

Extended peripheries: a new comparative perspective on Afrikaans

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The purpose of this paper is to draw attention to the distinctive character of the peripheral structural domains in modern-day spoken varieties of Afrikaans. More specifically, I will focus on the CP-, vP and DP periphery, each of which exhibits properties that differentiate the relevant Afrikaans systems from the rest of Germanic, including its closest relatives. The empirical phenomena at the heart of the discussion will be:

- (i) AFRIKAANS NEGATION, particularly the innovated clause-final negation element (*nie*₂ in (1)), and the likewise innovated negative imperative marker, *moenie* ('must.not' ≈ "don't") as in (2):

(1) *Dit is nie*₁ *so eenvoudig nie*₂.
it is not so simple POL
'It is not so simple.'

(2) *Moenie* *moed* *verloor nie!*
must.not courage lose POL
'Don't give up!'

- (ii) VIR-MARKED NOMINALS, which serve a number of functions associated with (non-core) datives in other systems, including differential object marking (DOM) (3) - unknown in Germanic, outside of (some) Bavarian varieties - and perspectival applicatives (4):

(3) *Sy was (vir) die hond.*
she wash for the dog
'She washes the dog.'

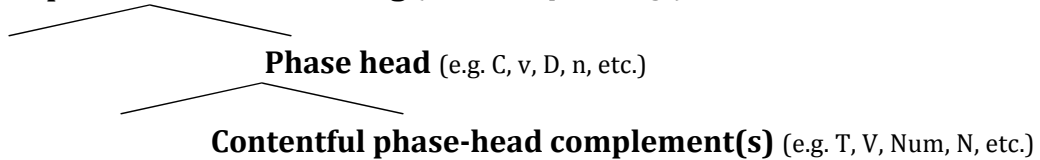
(4) *Hy rook vir hom 'n sigaretjie.*
he smoke for him a cigarette.DIM
'He smokes himself a cigarette.'

In the first part of the talk, we will consider the peculiar properties associated with these phenomena, and some of their knock-on consequences - some of which, ironically, reinforce aspects of Afrikaans' Germanic character, while others reshape it. In the second part of the talk, I will suggest that all of the peripheral developments we have considered, and others that fall beyond the scope of the talk, can be understood as the consequence of the way in which natural-language grammars encode speaker-hearer-oriented perspective, something which is particularly evident when we study vernacular varieties. More specifically, I will propose the hypothesis in (1), which, simplifying grossly, entails the putatively universal (fractal) design template in (2):

(1) **The Peripheral Speaker-Hearer Hypothesis (PSHH)**

Speaker-hearer perspective is formally encoded at the edges of phasal domains, where phasal domains are independently signalled, realizationally (PF) and interpretively (LF) privileged structural domains, the precise identity of which differs from language to language, and the “size” of which may also differ from derivation to derivation language-internally (cf. the ‘dynamic’ perspective on phases).

(2) **Speaker-Hearer encoding** (outermost phase edge)



The claim, then, will be (i) that numerous significant formal differences between modern spoken Afrikaans varieties and the rest of Germanic - not all of which are at first sight equally evident - have their origin in Afrikaans’s roots and subsequent development as a vernacular system employed in a complex sociolinguistic environment, and (ii) that modern generative syntax is well placed to formalise and deepen our understanding of how “pragmaticalisation” and “intersubjectification” phenomena can affect “core” grammar.

Wer findet und hilft Kindern? (Who finds and helps children?)

– The phonological resolution principle revisited

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Following Eisenberg (1973), Pullum & Zwicky (1986) propose a general principle of “phonological resolution of conflicting feature requirements”, with applications to other cases of unlike coordination : in (1) the shared complement of two verbs with conflicting case assignment (finden+acc ; helfen+dat) must satisfy the requirements of both.

- (1) a. Er findet und hilft Frauen
He finds and helps women.acc/dat
b. *Er findet und hilft Kinder/Kindern
he finds and helps children.acc/children.dat

Ingria (1990) challenges the power of unification grammars in showing that an underspecified representation will not work (since it will have to unify both with accusative and with dative). Since then, formal solutions have been proposed to enrich the feature hierarchy with specific values for syncretic forms (Dalrymple & Kaplan, 2000; Levy & Pollard, 2001; Crysmann, 2005), but the empirical basis of the privilege of syncretic forms in unlike coordination has not been tested. However, a quick corpus search on the internet (November 2017) provides numerous counterexamples for coordinated verbs (2).

- (2) a. Ausgerechnet Caro [findet und hilft] ihm.
of-all-people Cara finds and helps him.dat
b. Strolch [findet und hilft] ihr weiter.
Strolch finds and helps her.dat further

1 Experimental evidence

We ran two experiments that tested the acceptability of sentences in which two heads with incompatible case requirement were coordinated. In Experiment 1, two verbs were coordinated, in Experiment 2, two prepositions were coordinated. One head always assigned accusative case to its complement and the other head assigned dative case. The order of the two heads was the first experimental factor (acc head first/dat head second versus dat head first/acc head second). The second factor varied the complement of the coordinated heads. The complement was always a bare plural noun that was either case ambiguous or case unambiguous. When unambiguous, the noun either matched the case of the first or the last head. An example sentence for each experiment is given in (3) and (4) (only the order ACC before DAT head is shown).

- (3) **Experiment 1** (Condition acc-verb first, dat-verb second)
Der Mafiaboss begnadigt und verzeiht OBJECT niemals.
the mafia boss pardons and forgives never
'The mafia boss never pardons and forgives OBJECT.'

OBJECT: Ambiguous Second matching First matching
Verräter Abtrünnigen Abtrünnige
traitors renegades.DAT renegades.ACC

- (4) **Experiment 2:** (Condition acc-preposition first, dat-preposition second)
Es steht jetzt fest, dass die Feier ohne oder mit OBJECT stattfinden kann.
it stands now solid that the party without or with take-place can
'It is clear now that the party will take place without or with OBJECT.'

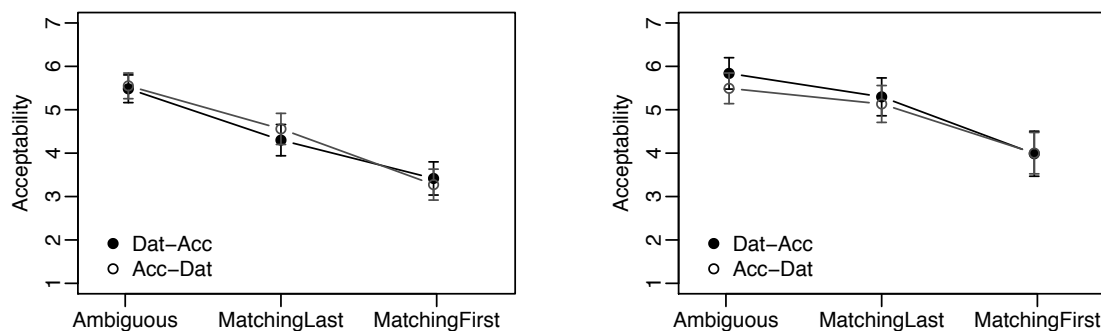


Figure 1: Mean acceptability in Experiment 1 (left) and Experiment 2 (right)

OBJECT:	Ambiguous	Second matching	First matching
	Eltern	Kindern	Kinder
	parents	children.DAT	children.ACC

In Experiment 1, 30 participants judged 18 sentences as in (3) on a scale from 1 (completely unacceptable) to 7 (completely acceptable). In Experiment 2, there were 28 participants and again 18 sentences. Figure 1 shows the results. The results were statistically analyzed by means of mixed-effects models. The two experiments show the same pattern:

- Sentences with case ambiguous nouns receive the highest acceptability values.
- Sentences with unambiguous nouns are more acceptable when the noun matches the case requirements of the second head, that is, the head adjacent to the noun.
- The order of the two coordinated case-assigning verbs had no effect on acceptability.

2 Discussion

In sum, for both verbs and prepositions, our results show a three-way distinction. Acceptability is highest for syncretic nouns compatible with both heads. But non syncretic nouns matching the requirement of the closest head are rated much higher than expected. We propose that case matching may obey a closest conjunct strategy, similar to what has been proposed for agreement (Corbett, 1991; Hemforth & Konieczny, 2004). In our case, the closest conjunct is also the highest, assuming a hierarchical structure for coordination (Borsley, 2005).

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Diminutives in Germanic

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1. Introduction: In this paper, we address a puzzle that has been hardly discussed in the literature (Postma (2016) being a notable exception): While German and Dutch have productive diminutive morphology, English as well as Mainland Scandinavian and Icelandic lack such morphology and make use of AN compound forms, e.g. Norwegian *småbarn* 'little.child'. We argue against Postma's analysis that the lack of diminutives is a reflex of the V-to-I parameter. Instead, we propose that in English the lack of diminutive morphology is associated with the absence of grammatical gender, while in Scandinavian the absence of diminutive morphology correlates with the affixal nature of the article.

2. Diminutives: As discussed in Wiltschko (2006), Wiltschko & Steriopolo (2007), and Ott (2011), among others, German has two productive diminutive affixes, *-chen* and *-lein*, which form neuter nouns uniformly irrespectively of the gender of the noun they attach to:

- | | | | |
|-----|---------------------------------|--|--------------------------|
| (1) | Masculine | | Neuter |
| | a. der klein-er Tisch | | b. das Tisch-chen/-lein |
| | the.MASC little-MASC table.MASC | | the.NEUT table.DIM/DIM |
| | 'the little table' | | 'the little table' |
| (2) | Feminine | | Neuter |
| | a. die klein-e Flasche | | b. das Fläsch-chen/-lein |
| | the.FEM little-FEM bottle | | the bottle. DIM/DIM |
| | 'the little bottle' | | 'the little bottle' |

These affixes can attach to mass nouns, yielding a count interpretation:

- | | | | |
|-----|-------------------------|--|--------------------------------------|
| (3) | a. viel Wein | | b. viel-e Wein-chen |
| | much wine | | many-PL wine-DIM (Wiltschko 2006) |
| | 'much wine' (mass noun) | | 'many portions of wine' (count noun) |

The particular behavior of *chen/lein* is very close to that of singulative morphology found in unrelated languages, e.g. Arabic, Welsh, Fox (see Acquaviva 2008, Ott 2011, Kramer 2015).

German has a further diminutive affix, recently discussed in Plank (2012), *-ling*, which attaches to all sorts of bases and derives masculine (person) nouns:

- | | |
|-----|---|
| (4) | a. lehren 'teach' → Lehr-ling 'trainee' |
| | b. Gunst 'favor' →ünst-ling 'favorite' |
| | c. neu 'new' → Neu-ling 'novice' |

ling nouns bear masculine gender, and like their *-chen* counterparts they do not tolerate the addition of a feminine affix. To account for this, Plank argues that the affix has neuter semantics, as *-in* cannot attach to neuter forms, only to masculine ones:

- | | | | |
|-----|--------------------------------|--|-------------------------------|
| (5) | a. *Hünd-lein-in / dog-DIM-FEM | | b. *Neu-ling-in / new-DIM-FEM |
|-----|--------------------------------|--|-------------------------------|

Dutch has also a productive diminutive affix *-je*, which has several allomorphs, cf. de Haas & Trommelen (1993), de Belder (2008). Unlike German with its three-gender system, Standard Dutch distinguishes between neuter and non-neuter. The diminutive affix carries neuter gender.

