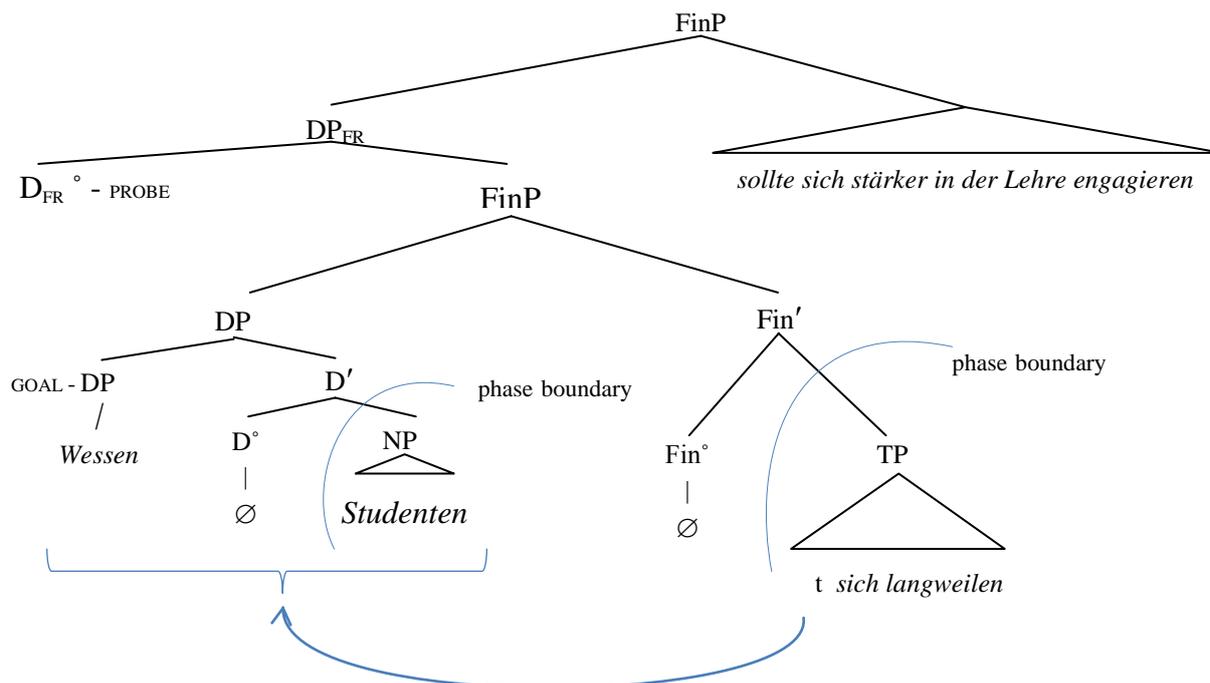


QUESTION: Is the specifier of a specifier accessible to a higher probe?

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

(37) [[Wessen_{sg} Studenten]_{pl} sich langweilen_{pl}], sollte_{sg} 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 senator₁ did you persuade ___₁ to borrow *which car*₂ [after getting an opponent of ____{pg1} to put a bomb in ____{pg2}]?
- b. ?Which kid₁ did you give *which candy bar*₂ to ___₁ [without first telling a parent of ____{pg1} about the ingredients in ____{pg2}]?
- c. ?Which book₁ 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_i wenn i t_i dawisch] daschlog i e_i mi'm Hacke.
 the Hans-ACC if I catch kill I with the ax
 b. *[An Hans_i wenn i t_i dawisch], **mi'm Hacke** daschlog i e_i.
 the Hans-ACC if I catch with the ax kill I
 c. [An Hans wenn i t_i dawisch], **mi'm Hacke** daschlog i'n_i.
 the Hans-ACC if I catch with the ax kill I-him
- (41) a. [Den_i wenn i t_i dawisch], daschlog i e_i.
 him if I catch kill I
 b. *[Den_i wenn i t_i dawisch], **dann** daschlog i e_i.
 him if I catch then kill I
 c. [Den_i wenn i t_i dawisch], **dann** daschlog i'n_i.
 him if I catch then kill I-him