3. Diachrony: While *-ling* was available in earlier stages of all the Germanic languages (see Torp 1909 for Old Norse), it is hardly used in Modern Icelandic and is absent from Mainland Scandinavian, see Olofsson (2015). These languages have no productive diminutive morphology whatsoever. For diminution, prefixes are used productively, e.g. micro-, mini- and also incorporated adjectives such as *small*, e.g. *småbarn* 'little.child' in Norwegian. English has a limited number of diminutive affixes, clearly derivational, such as e.g., *pig-let*.

4. Analysis: Following Wiltschko (2006), Wiltschko and Steriopolo (2007), Steriopolo (2008), and Kramer (2015), we assume that German diminutives are denominal nouns formed via a diminutive *n* attaching to a *nP* (See De Belder (2008), Ott (2011) and De Belder et al.

(2014) for alternatives). Crucially, *-chen* and *-lein* realize n (6a). We assume a similar analysis for Dutch *-je*. By contrast, the affix *-ling* nominalizes roots (6b).

(6) a. [nP chen/lein [nP [√]]] b. [nP ling [√]]

We further assume, following Kramer (2015), that gender features are located on n. From this perspective, Dutch *-je* and German *-chen/lein* and *-ling* diminutives are gendered nominalizations yielding neuter and masculine nouns respectively. This particular analysis explains why diminutives behave like singulatives, see Kramer (2015) for details. As in Kramer (2015), and Comrie and Thompson (2007), we view English diminutives, e.g. *piglet*, also as an instance of a denominal nominalization. As the language lacks grammatical gender, no gender shift is involved in this process.

5. The lack of diminutive morphology: The puzzle then is why Mainland Scandinavian and Icelandic lack diminutive morphology. Postma (2016) discusses this and proposes that there is a correlation between the lack of diminutive morphology and V-to-T movement. All languages that have a productive affixal diminutive have V-to-T movement. Indeed, English and Mainland Scandinavian lack V-to-T movement. However, it has been argued that certain Mainland Scandinavian varieties allow Verb movement in embedded clauses (Bentzen 2007, and references therein). While Icelandic has a cognate of *-ling*, namely *-lingur*, this form is not at all productive (Whelpton & al. 2015). Importantly, Icelandic has no productive diminutive morphology either but is argued to have V-to-I (Holmberg & Platzack 1995). Thus, we conclude that the lack of diminutive morphology cannot be related to the V-to-I parameter.

A further possibility would be to correlate the absence of diminutive morphology to gender. It is generally acknowledged that size-related meanings are among the possible semantic values of a gender system (Allan 1977; Corbett 1991; Croft 1994; Aikhenvald 2003, di Garbo 2014). Feminine and neuter are prototypically used as diminutives. This would explain why English lacks diminutive morphology, as we stated above: the language lacks grammatical gender, and diminutive morphology; see our analysis above. But Scandinavian languages, unlike English, have gender, and they still lack diminutive morphology. We cannot appeal to the merging of gender in Germanic to explain this behavior either: we have merging of masculine and feminine in Swedish, Danish, and in many varieties of Norwegian (see Kürschner & Nübling 2011, Busterud, Lohndal, Rodina & Westergaard in press for a recent overview). Nevertheless, dialects of Norwegian as well as Swedish and Danish lack diminutive morphology. Moreover, we find a similar merging in Dutch that has diminutives, and no merging is observed in Icelandic, which lacks diminutives. Finally, we cannot appeal to the loss of case and other nominal inflection to explain lack of diminution, as Icelandic, unlike English and Mainland Scandinavian, preserves a rich nominal inflection system.

We hold that the unproductive use of *-ling* is related to Plank's (2012) observation that this affix is the semantically **wrong** gender for diminutive formation. Since Dutch and certain Scandinavian varieties lost the distinction between feminine and masculine, they also lack *-ling*. But what blocked the emergence of *-chen/-lein* in Scandinavian? Historically, *chen/lein* developed via a combination of two diminutives, a neuter *-in* + the Gothic forms *-ka* and *-la* (Paul 1920) and various phonological changes. In Scandinavian, the definite affixal article emerged from a free-standing clitic in D (Lohndal 2007, Faarlund 2009). We adopt Julien's (2005) analysis of the Scandinavian DP, according to which the suffixed article is located in nP which encodes definiteness. Julien assumes that gender is placed on the categorizer. One piece of evidence for this involves nominalizing suffixes which carry gender, such as *-ing* traditionally being feminine and still is in dialects retaining the feminine. In view of this development, diminutive morphology did not emerge, as n was occupied by features which are realized as the definite article. As a result, Scandinavian makes use of either prefixes, or AN compounds to yield diminutive interpretation. Support for this analysis comes from

variation in unrelated languages such as Romanian and Albanian (Kore & Shaba 2013): while both have suffixed articles, the Romanian one realizes D (Giusti 2000) and has productive diminutives, while the Albanian one is an inflectional marker on n (Trommer 2011) and lacks diminutives.

Givenness licenses object-first order in German

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Speakers of German have many options to fill the so-called *prefield* (the position immediately in front of the finite verb). In line with Frey (2004), Skopeteas and Fanselow (2009) provide data from a language production experiment and advance the hypothesis that sole givenness is not sufficient to move the object into the prefield position. Instead, more specific discourse relations are necessary for this purpose. A specific discourse relation that licenses the use of OS order is the *poset* relation (Ward and Prince, 1991), a relation that imposes a partial ordering on a given set of elements. A proto-typical *poset* relation is the part-of relation. We present the results of two acceptability studies as well as data from a corpus study which show that, contrary to Skopeteas and Fanselow's hypothesis, mere givenness can result in a preference for OS order, depending on the referential form of the object NP.

1 Experimental evidence

For referring to a given referent, languages provide alternative referential forms. So far, we have investigated three referential forms: personal pronouns (p-pronouns), d-pronouns, and demonstrative NPs. An example in which the object is realized as either of these forms is shown in (1) (the experimental design follows Weskott et al., 2011).

- (1) Heute morgen habe ich einen wichtigen Kunden angerufen.
today morning have I a important client called
'This morning, I had to call an important client.'
- a. *SO follow-up sentence*
Ich musste ihn/den/diesen Kunden von unserem neuen Produkt überzeugen.
I must him/the/this client of our new product convince
'I had to convince him/this client of our new product.'
- b. *OS follow-up sentence*
Ihn/Den/Diesen Kunden musste ich von unserem neuen Produkt überzeugen.

The subject of the first sentence in (1) is the topic and is taken up in the second sentence by a subject pronoun. The object of the second sentence has the same referent as the object of the first sentence and is thus merely given. In Experiment 1, the object was realized either as the p-pronoun *ihn* or as the d-pronoun *den*. Object p-pronouns in German are fully acceptable in the prefield only under special conditions. With a p-pronoun as object, the SO sentence, in which the subject appears in the prefield and the object at the left edge of the middlefield, should be preferred to the corresponding OS sentence. For the d-pronoun, recent work has shown that they are the preferred means for referring to a non-topical given referent. Because the preferred position of a d-pronoun is the prefield, we expect that the OS variant is at least as acceptable as the SO variant. In Experiment 2, the object was again a d-pronoun or it was a demonstrative NP.

In each experiment, 25 native German speakers rated sentences on a scale ranging from 1 (completely unacceptable) to 7 (completely acceptable). The results, which are shown in

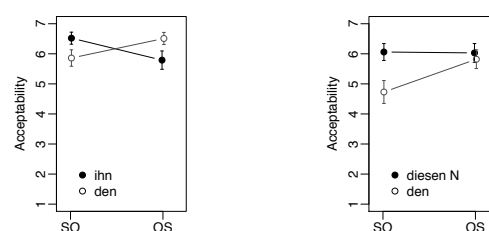


Figure 1: Mean ratings for Experiments 1 and 2. Error bars show 95% confidence intervals.

Table 1: Number of corpus hits according to order and type of object NP

Order	Personal pronoun (n=187)	Definite full NP (n=4701)	Demonstrative full NP (n=409)	Demonstrative pronoun (n=145)	D-pronoun (n=500)
% SO	98	82	24	24	4
% OS	2	18	76	76	96

Figure 1, were analyzed using linear mixed effect models. In both experiments, the two main factors and their interaction were significant. In Experiment 1, SO was rated better than OS for the p-pronoun object whereas OS was rated better than SO for the d-pronoun. In Experiment 2, there was no difference between SO and OS for demonstrative NPs and OS was again better rated for d-pronouns. In sum, we found a preference for OS order for d-pronouns, no order preference for demonstrative NPs, and a dispreference for OS order in the case of p-pronouns.

2 Corpus evidence

The experimental results are corroborated by data from an ongoing corpus study based on the German version of Wikipedia and the deWac corpus. We searched for main clauses of the form “NP1 V_{fin} NP2 ...”, corresponding to the sentences in (1). One of the two NPs was a personal pronoun in subject function and the other NP a direct object. The object could be a definite NP, a demonstrative NP, a demonstrative pronoun, a personal pronoun or a d-pronoun. For the first four elements, Table 1 shows data from a search of a subset of Wikipedia. For d-pronoun objects, we analyzed 500 hits from a search of the deWac corpus. When the object is a p-pronoun or a definite NP, SO order is clearly preferred. When the object is a demonstrative, OS order is preferred, most strongly so when the object is a d-pronoun. The corpus data thus show that with certain referential forms an OS preference is also found in authentic texts.

3 Discussion

Experimental and corpus data show a preference for OS order for objects that are merely given, provided the object is a kind of demonstrative. We will discuss the results in the wider context of object fronting in the Germanic languages (e.g., Ward and Prince, 1991; Kristensen et al., 2014). On the theoretical side, our results argue against Frey’s (2004) notion of formal movement and instead for a more flexible approach as in, e.g., Fanselow and Lenertová (2011). More specifically, we interpret our results in terms of Speyer’s (2008) theory of prefield filling. Speyer proposes a prefield hierarchy which—based on a mixture of semantic-pragmatic properties—ranks NPs according to their propensity to claim the prefield position. When several phrases compete for filling the prefield, the one highest on the prefield hierarchy is selected. We extend Speyer’s hierarchy in the way shown in (2), where italicized elements have been added by us.

- (2) Extended prefield hierarchy
 scene-setting > *given(d-pronoun)*, poset > *given(demonstrative)* > topic, *given(definite)*

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A comparative study of exhaustive marking in German and English - some insights from second language acquisition • Leah S Bauke • University of Wuppertal

It is well known that cleft-constructions as in (1) generate an exhaustivity reading in German and in English (e.g. Kiss 1998; Heinzmann 2012).

- (1) a. It was Jack who Mary kissed.
b. Es war Hans, den Maria geküsst hat.
It was Hans that Maria kissed has.

Thus, despite their rather divergent characteristics of core sentence structure (in German C as well as Spec,CP are characteristically filled in declarative main clauses in English these positions are empty) German and English make use of the same construction for exhaustivity marking. Roeper (2016) argues that in English topicalization can have a similar though somewhat weaker effect of exhaustivity marking:

- (2) Roses, John likes.

where the sentence in (2) implies that John does not like any other flowers. German allows topicalization of objects as well:

- (3) Rosen mag Fritz
Roses likes Fritz

but it is far from clear, whether this also entails an exhaustivity reading (cf. e.g. Frey 2004, 2005 vs. Wierzba 2014).

Thus, German and English differ in (2) and (3) in the sense that both languages allow for topicalization, however, the strong exhaustivity reading in English is not available in German where an exhaustive interpretation remains one possibility among many (contrastive readings, emphasis readings and others are possible alternatives).

This paper explores in how far L2 speakers of English with L1 German can acquire the exhaustive interpretation for the construction in (2). Under the assumption that some version of the Full Access/Full Transfer Hypothesis of Schwartz and Sprouse (1994, 1996) or the Full Restriction Hypothesis of White (2008) holds the initial state of the L2 is the final state of L1. Thus, in early stages of L2 English, L1 German speakers should not assign exhaustive readings to the construction in (2). In later stages, however, a restructuring process should lead to the integration of exhaustivity unless some feature of the interlanguage prevents this (see Schwartz & Sprouse 1996 for details). We tested in a study with a forced-choice answer task, whether highly proficient L2 English speakers with L1 German assign exhaustivity interpretations to the construction in (2). 56 participants with a proficiency level of C1 in English were presented with scenes like the one in (4):

- (4) Little Johnny is sitting in front of a bowl of fruits wondering what to pick. Strawberries Johnny likes.

This scene is followed by a forced-choice question of the type exemplified in (5), which allows for three possible answers:

- (5) Does Johnny also like bananas?
 yes no don't know

The results from the study clearly indicate that L2 speakers assign an exhaustivity reading only in under 30% of all cases (whereas native speakers assign exhaustive interpretations in almost 80% of all cases). Thus, highly advanced L2 English speakers with L1 German do not assign an exhaustivity interpretation to topicalization structures. This, we argue, is due to the fact that there is never enough evidence to move from the non-exhaustive interpretation of (3) to the exhaustive interpretation of (2) in the interlanguage. Thus, the V2-movement rule that accompanies the topicalization operation in German is not enough to generate an exhaustive reading in this language. This carries over to the topicalized structure in the interlanguage and thus blocks exhaustive readings there as well.

Assuming further that exhaustivity in clefts is movement to a high functional head (see e.g. Heinzmann 2012, Kiss 1998 and others) we therefore argue that L2 speakers assign the topicalization in (2) to a low topic-head instead of to a high functional projection in the left periphery. This is only what native speakers do, who provide an exhaustivity interpretation for the structures in (2). Thus, the interpretational differences between L2 English speakers and native speakers for topicalization structures can be related to different underlying movement operations in the sense that they are both movement operations to the left periphery but to different positions in the left periphery (i.e. a high position in English and a low position in German). This is a clear indication that the interlanguage differs significantly from the target language structure of these constructions.

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NO CASE FOR CASE IN HASIDIC YIDDISH:
EVIDENCE FROM THE LANGUAGE OF THE STAMFORD HILL HASIDIM
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1. Yiddish was the every-day language spoken by most Central and East European (so-called Ashkenazi) Jews during the last millennium, counting over ten million speakers before World War 2. It is a Germanic language. However, due to its rare status as the language of a geographically dispersed religio-ethnic community, Yiddish has been influenced by contact with other languages throughout its history, including Hebrew-Aramaic, German, and (for Eastern Yiddish) Slavic. **Standard Yiddish** has predominantly VO word order with many OV characteristics (Diesing 1997). It is a V2 language in both embedded and main clauses (Santorini 1992). Standard Yiddish has an **extensive system of case and gender marking on noun phrases**, morphologically affecting the adjective and the definite article (Jacobs 2005, Kahn 2016), see (1) for singular masculine nouns. Case marking has been partly neutralised in the feminine or plural, so the presence of case marking is in fact an indicator of gender marking too.

- (1) *ikh hob bakent dem yungn man mit dem nayem shokbn.*
I have introduced the.ACC young.ACC man to the.DAT new.DAT neighbour
'I introduced the young man to the new neighbour.'

Although under existential threat in the secular world, Yiddish is a native and daily language for Haredi (Hasidic and other strictly Orthodox) communities with an estimated one million speakers worldwide. The UK's largest Haredi community (ca. 40,000 people) lives in Stamford Hill, London. Over 75% of adults and children of this community are 'fluent' in Yiddish, and over 50% use it as 'the main language at home' (Holman & Holman 2002). The linguistic characteristics of the Yiddish spoken by the **Stamford Hill Hasidim (henceforth SHH)** are largely unknown (see Mitchell (2006), a sociolinguistic study, as the only exception).

In this paper, we claim that current day Yiddish of the SHH community has **no notion of case and gender**, just like Modern English. In this it seems similar to the Yiddish of other Hasidic communities, as described by Krogh (2012), Assouline (2014) and Sadock & Masor (2015). Although, unlike us, these authors interpret their findings as exhibiting mere morphological case syncretism, not loss of the notion of case or gender in the mental grammar of these speakers.

2. We conducted a study of case and gender marking in the nominal domain with speakers of SHH Yiddish. We found an almost complete loss of case and gender marking in the language. First, we analysed the **written language** of the *Tribune*, a weekly paper edited and printed in SHH with a two-page Yiddish supplement. We found that case and gender marking are used inconsistently: the "nominative" form is used instead of the accusative or dative, or singular suffixes are used in the plural, as in (2); the "accusative" form of some pronouns are used instead of the nominative, as shown in (3).

- (2)a. *חשובער אייניקלעך* *kboshever eyniklekh* (28/6) b. *אין די לעצטע תקופה* *in di letste tkufe* (25/5)
esteemed-M.SG.NOM grandchild-PL in the.F.SG.NOM last-F.SG.NOM period
(3) ... *כדי אונז זאלן פארטרייבן טעראר* *kedey unz zoln fartraybn teror...* (21/6)
so.that 1.PL should drive.out terror...

Second, we conducted interviews and **elicited spoken language data** from a wide array of speakers both in terms of age and background (Satmar, Ger). In our talk we will bring evidence for the following claims: **(i) case marking is mostly absent on noun phrases, see (4); (ii) speakers are unaware of gender differences; (iii) the marker -e is used as a modification marker on adjectives rather than as gender agreement; (iv) case marking is retained on some idiomatic or set phrases such as the accusative of time; (v) there is variable use of case marking on pronouns, (5).**

- (4) *זאי הבן ים געגעבן דע געשמאקטע קיגל ים דע בעסטע פלאיש מיט דע זיסטע טימעס.*
they have him given the tastiest casserole and the best meet with the sweetest carrot.stew

(5) *er hot zj gevizn dos nay bibl. 's iz ir nisht gefoln.*

3SG.M.NOM has 3SG.F show.PP the.N new book-DIM 3SG.N is 3SG.F.DAT not like.PP
We interpret these data to show that **SHH Yiddish lacks case and gender marking**.

3. Importantly, we propose that this goes deeper than simple morphological syncretism, however pervasive, in the nominal declension paradigm. We propose that younger SHH speakers have **no notion of case or gender in their mental grammar**. Accordingly, as we will show, this has wider implications for their grammar: SHH speakers show much more rigid patterns of word order and insist on **strict case adjacency** between the verb and its object, as is expected in a Verb-Object language with no morphological case marking (Neeleman and Weerman 1999).

- (6) a. *Də talmid hot gelernt git dem sayfer.
the student has learnt good the.acc.m religious.book
'The student studied the book thoroughly.'
b. *Er hot gelaynt shta:tləkh də brif.
he has read slowly the letter
'He read the letter slowly.'

In contrast, such scrambling is not excluded in Standard Yiddish, or in the grammar of a non-Hasidic Polish Yiddish native speaker we consulted.

- (7) a. ?Der talmid hot shtudirt fla:sik di bikhe.
the.m.nom has studied thoroughly the.pl books
'The student studied the books thoroughly.'
b. z'hot gelaynt langzam 'm briv.
she has read slowly the.m.acc letter
'She read the letter slowly.'

4. For completeness, we also studied both **written and spoken** (accessible via audio recordings) data from **pre-War speakers including data from pre-War Hasidic speakers**, and found that, just like Standard Yiddish, the language of all the pre-War speakers had an extensive system of morphological case and gender. We conclude that this level of loss of case and gender marking sets apart contemporary Hasidic Yiddish, or **Hasidische Yidish**, as the speakers themselves call it, from other pre-War Yiddish dialects and from Standard Yiddish.

5. Such a rapid and pervasive loss of case and gender is **perhaps unprecedented**. English, for instance, underwent a similar change over several centuries. To finish off, we will offer some thoughts on **how and why** such a pervasive change could happen in a language in such a short time. Some of the relevant factors are (i) cataclysmic loss of number of speakers during WW2, (ii) multilingualism of speakers, (iii) lack of connection to written language for current day Hasidic speakers, (iv) phonological features of the underlying pre-War Polish Yiddish spoken dialect.

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How much is “ein-“? On the indefinite determiner in Southern German dialects

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It is a well known fact that indefinite determiners (ID) may have a variety of interpretations, e.g. from acting like a bound variable to a specific reading, cf. already Partee (1987). It is equally well known that languages vary to a great extent under which interpretations the indefinite determiner is actually present, resp. whether a language uses a different morpho-syntactic realization of the respective readings. In this talk I will have a closer look at the distribution of indefinite determiners in the various variants of the Alemannic dialect and compare it to Standard German and also neighboring dialects like Bavarian.

The observations¹: Mass nouns in Standard German occur as bare NPs - but e.g. Bavarian is known to use an indefinite determiner with mass nouns regularly – at least in episodic sentences, see below for further refinement. The Alemannic dialects behave in general like Standard German with the exception of the variant (call it ALM A) immediately adjacent to the Bavarian speaking area, i.e. we are obviously dealing with variation due to language contact:

- | | |
|---|-----|
| a. Habt ihr noch __ Mehl im Haus? | SG |
| b. hobts ihr no a meel im haus? | BAV |
| c. hond ir no %(e) määl im huus? | ALM |

all: Have you.pl. still (a) flour in.the house

This areal pattern carries over to constructions with weak quantifiers and mass nouns like *a weng a NP* (= a bit (of) a NP). At first sight, this could be captured quite easily by assuming that the ID in these cases realizes overtly a partitive head (comparable to the Romance *de*+determiner), situated e.g. in Borer’s (2005) DIV-Position. The different realizations then are simply due to a micro-parametric difference in terms of spell-out. Now interestingly, in a superficially quite similar construction, the picture gets more complicated. What I will call here the ‘qualifier construction’ has attained much attention in the literature in terms of ‘doubling’, cf. Kalluli & Rothmeyer (2008), also Alexiadou (2014):

- (1) ein so ein guter Wein
a so (such) a good wine

While the doubling is attested in the whole Southern German area (although to a less extent in Alemannic, compared to Bavarian), the important thing is now the pattern in Standard German:

- (2) a. ein so __ guter Wein __ so ein guter Wein
b. *ein so __ Wein __ so ein Wein

With the adjective present, both positions are possible for the ID – but with a bare mass noun, it is the lower position which is obligatorily overt. Thus, we have also a case in SG where the ID shows up with mass nouns. What is the difference? The claim to be defended is that Borer’s DIV-position consists actually of more heads (with their projections) as previously thought, see also Hachem (2015), Rehn (2017), specifically I will suggest that we have to distinguish at least between two different projections: first ‘bounded mass’ – which corresponds to the partitive reading, i.e. a simple subset reading and (ii) the individualizing head (\approx Borer’s DIV) whereby IndP dominates ‘bounded mass’ which itself dominates ‘mass’, i.e. the NP. I will follow standard exo-skeletal/nano-syntactic approaches by assuming that the realization of a higher head entails (semantically and syntactically) the lower heads.