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

- (42) a. *[An Sepp_i wer dass t_i bschissn hod], hob i e_i gfrogt.
 the Sepp-ACC who that cheated has have I asked
 b. *[Am Sepp_i wer dass t_i ghoifa hod], hob i e_i gsogd.
 the Sepp-DAT who that helped has have I told

- interaction of BE with Weak Crossover effects

- (43) [An Hans_i wenn sei_i Vata nausschmeißt], wundert me ned.
 the Hans_{ACC} if his father throws-out surprises me not
- (44) Den Studenten_i hat sein_i Professor kritisiert.
 the student_{ACC} has his professor_{NOM} criticized
- (45) *[An Hans_i, wenn's t_i nausschmeißn], werd sei_i Vata e_i daschlogn.
 the Hans_{ACC} if-they throw-out will his father_{NOM} kill
 'Intended: If they throw out Hans, his father will kill him.'
- (46) [An Hans_i, wenn's t_i nauschmeißn], werd sei_i Vata ned traurig
 the Hans_{ACC} 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 GAP²

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

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

- (47) a. Neapel liegt am Meer_{PP}.
 Naples lies by the sea
 b. [e]_{PP} Liegt Ostia auch.
 lies Ostia as well

² Thanks to Erich Groat for drawing my attention to topic drop.

- (48) a. [[Mit da Susi]_i wenn-a t_i aufgewachsen is], is-a a e_i 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]_i wenn's mi t_i eilodn], geh i sofort e_i.
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_i wenn i t_i dawisch], [dass i e_i daschlog], hob i am Hans gsogt.
him if I catch that I kill have I to Hans told
- b. *[Den_i wenn i dawisch], hob i am Hans gsogt, [dass i e_i daschlog].
him if I catch have I to Hans told that I kill
- c. [Den_i wenn i t_i dawisch], glabd da Hans, [daschlog i e_i].
him if I catch, thinks the Hans kill I

- Possible with adverbials:

- (50) [Do_i wenn-a t_i arbatn mecht], muaß-a a e_i 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]_i **wer** (dass) t_i gsehg hod], woaß i ned.
the Sepp_{ACC} who that seen has know I not
'I don't know who saw Sepp.'
- b. [[Da Hans]_i **warum** (dass) sie t_i 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]_i wer hat den_i gesehen?
the Hans_{ACC} who has him seen
'As for Hans, who has seen him?'
- b. *Den Hans, wer hat gesehen?
the Hans_{ACC} 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]_i mecht i wissen, [warum (dass) t_i sie umbracht hod].
the Hans want I know why that himself killed has
- (54) [An Sepp]_i wer dass t_j gsehg hot]_i, des_i woaß i ned.
the Sepp_{ACC} 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]_i [wenn t_i kimmt], bin i a zfriedn.
 nobody if comes am I also satisfied

(56) a. *[Neamd_i wer (dass) gseng t_i hod], mecht i wissen.
 nobody_{ACC} who that seen has want I know
 b. *[Koa Geld_i wer (dass) t_i verlor hod], hod a gfrogd.
 no money_{ACC} who that lost has has he asked

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

(57) a. [Wen_j woäß ned [wer_i dass t_i t_j gseng hod]]?
 whom know-you not who that seen has
 b. ??[An Hans_i wer dass t_i gseng hod], woäß i ned.
 the Hans_{ACC} who that seen has know I not

(58) a. [Wen_i mechst wissen, [warum dass' t_i umbracht ham]]?
 whom want-you know why that-they killed have
 b. ??[An Hans_i warum dass' t_i umbracht ham], mecht i wissen.
 the Hans_{ACC} why that-they killed have want I know

(59) a. *[Da Sepp_i welche Buam dass t_i 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_i welcher Lehrer dass t_i 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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