In the qualifier construction, we are not dealing with subsets but instead with sub-kinds, see Carlson (1977). Now sub-kinds are of the semantic type individuals, i.e. type $\langle e \rangle$. They can be quantified

¹ The data referred to in this work stem from the project SynAlm that was funded by the DFG from 2011-2015, hosted by the University of Konstanz during that time. All data were gained by written questionnaire studies; the number of speakers for the judgments here is 516.

over and combine with various types of determiners, see Borik & Espinal (2015). Under this perspective, for a sub-kind reading, the Ind-head must be realized – and this is done by the ID – even in Standard German. But the difference is that in Standard German, the ID is lexically specified for only the Ind-head, whereas in Bavarian and some parts of Alemannic, the ID is in addition a possible realization of the lower ‘bounded mass’ head, i.e. in partitive constructions. The addition of adjectives leads usually to a ‘bounded mass’ reading, cf. Rehn (2017); however, in case it is a gradable adjective, it may equally lead to a sub-kind reading (the existence of good wine implies that there is also bad wine,...) and for this reason, we can assume that the adjective may take over the individualizing function and thus overtly appear in the specifier of IndP, giving rise to the patterns in (3a) whereby I will assume that the ‘higher’ ID is in the regular D-position. Note that the interpretation is equivalent since in the case of a low adjective, the ID in IndP ensures the subkind reading. A similar kind of explanation can be applied for the difference between Bavarian/ALM A and Standard German/ALM B when it comes to the partitive: if a quantifier is present, it is situated in the specifier (note that the ID is only possible with so-called weak quantifiers, i.e. those that do not refer to a sum of individuals). In case of a simple mass noun with ID, it will be shown that the ID shows up only in episodic sentences but never in generic ones. I will assume in this case that it is the event variable/the stage-level properties of the predicate that is responsible for the ‘bounded mass’ reading, i.e. only the subset of flour relevant for the actual situation is referred to in (1). For Standard German with its null-variant in these cases, I will assume that the interpretation as bounded mass is pragmatically inferred. As for the above postulated split between different lexical entries for the ID, this is corroborated by a remarkable difference between ALM B and ALM A: Asked for the interpretation of a clause like *Ich hett gern mol wieder en Fisch zum Mittagessen* (I would like to have a fish for lunch), ALM B speakers allowed only the interpretation that a whole (complete) fish is meant, whereas ALM A speakers also allowed a reading where simply a dish with some fish in it (in whatever form: pieces, soup, ...) is meant. To summarize, the suggested structure with the differing realizations is given in (3):

(3)

	D		[specIndP [IndP]]	[specBMP [BM]]	[NP]]]	
a.				(ein wenig) \emptyset	Mehl	St.Ger./ALM B
b.				(ein wenig) ein	Mehl	Bav./ALM A
c.	(ein)	so	ein	(guter)	Wein	Bav./ALM
d.	(ein)	so	guter	guter	Wein	St. Ger.
e.			ein		Fisch	St. Germ./ALM B
f.				ein	Fisch	Bav./ALM A

Note finally that with the structure in (3d.), the ‘inverse order’ in English *so nice a girl* may find a natural explanation, if we assume that in English a DFC-like constraint does not apply and the raised adjective as well as the ID in IndP may be overtly spelled-out. So-called “spurious ‘n’” in spoken Dutch, see Bennis et al (1997) seems to be an item which equally must be situated in the Ind-head - due to its similar distribution and thus, the evidence for this fine grained structure comes from even more Germanic varieties. In sum, we can see that the at first sight rather superficial variation between neighboring dialects gives us a clue to the understanding of the more fine grained functional structure of the DP and that the different semantically motivated positions can be detected also in Germanic – if one looks closely at the micro-variation between the dialects. (selected references): Hachem, M. (2015). *Multifunctionality: The internal and external syntax of D-and W-items in German and Dutch*. Utrecht University. Rehn, A. (2017). Adjectives and the Syntax of German(ic) DPs. subm. PhD dissertation, University of Konstanz. Borik, O., & Espinal,

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Morphology: Not Head Movement, Not Mirror Theory, Just Merge + Agree

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Head movement accounts of verbal morphology, as in Distributed Morphology, and the alternative Mirror Theory (Brody 2000, Adger et al. 2009), are not sufficient to account for the morphology of verbs in Germanic and other languages. We need a mechanism of long-distance Agree. However, once we have that, we can dispense with Mirror Theory and head movement altogether.

First, head movement accounts predict that the position of the verb in the clause, as diagnosed by word order, will correlate with the morphology of the verb. This has been shown over and over to be false. In Danish, for example, matrix clauses have the verb in C (verb-second), but in embedded clauses, the verb never leaves the VP, as diagnosed by adverbs and negation:

- (1) a. Kaffe **drikker** Peter ofte om morgenen.
Coffee drinks Peter often in the.morning
b. Vi ved at Peter ofte **drikker** kaffe om morgenen.
we know that Peter often drinks coffee in the.morning (Vikner 1995, 47)

Yet in both cases the morphology on the verb is identical, in particular the verb bears tense morphology in the embedded case despite never moving to T. For polysynthetic languages, the head movement account predicts that the verb must appear very high in the clause, but this is demonstrably false in languages like Passamaquoddy-Maliseet (Algonquian), where numerous elements can and even must intervene between the verb and a *wh*-phrase in Spec-CP:

- (2) Tama ma=te wen wikuwaci-toli-hpi-w?
where Neg=Emph someone enjoy-there-eat.3-Neg
'Where does no one like to eat?' (Bruening 2001: 148, (347b))

There are Germanic languages where verbs take a different form of agreement depending on whether they precede or follow the subject (e.g., Zwart 1997); however, the morphological composition of the verb is the same in either position, it is only the particular agreement morpheme that is used that is different.

In Mirror Theory, the morphological object that spells out a contiguous sequence of heads can be located in any of the head positions in that sequence. For instance, T-Voice-V can be spelled out in T in French but in V in English. For Passamaquoddy-Maliseet, one could claim that the sequence of heads C-T-Neg-Mood-Asp-Voice-V (for instance) can be pronounced very low, perhaps in V. For Danish, one could claim that the sequence C-T-Voice-V can be spelled out in C in main clauses but in V in embedded clauses. This turns out to be insufficient, too. Consider subjunctive clauses in English. Subjunctive clauses are selected by embedding verbs and the verbal morphology is plausibly determined by C of the embedded clause. Yet C is filled, by the complementizer *that*:

- (3) a. It's important [that she visit(*s) us].
b. It's important [that she not be/*is goofing around when they arrive].

The morphology of the highest verb is determined by C, but C does not form a contiguous sequence of heads with the verb that bears that morphology.

In order to account for subjunctive morphology in English and other languages, then, Mirror Theory needs to be augmented with some sort of long-distance morphological licensing mechanism

like Agree. Subjunctive C can Agree with the highest verbal element in the clause, and thereby determine its morphology. (Note that we will need this even in an analysis of the English subjunctive with a null modal: the null modal would have to be licensed by C, but again C is filled with an overt complementizer, so it will still need to be licensed by Agree and not by the mechanisms of Mirror Theory.) We need even longer-distance licensing in Passamaquoddy-Maliseet. The *subordinative* mode is marked on the main verb of the clause, but it is selected by something high in the clause, for instance the particle *on* that occurs at the left periphery:

- (4) Ipa, **on** Makolit-ol ' -kisi yah-a-**n**-iya.
 Well, then Margaret-Obv 3-Perf tell-3/Obv-**Subord**-3P
 'Well, then they told Margaret (what had happened).' (Newell 1979, 25)

The subordinative morphology always appears on the main verb, even though a higher verbal element, a type of auxiliary bearing a verbal agreement prefix (here *kisi*), can intervene between the subordinative selector and the verb bearing the subordinative morphology (and other things can intervene, too, like the object here). Such auxiliary verbs can even be separated from the main verb by overt material. The only way to establish a relation between *on* and the main verb is by a long-distance syntactic mechanism like Agree (selection, for instance, will not work, as there are too many projections in between).

Clearly, we need long-distance Agree to get some morphology on verbs in different languages. Once we have this mechanism, however, we can and therefore should dispense with Mirror Theory and head movement altogether. *All* cases of morphology can be done using Agree. The morphology can be created purely by external Merge, and licensed by Agree. Head movement, if it occurs, has no direct effect on the morphology.

I model the morphosyntax of complex heads as wellformedness constraints (WFCs) in the grammars of individual languages. In Danish and English, for example, a WFC says that every V must have a T/AGR head merged with it. The T/AGR head is licensed by Agreeing with some head in the clause. In Germanic languages, the T/AGR head on the highest verb in the clause will Agree with T or C (or possibly both). The position of the verb is determined by language-particular syntactic requirements and has little to do with the licensing of heads by Agree. In Passamaquoddy-Maliseet, a WFC says that the highest element in the clause of type V must have an Agr morpheme adjoined to it on the left (the prefix in 4). This Agr morpheme I will assume is licensed by Agreeing with T. T Agrees with an argument in the clause (the subject or the object, or both, depending on their features). Another WFC says that the main V must have a sequence of heads adjoined to it on the right, depending on the syntactic context. If the clause is Subordinative, a Subord head must be adjoined. Agree with C licenses the Subord head on the V.

Note that this analysis, unlike either the head movement analysis or Mirror Theory, predicts that the clausal head can be spelled out at the same time as a head on the V. This is true of C in subjunctives in Germanic and subordinatives in Passamaquoddy-Maliseet. It is even more strikingly true of negation, where numerous languages have multiple realizations of negation. In Passamaquoddy-Maliseet, both a freestanding negative particle and a morpheme on the verb are obligatory in negative clauses; see (2). In the Agree account, a clausal Neg head (*ma*) Agrees with and licenses a Neg head on the V (-*w(i)*-) that is required by a WFC holding of main verbs in negative clauses. Doubling of this sort is problematic for head movement and Mirror Theory approaches, but it is actually widespread (e.g., with comparatives, Bobaljik 2012). Agree is also not necessarily one-to-one, so we also expect cases of zero exponence and multiple exponence.

A cartographic approach to the left periphery of Old High German

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The syntactic arrangement of the dialectal varieties subsumed under the label ‘Old High German’ (OHG, approximately 750-1050 AC), the earliest attested stage of the German language, has been the object of numerous studies in particular since the 19th century. In recent times, a growing interest of generative grammar in single aspects of the syntax of OHG has focused the spotlight on the diagnostics necessary for the detection of the exact, clause type-specific mapping of the clause in these dialects (cf., among many others, Axel 2007, Hinterhölzl & Petrova (eds.) 2009, Schlachter 2012). To complicate the issue, surface word order in this stage of German is not necessarily indicative of underlying processes such as verb movement, which makes it difficult to determine the clause-internal boundaries resulting from the position of the finite verb (e.g. the delimitation between the left periphery, henceforth: LP, and the TP area); additionally, most of the documents attested suitable for syntactic investigations, namely prose texts, are translations, which may put into question their absolute relevance as representatives of the native grammar of speakers in that time.

In this talk, I will address one question that is currently under discussion in the literature, namely the complexity of the pre-C° area (i.e. of the so-called ‘prefield’) of OHG as determinable on the basis of diagnostic verb movement in matrix structures. While the V2-V_{fin} asymmetry typical of Present-Day German (PDG) has been established since the 13th century, in OHG main clauses still display V_{fin}, as well as other ‘verb-late’ configurations.

The relevant points to be discussed are the following: (a) does OHG display a ‘Split-CP’(-like) LP à la Rizzi (1997, 2001) (and if so, what projections are contained in it?); (b) What differences does the OHG LP show compared to the same area in PDG?

To investigate these issues, a very specific set of data is considered, namely so-called ‘Verb-Third’ (henceforth: V3) clauses (i.e. clauses whose preverbal area hosts more than one element, ‘Verb Third’ being an umbrella term for ‘multiply-filled prefield’, irrespective of the precise number of elements in the LP, provided that it is > 1) in which: (i) V-to-C movement can be ascertained by means of diagnostic tests such as the relative position of non-extraposable elements (particles, ‘light’ adverbs, etc.) and *pro* drop licensing (cf. Axel 2007), and; (ii) the syntactic arrangement is different from that of the Latin source, thus excluding all those clauses which are potentially the result of a word-by-word-like translation. Literal renditions of the original word order in the case of Latin > OHG translations may, indeed, replicate LP sequences that do not correspond to the native OHG grammar, so that the data that constitute the basis for the investigation are biased or even flawed. An additional way of testing the validity of the collected data consists in systematically comparing the attested inventory of V3-clause prefields to the preverbal areas of non-diagnostic V3 structures which, however, display a different syntactic arrangement from their Latin source.

A typical case of ‘genuine’ multiple fronting in OHG is given in (1) below:

- (1) [In dhemu eristin deile chuningo boohho] [sus] ist chiuuisso
in the first part king.GEN.PL book.GEN.PL so is namely
chiscriban... (*Is.* 15, 3-5)
written
In libro quippe primo regum ita scribturn est...
‘In the first part of the Books of Kings it is written that...’

In this example, a DP and an adverb (both in square brackets) occur preverbally, and V-to-C movement can be diagnosed to have taken place, given that a non-extraposable clause adverb, *chiuuisso*, appears in the middle field of the clause. Moreover, the translator has rendered the Latin, in which the finite verb occupies the final clause position, by a structure in which the verb has moved to a LP head. The analysis of the data has yielded, i.a., the following insights:

- multiple fronting into the LP of the clause seems to be a productive option in native OHG, and some of the LP sequences allowed in this period are still possible in (spoken and/or Standard) PDG; the exclusion of literally translated clauses reveals that the range of sequences that may appear in the CP of a V3 main clause is rather limited;
- there is independent evidence (coming from the distribution of LP topic particles, left dislocated elements, embedded-clause topicalization, etc.) for the postulation of a Split-CP in PDG. The LP of OHG, however, is slightly different from the PDG prefield. In particular: (i) it contains multiple projections hosting, respectively, one connective adverbial and (in the data I consulted) up to three frame-setting topics, as in *Dhuo saar dhar after araughida dhea zuohaldun sine chiburt in fleische* (lit. ‘then immediately after that revealed *pro* the future his birth in flesh’, *Is.* 24, 18-20). Connective adverbs and frames may optionally co-occur with operator- and non-operator-constituents, as in *Thanan tho Zacharias uuard gitruobit* (lit. ‘after that in that moment Zechariah became sad’, *T.* 26, 20); (ii) it contains a low dedicated projection for event-related modal adverb(ial)s, which systematically occur in this position (say, ModP in the Rizzian LP) if preposed (cf. *So dhar after auh chiuuissu quhidit dher selbo forasago*, lit. ‘then after that also truly said the same prophet’, *Is.* 28, 11-12); (iii) it hosts in the specifier of its rightmost projection, FinP, either adverbial/pronominal elements resuming material surfacing in some higher LP position (e.g. frame setters) (cf. *Fora themo itmalen tage ostrunu tho uuesta ther heilant thaz...*, lit. ‘Before the solemn day of Easter tho knew Jesus that...’, *T.* 269, 15-17) or a class of particles (often homophonous to the resuming items) like *tho* (lit. ‘there’), *nu* (lit. ‘now’) or *so* (lit. ‘so’), which have no resuming function and do not bear the semantic content of the lexemes they derive from, but act as ‘aspectual markers’ in that they signal that the action described by the verb is punctual or inchoative. Both the resuming and the aspectual items seem to systematically attract the finite verb to the head of FinP, so that one frequent pattern in root clauses involves the LP sequence Frame or Topic or stylistically fronted XP > Prt > V_{fin}, as in *her tho quad imo* (lit. ‘he tho said to-him’, *T.* 157, 4); (iv) more than one speech-act related discourse particle can occur in the high LP, which suggests that the OHG Split-CP has additional dedicated positions for such elements between the head licensing them (arguably ForceP) and the projections hosting frame-setting adverbials (cf. *eno nu ia sint zuelif citi thes tages?*, lit. ‘eno nu ia are twelve hours of-the day?’, *T.* 229, 27); (v) the head of the projection hosting shifting/contrastive topics in its specifier may be filled by a so-called ‘post-initial topic particle’ just like in PDG (cf. *Sunu auur uuard uns chigheban*, lit. ‘(A) son however was to-us given’, *I.* 23, 21-22).

Additionally, I will argue for a relativization of the well-established view that adverbial clauses are unembedded in the OHG period.

Based on these observations, I propose the following mapping of the OHG left periphery (which differs from the structure assumed by Axel-Tober 2018 in some respects):

(2) ...Force > (discourse particles) / connective adverb > Frame-setter(s) > Top/Foc > Mod > Fin

The methodology and the data discussed in this talk prepare the ground for further investigations on the mapping of the complex prefield in the subsequent stages of German.

Primary sources: *Is.*: *Der althochdeutsche Isidor: Facsimile-Ausgabe des Pariser Codex, nebst kritischem Texte der Pariser und Monseer Bruchstücke: mit Einleitung, grammatischer Darstellung und einem ausführlichen Glossar.* G.A. Hench (ed.). Strasbourg: Karl J. Trübner (1893). // *T.*: *Die lateinisch-althochdeutsche Tatianbilingue Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen Cod. 56.* A. Masser (ed.). Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht (1994). **Secondary sources:** Axel, K. (2007). *Studies on Old High German Syntax. Left sentence periphery, verb placement and verb second.* Amsterdam: Benjamins. // Axel-Tober, K. (2018). Origins of verb-second in Old High German. In Jäger, A., Ferraresi, G. & Weiß, H. (eds.), *Clause structure and word order in the history of German.* Oxford: OUP. // Hinterhölzl, R. & Petrova, S. (eds.) (2009). *Information structure and language change. New approaches to word order variation in Germanic.* Berlin: de Gruyter. // Rizzi, L. 1997. The fine structure of the left periphery. In Haegeman, L. (ed.), *Elements of grammar*, 281-337. Amsterdam: Kluwer. // Rizzi, L. 2001. On the position of Int(errogative) in the left periphery of the clause. In Cinque, G. & Salvi, G. (eds.), *Current studies in Italian syntax*, 287-296. Amsterdam: Elsevier. // Schlachter, E. (2012). *Syntax und Informationsstruktur im Althochdeutschen. Untersuchungen am Beispiel der Isidor-Gruppe.* Heidelberg: Winter.

Variation in the structure of P_{Have} in Germanic Predicative Possession

In sum, the precise interpretation qua type of possession will depend on the context and the maxim of relevance, indicating that it is not encoded syntactically. I conclude that there is thus no evidence to assume any feature or head other than +comitative, realised on P°. This P° will incorporate into the copula to assign case to the possessee, resulting in *hebben*, à la Levinson. (And see Levinson 2011 for case-assignment of *with* in NP complements.)

5. Bezitten In the Eiffel Tower context, Dutch requires the use of the verb *bezitten* ‘to possess’:

6) De dame bezit de Eiffeltoren. ‘The lady possesses the Eiffel Tower’

We identified the semantics of this possessive relation as non-comitative. We therefore expect the absence of the lexical items *met* and *hebben*, which realise +comitative. Indeed, *bezitten* consists of a prefix *be-* and the verb *zitten* ‘sit’: there is no *hebben* or *met*. Given that we have no semantic or lexical indication of a +comitative P°, I conclude it is absent from the structure. Nevertheless, *bezitten* is clearly possessive and it has a specific meaning: it requires the possession to be +permanent and +control. Hence, inalienable, temporal and abstract possession types are out:

7) a. # Ze bezit blond haar b. # Ze bezit een mes! c. # Ze bezit de griep.
she possesses blond hair. she possesses a knife! she possesses the flu

I propose the features +permanent and +control are contained by a little p° head. The little p° head assigns case to its complement, the possessee, and no incorporation is needed, as in Levinson 2011. Indeed, what we see is a prefix *be-* (realizing p°, I propose) and the durative verb *zitten*, realising little v°. (The prefix *be-* attaches to the V post-syntactically due to its affixal status, this is not an instance of syntactic incorporation.)

6. Zitten met If all of the above is correct, we may expect to find a Dutch predicative possession construction that shows a P° merged below a little p°. Semantically, this is a construction expressing the features + comitative (the P°) and a specific +/-permanency, +/-control reading (the p°). Lexically, this construction is non-incorporating (due to the case-assigning p°) and shows the lexical item *met* ‘with’ (due to the P°). This expectation is borne out:

8) a. Ze zit met een probleem / de griep / haar regels / vijf kinderen / een kapot dak/een fiets.
she sits with a problem/ the flu / her periods / five children / a broken roof/a bicycle
‘She has a problem/the flu/her periods/the children/a broken roof/a bicycle and that is a hindrance.’

It is immediately clear that the construction meets our lexical expectations: it shows a non-incorporated P *met*. Semantically, the construction is highly restricted: all possesseees are interpreted as abstract possession. Either they simply are abstracts (e.g. a problem or a disease) or they shift semantically to a ‘problem/hindrance’ interpretation. Indeed, all concrete objects (prototypically +control in possession) shift semantically to abstract problems (-control): *ze zit met een fiets* means that she is stuck with a bike in a problematic way. Yet, the notion of control itself is certainly implied: situations in which the possessor cannot exercise control are out, as shown in (10). The construction thus explicitly assigns a negative value to a feature control (and I will argue that the typical pejorative ‘problem’ reading finds its cause in this feature set-up). Permanent interpretations are out as well: (9) resists an inalienable body part interpretation. I conclude the construction is inherently -permanent, -control. Note further that problems and diseases are inherently +comitative, this can be concluded from the fact that they can be expressed by means of *hebben* (see (11)), which, as we saw, is inherently +comitative.

9) * Ze zit met blauwe ogen. 10) * Het huis zit met een lek dak. 11) Ze heeft een probleem/de griep.
she sits with blue eyes the house sits with a leaking roof. she has a problem/the flu

Semantically, the construction meets our expectations: it is +comitative (as it merges a P°) and it has values for permanency and control (as it merges a p°). Because of P, it contains *met*, due to p it is non-incorporated.

7. Conclusion We have seen that non-incorporation goes hand in hand with feature values for permanency and control: *hebben* is underspecified for these features and incorporates, *bezitten* and *zitten met* have values and do not incorporate. I assigned these semantic and lexical properties to p°. I further argued that *bezitten* has no P°, only a p°.

8. Extension I will extend the present proposal to non-incorporating constructions in **other Germanic languages**, such as the English state-of-affairs reading (*I saw him with a knife.*) (Smith 2014) which is restricted to temporary possession. I will also discuss the use of the aspectually rich verb *zitten* instead of *zijn* ‘to be’ in Dutch.

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On the syntax-discourse interface with different kinds of not-at-issue expressions

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The main points of the paper are: First, the possibility or impossibility of root phenomena (RP), i.e. of not-at-issue expressions with restricted distributions, is not simply related to the presence or absence of illocutionary force (not to be confused with sentence mood), which contradicts a claim often made in the literature; rather, a finer distinction is operative. Second, the truncation account for the size of different dependent clauses corresponds to semantic distinctions.

Krifka (2017) refers to Frege (1918) and Peirce (cf. Tuzet 2006), who differentiate between the following aspects involved in an assertion (and generalises them to other speech acts): (i) the conception of a thought – the thinking, (ii) the appreciation of the truth of the thought – the judging, (iii) the manifestation of the judgement – the asserting. Adding the further distinction of a commitment, Krifka (2017) arrives at the semantic operations in (1).

- (1) i. forming a thought/proposition φ , which has truth conditions,
- ii. building a judgement by a person x concerning a proposition φ , a private act,
- iii. taking a commitment by a person x towards φ ,
- iv. performing a speech act by a person x involving φ , a public act.

Krifka encodes these distinctions syntactically: a proposition – TP, a judgment – JP, a commitment – CmP, a speech act – ActP; with the hierarchy in (2), the occurrence of the projections is implicationally top down, arguably without gaps.

- (2) ActP > CmP > JP > TP

The paper argues that the licensing of different not-at-issue expressions, to which RP belong, is sensitive to TP, JP, CmP or ActP.

- (I) Some of the phenomena called RP are ActP-dependent, e.g. Hanging Topics (HTs), tags, subject-oriented (Reinhart 1983) V1-parentheticals in German.
- (II) Most of the RP are JP-dependent, e.g. epistemic and evaluative adverbials, modal particles (MPs), different topic marking constructions.
- (III) Some not-at-issue expressions are TP-dependent, e.g. the marking of (information) focus, right dislocation, pejorative epithets.
- (IV) In languages in which indexical shift (IS), which is an RP (Sundaresan 2017), only obtains in the scope of speech predicates, IS is dependent on CmP; in languages in which IS also occurs in complements of attitude verbs, IS is dependent on JP.

Note that here JP is not related to truth as with Frege (1918) but encodes the presence of the mind of a thinking subject, be it the speaker or a person character in the discourse.

One arrives at a classification of dependent clauses based on which of the nodes in (2) is the top-node. For example, central adverbial clauses (CACs) like factual causals or conditionals are TPs; peripheral adverbial clauses (PACs) like *da*-causals in German or concessives and the complements of mental attitude verbs are JPs; the complement clauses of verbs of speech are CmPs; German verb-first causals and continuative relatives are ActPs. The paper discusses concessives in more detail and outlines why they need to have a JP. It is also shown that if an adverbial clause γ has an epistemic reading (Sweetser 1990), γ cannot be a CAC, but must be a PAC, i.e. must involve a JP (Frey 2016).

In general, it holds that a clause which allows items of class (I) allows items of classes (II) and (III), and a clause which allows items of class (II) allows items of (III). The opposite implications do not hold. Furthermore, it holds that items of (I) occur in a higher position in their clause than items of (II), which in turn occur higher than items of (III).

For illustration consider some examples. A question tag can only appear with a clause which is an ActP, an example being the German V1-causal in (3a). A tag's host cannot be part of the structure of another clause since an ActP cannot be syntactically embedded (cf. Green 2000). This accounts for (3b). (4a) illustrates that HTs are ActP-dependent too. In contrast, German left dislocation may occur in the complement clause of a mental attitude verb, (4b), and Right Dislocation may even occur in non-root contexts, (4c). An adverbial clause featuring a weak RP or an adverbial clause with an epistemic reading contains a JP. Any adverbial JP has to be attached high in its host, since it needs local licensing by the matrix element which licenses the JP of this host. Therefore, binding from the host into such adverbial clauses is not possible, (5). In Tamil, index shift is allowed in the complement of a speech verb, but not in the complement of an attitude verb, (6). There are no languages in which it is the other way round; cf. Sundaresan (2017).

- (3) a. Maria wird schnell promovieren, [ist sie doch sehr begabt, hab ich recht?]
Maria will quickly graduate is she MP very talented have I right
 b. *[Weil Maria sehr begabt ist, hab ich recht], wird sie schnell promovieren.
since Maria very talented is have I right will she quickly graduate
- (4) a. *Maria glaubt, Hans, er wird kommen.
Maria believes Hans he will come
 b. Maria glaubt/*bestreitet, Hans, der wird kommen.
Maria believes/denies Hans ResPron will come
 c. Dass er kommt, der Hans, bestreitet Maria.
that he comes the Hans denies Maria
- (5) a. Weil er₁ (*ja) geholfen hat, hat jeder₁ etwas Geld bekommen.
because he MP helped has has everyone some money got
 b. *Jeder₁ ist im Hause, weil das Licht in seinem₁ Büro an ist.
everyone is in-the house because the light in his office on is
- (6) a. Seetha₁ [taan₁ dʒej-čč-eeen-nnũ] so-nn-aa]. Sundaresan (2017)
Seetha ANAPH.NOM win-PST-1SG-COMP say-PST-3FSG
 'Seetha₁ said that she₁ won.' (intended)
 b. ??Seetha₁ [taan₁ dʒej-čč-eeen-nnũ] nene-tt-aa]. Sundaresan (2017)
Seetha ANAPH.NOM win-PST-1SG-COMP think-PST-3FSG
 'Seetha₁ thought that she₁ won.' (intended)

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Reconstruction in German *wh*-movement – an experimental investigation

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1. Abstract. We report on the first experimental investigation of Condition A and C reconstruction effects in German. The major contributions of our study are the following: First, we propose an innovative method to elicit coreference judgments. Second, we provide evidence that reconstruction in German behaves differently from both English and what has been reported for German in the literature. Third, we explore the theoretical implications of our findings: Among other things, they show that anaphor binding in derived and intermediate positions of *A'*-movement is possible in German, that Condition C reconstruction is extremely systematic and not subject to linear distance effects, and that there are no argument-/adjunct asymmetries.

2. Background. Reconstruction effects in *A'*-movement have played a prominent role in linguistic theorizing concerning argument-adjunct asymmetries (Freidin-Lebeaux-generalization) and as a diagnostic for movement as well as for intermediate landing sites. However, while a certain part of the data, especially the robustness of Condition C effects, has been controversial for quite some time, reconstruction effects have been subjected to empirical scrutiny only very recently, and only in English, cf. Adger et al. (2017), Bruening and Al Khalaf (2017). Their results suggest a reassessment of our views on reconstruction because Condition C effects were found to be systematic only with predicates (cf. Heycock 1995), while partially absent with (nominal) arguments. Furthermore, no strict argument-/adjunct asymmetry could be found.

3. Previous research. Previous empirical work on reconstruction has relied on forced-choice tasks where subjects had to assess coreference possibilities. In Adger et al. (2017) subjects were explicitly asked whether a pronoun and a proper name could refer to the same individual (yes/no). In Bruening and Al Khalaf (2017), reconstruction was tested with embedded *wh*-questions. The matrix clause contained another R-expression as in (1):

(1) John told me which statue of Bill he likes.

Subjects were presented with a question asking for the referent of the subject pronoun (Who likes the statue? John/Bill). A low percentage of answers for the embedded R-expression was interpreted as a Condition C effect. Both methods have shortcomings in our view: The task in Adger et al.'s experiment may be unnatural and lead subjects to engage in metalinguistic analysis. Bruening and Al Khalaf's design is more natural, but since speakers can choose only one referent, coreference with the other referent cannot be ruled out with certainty.

4. A new method. We adopt Bruening and Al Khalaf's approach with embedded *wh*-questions so that there are two possible referents, but we explicitly test for both whether coreference is possible or not. In a sentence like (2), we would ask the questions in (3):

(2) Hans erzählt, welche Statue von Peter er mag. *'John tells (us) which statue of Peter he likes'*

(3) Kann man den Satz so verstehen, dass... *'Can this sentence be interpreted such that...'*
a. ...Hans eine Statue mag? *'John likes a statue?'* yes/no
b. ...Peter eine Statue mag? *'Peter likes a statue?'* yes/no

This method not only involves a rather natural task for subjects, it also ensures that one knows explicitly which referents are possible antecedents for the pronoun and which are not. It can also be extended to other reconstruction phenomena like Principle A. In that case we also used embedded *wh*-questions and thus two possible antecedents:

(4) Maria erzählt, wie stolz auf sich Anna ist. *'Mary tells (us) how proud of herself Anna is.'*

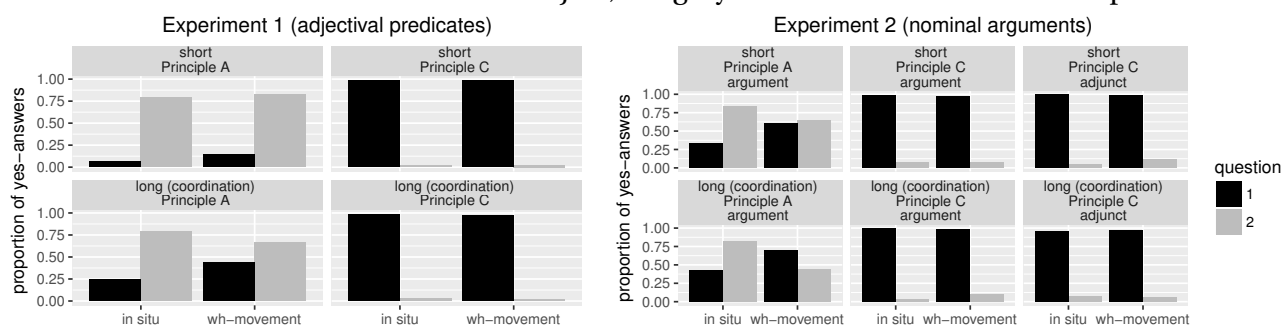
To avoid repeating the reflexive in the answer, we formulated the questions slightly differently:

(5) Kann man den Satz so verstehen, dass... *'Can this sentence be interpreted such that...'*
a. ...jemand stolz auf Maria ist? *'...someone is proud of Mary?'* yes/no
b. ...jemand stolz auf Anna ist? *'...someone is proud of Anna?'* yes/no

Checking the interpretive options for both referents is crucial in the case of Principle A to investigate the possibility of binding in a derived position.

5. Experiments. We have investigated reconstruction for Principle A and C in three experiments. In experiment 1, we tested adjectival predicates as in (4), in experiment 2 nominal arguments

as in (2) (where the R-expression was contained in either a PP argument or PP adjunct to the noun: *story about John/story in the book about John*). In both experiment 1 and 2, we systematically manipulated the factors BINDING PRINCIPLE (A vs. C), WH-MOVEMENT (in situ/moved) and DISTANCE. The last was included because previous theoretical work (Huang 1993) and the experiment by Adger et al. had found that Condition C effects decreased with increasing distance between R-expression and pronoun. In experiments 1 and 2, the (linear) distance was manipulated using coordination ('John told us which statue of Bill and the team he likes'). In experiment 3, we additionally tested a different distance manipulation, using embedding ('John told us which statue of Bill you said he likes'). In all experiments, the items were distributed using a Latin Square Design and intermixed with an equal amount of unrelated fillers. 32 native speakers of German took part in experiment 1, 48 in experiment 2. For experiment 3, we present preliminary results based on 28 participants (testing ongoing). In the diagrams below, the black bar shows coreference with the matrix subject, the gray bar with the embedded R-expression:



Results of experiment 1 on adjectival predicates: (i) reconstruction for Principle C was almost exceptionless (coreference accepted by < 3%, similar to the results on English). (ii) Reconstruction for Principle A was robust (ca. 75%); interestingly, binding by the matrix subject was also accepted to some extent; its likelihood was increased cumulatively by wh-movement and longer distance (two sign. main effects), reaching up to nearly 50% acceptance under [moved, +long].

Results of experiment 2 on nominal arguments: (i) reconstruction for Principle C was very robust (more than in the exps on English). (ii) Crucially, reconstruction was similarly robust with arguments and adjuncts. (iii) Reconstruction for Principle A was less robust, with acceptance rates between 45 and 65%. (iv) Matrix binding was more acceptable than in exp1, reaching between 35 and 70% acceptance, with [moved] significantly increasing its likelihood.

The preliminary results for **experiment 3 on long-distance movement** point to the following conclusions: (i) Reconstruction for Principle C is still quite robust in long-distance movement, but reduced compared to short movement (from 100% down to 75%); concomitantly, acceptance of coreference increases up to 25%. (ii). There is evidence for a slight embedding effect in that Condition C effects become weaker once a clause-boundary is present, but not for an effect of linear distance as in Adger et al. (like in exps 1+2, coordination has no effect). (iii) Reconstruction for Condition A in long-distance movement is as robust as in local movement. (iv) Binding in intermediate position (*how proud of himself John thinks you are*) is accepted up to 50%.

6. Theoretical implications. (i) Our results deviate in two important ways from previous claims about German (cf. e.g. Frey 1993, Kiss 2001): Anaphor binding in (a) the landing site of A'-movement and (b) in intermediate positions of A'-movement is possible. Crucially, such binding obtains with both adjectival predicates and argument-NPs. Consequently, binding in German cannot be reduced to purely thematic/argument-structural conditions. (ii) Given that anaphors contained in moved adjectival predicates can be bound by the matrix subject or an intermediate subject, our results strongly suggest that fronted predicates do not contain a trace of the subject (pace Huang 1993). (iii) The Principle C pattern in local and long-distance movement argues against a late-merger approach to adjuncts, against an approach in terms of vehicle change (the effect is not alleviated if the coreferential pronoun is in the upper clause) and quite generally casts doubts on recent claims that Principle C effects are illusory.

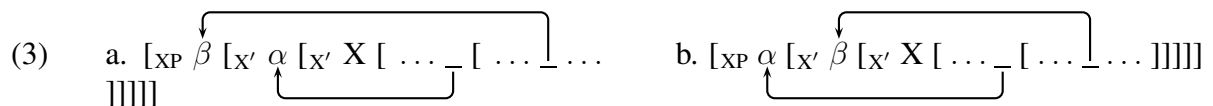
Tucking-In and Crossing Successive-Cyclicity in English

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Background: Attraction of multiple categories by the same type of feature to one specifier domain (often) preserves the pre-movement c-command relation between those categories (Richards 1997, Müller 1997, McGinnis 1998, Nissenbaum 2000, Anagnostopoulou 2003, among others). Given the Minimal Link Condition (MLC, Ferguson 1993, Chomsky 1995) and the Extension Condition (EC, Chomsky 1973, 1995) this is unexpected: Due to the MLC, the lower category should be attracted first creating an inner specifier; due to the EC, the category that is attracted second should then be merged to an outer specifier.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>(1) Minimal Link Condition:
If a probe P could, in principle, attract both α and β, then P can only attract α if α asymmetrically c-commands β.</p> | <p>(2) Extension Condition:
Merge applies at the root node.</p> |
|--|---|

Thus, nesting paths, which are not order-preserving, are expected to arise, (3-a), contrary to fact. The most popular solution today (Mulders 1997 and Richards 1997, 1999): the category that is moved second may “tuck in” below the specifier created by previous movement. This leads to crossing paths (3-b) (and order preservation).



Aim of talk: Tucking-in is acyclic (given the EC). As Richards (1997, 1999) illustrates, this is tolerable under a revised version of strict cyclicity (suggested in Chomsky 1995) that derives from the assumption that the derivation crashes once an unchecked strong feature becomes embedded (“featural cyclicity”). In my talk, I want to point out that assuming tucking-in leads to the loss of a natural explanation of a contrast between nesting vs. crossing in the context of successive cyclic movement (in English). If correct, this ultimately suggests that alternatives to tucking-in (e.g., Doggett 2004) should be considered more seriously.

Crossing vs. nesting: As noted by Pesetsky (1982), for many speakers examples like (4-b) are “almost completely acceptable” and contrast sharply with examples such as (4-a).

- (4) a. $*[_{CP_1} \text{Which sonatas}_j \text{ are these violins}_i \text{ easy } [_{CP_2} \text{OP}_i \text{ to play } t_j \text{ on } t_i]] ?$
 b. $[_{CP_1} \text{Which violins}_i \text{ are these sonatas}_j \text{ easy } [_{CP_2} \text{OP}_j \text{ to play } t_j \text{ on } t_i]] ?$

I take the grammaticality of (4-b) to suggest that infinitives (in contrast to finite clauses) in English provide a second SpecC-position that allows a *wh*-phrase to escape the *wh*-island. What remains to be accounted for, then, is the ungrammaticality of (4-a). As shown by Kitahara (1994, 1997), the status of (4-a) may follow from the interaction of MLC and EC. While the assumptions that Kitahara’s argument are based on are not state of the art anymore, it can be shown that his insight still holds under more modern theorizing (such as multiple specifiers and successive-cyclic movement). The relevant derivations are given in (5), (6), and (7):

- (5) $[_{CP_2} \text{OP}_i [_{C'} C \dots \text{which sonatas}_j \dots t_i \dots]] \rightsquigarrow *MLC$
 (6) a. $[_{CP_2} \text{OP}_i [_{C'} \text{which sonatas}_j [_{C'} C \dots t_j \dots t_i \dots]]] \rightarrow$
 b. $[_{CP_1} \text{which sonatas}_j [_{C'} \dots [_{CP_2} \text{OP}_i [_{C'} t_j' [_{C'} C \dots t_j \dots t_i \dots]]]]] \rightsquigarrow *MLC$

- (7) a. $[\text{CP}_2 \text{ which sonatas}_j [\text{C}' \text{ C} \dots \text{t}_j \dots \text{Op}_i \dots]] \rightarrow$
 b. $[\text{CP}_1 \text{ which sonatas}_j [\text{C}' \dots [\text{CP}_2 \text{t}'_j [\text{C}' \text{ C} \dots \text{t}_j \dots \text{Op}_i \dots]]]] \rightarrow$
 c. $[\text{CP}_1 \text{ which sonatas}_j [\text{C}' \dots [\text{CP}_2 \text{Op}_i [\text{C}' \text{t}'_j [\text{C}' \text{ C} \dots \text{t}_j \dots \text{t}_i \dots]]]]] \rightsquigarrow *EC$

(5) fails because the lower *wh*-phrase (the empty operator) moves first to the embedded SpecC-domain, thus violating the MLC. In (6-a), both *wh*-phrases move to multiple specifiers in the embedded CP_2 in accordance to the MLC. As a result, however, *which sonatas*, which is supposed to take matrix scope, is caught in an inner SpecC by the MLC (6-b). Finally, (7-a-c) avoid violations of the MLC in both CP_2 and CP_1 : *which sonatas* moves all the way up to the matrix SpecC (7-a,b), and only after that does the empty operator move to the embedded SpecC (7-c). This, however, violates the EC. Assuming that these are all the possible derivations, (4-a) is accounted for.

Note further that (4-b) can be derived by the derivation in (8), thus deriving its well-formedness:

- (8) a. $[\text{CP}_2 \text{ which sonatas}_j [\text{C}' \text{Op}_i [\text{C}' \text{ C} \dots \text{t}_i \dots \text{t}_j \dots]]] \rightarrow$
 b. $[\text{CP}_1 \text{ which sonatas}_j [\text{C}' \dots [\text{CP}_2 \text{t}'_j [\text{C}' \text{Op}_i [\text{C}' \text{ C} \dots \text{t}_i \dots \text{t}_j \dots]]]]]$

Upshot: None of the derivations in (5)–(8) involves tucking-in. Crucially, once one allows for tucking-in to apply, the derivation in (9), which derives (4-a), becomes possible.

- (9) a. $[\text{CP}_2 \text{ which sonatas}_j [\text{C}' \text{ C} \dots \text{t}_j \dots \text{Op}_i \dots]] \rightarrow$
 b. $[\text{CP}_2 \text{ which sonatas}_j [\text{C}' \text{Op}_i [\text{C}' \text{ C} \dots \text{t}_j \dots \text{t}_i \dots]]] \rightarrow$
 c. $[\text{CP}_1 \text{ which sonatas}_j [\text{C}' \dots [\text{CP}_2 \text{t}'_j [\text{C}' \text{Op}_i [\text{C}' \dots \text{t}_j \dots \text{t}_i \dots]]]]]$

(9-a-c) does not violate any constraint considered so far. Thus, assuming tucking-in threatens to undermine Kitahara's natural account of the contrast between (4-a) and (4-b). This can be taken as an argument against tucking-in.

Final remarks: **a)** The above argument rests on the assumption that a *wh*-phrase that has reached its scope position blocks attraction of a lower *wh*-phrase to a higher scope position (see the mapping from (6-a) to (6-b)). I take this to be an instance of defective intervention (Chomsky 2000, Hiraiwa 2001, Hartman 2011, Preminger 2014). **b)** It is, presumably, not an option to save tucking-in by assuming a constraint against crossing dependencies (as proposed in Fodor 1978) to filter out (4-a), because such a constraint would equally rule out the very cases for which tucking-in was designed in the first place. **c)** One might object that the two *wh*-phrases in (6-a) are equidistant with respect to the attracting C-head. If so, then it is not expected that the empty operator in the outer specifier blocks attraction of the *wh*-phrase in the inner SpecC, which in turn would undermine the above explanation. Note, however, that, as Richards (1999) notes, multiple specifiers cannot count as equidistant under the theory of tucking-in. Thus, a proponent of the tucking-in theory can hardly appeal to equidistance in order to counter the above argument. (For further arguments against such a notion of equidistance, see Řezáč 2002, Doggett 2004.)

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Mainland Scandinavian as a window into the locus of head movement and ellipsis

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Claim: I argue that the interaction between head movement on the one side and VP ellipsis as well as VP topicalization on the other side in Mainland Scandinavian compared to other (non-Scandinavian) languages allows us to determine the locus of both head movement and (VP) ellipsis to be the post-syntax rather than the syntax proper. **Background:** For head movement there still is an ongoing debate about whether it takes place in the syntax proper (Lechner 2007, Roberts 2010, Keine & Bhatt 2016) or post-syntactically (Chomsky 2001; Schoorlemmer & Temmerman 2012; Zwart 2016). Similarly, for ellipsis there are proposals where the non-pronunciation of material (most commonly triggered by the [E]-feature) is realized post-syntactically therefore counter-bleeding any syntactic operations on this material (Merchant 2001, 2004; van Craenenbroek 2010) or in the syntax proper thereby bleeding such syntactic operations (Aelbrecht 2010; van Craenenbroek and Lipták 2008; Johnson 2013). In cases of verb-stranding VP ellipsis (VVPE), the verb is pronounced despite being the head of the elided VP (marked with < and > in (1)).

- (1) Eu dei um livro pra Maria e o Pedro também deu <um livro pra Maria>.
 I gave a book to.the Maria and the Pedro also gave a book to.the Maria
 'I gave a book to Maria, and Pedro did, too.' (Santos 2009: 28)

Commonly, the lack of V ellipsis in (1) is attributed to the verb undergoing some head movement to a higher head outside of the ellipsis site prior to actual non-pronunciation of VP (2).

- (2) ...o Pedro também deu <[_{VP} t_{deu} um livro pra Maria]>^②

Standardly, this interaction ^① between HM and ellipsis is easily explained by the intrinsic ordering of the two: HM takes place in the syntax and realization of ellipsis in the post-syntax. **Puzzle:** Mainland Scandinavian (MSc, taking Norwegian as an exemplar, Danish and Swedish behave the same) lacks VVPE (3) despite independently exhibiting both VPE (Sailor 2009; Thoms 2012) (4-a) and, as is well-known, head movement of V out of VP (V-to-C, Vikner 1995).

- (3) *Johan leste ikke *Lolita*, men Marie leste <[_{VP} *Lolita*]>.
 Johan read.PST not *Lolita* but Marie read.PST *Lolita*
 Int: 'Johan didn't read *Lolita*, but Marie did.' (Sailor to appear: 4)
- (4) Johan har lest *Lolita*, men Kalle har ikke <[_{VP} lest *Lolita*]>.
 Johan have.PRS read.PTCP *Lolita* but Kalle have.PRS not read.PTCP *Lolita*
 'Johan has read *Lolita*, but Kalle hasn't.' (Sailor to appear: 4)

As HM is bled by ellipsis here, in contrast to what is expected if HM is syntactic and ellipsis post-syntactic, both must take place in the same module their order of application determined by some (extrinsic or intrinsic) mechanism. **Previous Account:** Sailor (to appear) proposes that both HM and ellipsis take place in the syntax and that the difference between languages like Portuguese and languages like MSc is that the former have V-to-T movement while the latter show V-to-C movement. If the trigger for ellipsis is T, and ellipsis is syntactic, meaning that elided material is inaccessible for operations by higher heads, then C being derivationally posterior to T comes too late to trigger HM of V out of the elided VP in MSc (5). In Portuguese, T triggers both ellipsis and HM at the same time thus allowing the verbal head to raise to T prior to elision of VP (6).

- (5) Step 1: [_{TP} T_[E] <[_{VP} V Obj]>] (6) Step 1: [_{TP} T_[E] [_{VP} V Obj]]
 Step 2: [_{CP} C [_{TP} T_[E] <[_{VP} V Obj]>]] Step 2: [_{TP} V+T_[E] <[_{VP} V Obj]>]]

Further puzzle: Although this elegantly explains the data and ties the interaction of HM and ellipsis to the derivational order of their triggers it fails to extend to another domain in which MSc's behaviour is deviant from that of other languages, namely verb-stranding VP topicalization (VVPT). In Portuguese (a.o.), topicalization of the VP leaves a copy of the verbal head (7).

- (7) [_{VP} Temperar aquele peixe] o cozinheiro temperou (mas...)
 season.INF that fish the cook seasoned (but...)
 'As for seasoning that fish, the cook seasoned it (but...)' (Bastos-Gee 2009: 162)

The standard analysis of (7) follows the same logic as in (2): HM moves the verbal head out of a lower copy of the VP (to T) prior to the latter's deletion (indicated by striking through) by some copy deletion (CD) mechanism (8).

- (8) ...o cozinheiro temperou [_{VP} ~~t_{temperou} aquele peixe~~]^②
 ↑
 ①

As HM has been taken to be syntactic and CD to be post-syntactic, counter-bleeding as in (8) is expected as the only possible result of an interaction between the two.

Strikingly, MSc (Norwegian as example, D and S behave the same) again behaves unexpected. It independently shows VPT (9-a) and VP-evacuating V-to-C movement but not VVPT (9-b).

- (9) a. [_{VP} (Å) lese boken] vil han t_{VP} i dag.
 to read.INF book.DEF wants he in day
 'Read the book, he wants to do today.'
 b. * [_{VP} (Å) lese boken] leste han ikke i dag.
 to read book.DEF read he not in day
 Int. 'As for reading the book, he did not read it today.'

As CD, unlike HM and ellipsis, has never been suggested to have a syntactic trigger, the bleeding relation in (9-b) cannot be due to a Sailor-style intrinsic derivational timing. Nonetheless, the curious parallel behaviour of MSc w.r.t. both VVPE and VVPT coupled with the strikingly parallel logic of analysis suggests a unified treatment of both. **Proposal:** Since accounts of the MSc behaviour in VVPE and VVPT relying on the intrinsic ordering between modules or merging time of triggering heads fail, I propose that both HM and ellipsis must take place in the same module as CD, namely the post-syntax, where they obey a language-specific extrinsic ordering that must be established during language acquisition (see Arregi & Nevins 2012; Schoorlemmer 2012, for post-syntactic ordering of operations). In Portuguese-like languages, this ordering is HM > CD, E while it is CD, E > HM in MSc. Placing V-to-T movement in the syntax and V-to-C movement in the post-syntax would also derive the patterns. However, such a modular bipartition of HM, if it is tenable at all, has been argued to be the other way around (Harizanov & Gribanova to appear). **Prediction:** Although CD and ellipsis have a common core being non-pronunciation operations, they are distinct operations and as such should be independently orderable before or after HM. The system thus predicts languages (provided that they have the necessary operations of VPE, VPT, and V-raising out of VP) which show either VVPE but not VVPT, or VVPT but not VVPE. Also, the order of operations should be independent of the height of V-raising (i.e. V-to-T vs. V-to-C). Possible test languages for this prediction are Yiddish and Afrikaans, data on which I am planning to have available by September. **Selected References:** Aelbrecht, L. (2010). *The syntactic licensing of ellipsis*. John Benjamins. Arregi, K. & Nevins, A. (2012). *Morphotactics: Basque Auxiliaries and the Structure of Spellout*. Springer. Harizanov, B. & Gribanova, V. (to appear). Whither head movement? *NLLT*. Keine, S. & Bhatt, R. (2017). Interpreting verb clusters. *NLLT* 34, 1445–1492. Sailor, C. (to appear). The typology of head movement and ellipsis: A reply to Lipták and Saab. *NLLT*.

Formalising pragmaticalisation processes in Dutch and Norwegian urban vernaculars

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Recent studies have highlighted the value of exploring variation and change in urban vernaculars, particularly in multilingual communities (e.g. Chesire et al. 2015); these varieties exhibit shared typological properties and allow us to observe real-time developments that can shed new light both on synchronic syntax and on processes of change. In this paper we discuss the functional development of *sånn/zo('n)* ‘such (a)’ in urban varieties of Norwegian and Dutch¹ and propose a formal cross-linguistic analysis of pragmaticalisation. The original function of *sånn/zo('n)* in (standard) Norw. and Dutch is comparative and/or deictic, e.g. Dutch *zo groot als* ‘as big as’ or, with the merged indef. article *een* before NPs, *zo'n jongens als jullie* ‘(such) boys like you’, Norw. *en sånn jente som deg* ‘a such girl like you’ (with an indef. article before *sånn*).² Wiese (2006) suggests a pragmaticalisation path in Kiezdeutsch (German urban vernacular) from a comparative marker via a hedging device to *so* as a focus marker. Hole and Klumpp (2000) demonstrate that colloquial (standard) German has grammaticalised a new determiner *son* (from *so ein* ‘such a’), an article with definite type and indefinite token reference (see also Heusinger 2011, who compares German *son* to English indef. *this*). Ekberg et al. (2015) and ref. therein make similar observations in colloquial and urban varieties of Swedish and Norw.; they propose a process of pragmaticalisation in two different directions: to i) a “focus marker” that also conveys hedging/reservation and ii) an “element with determiner function”. See (1) for Norw. examples of these two elements. In Dutch (both colloquial standard and urban varieties), hedging³ and determiner functions can also be found, cf. (2).

- (1) a. [*Jeg så*]... *sånn kornåkerprogram eller noe*
I saw... HEDGE field.of.barley.programme or something
‘I watched sort of a field-of-barley programme or something’ [hedging - urban Norw.]
b. *Jeg så på sånn program på TVNorge*
I looked on RECOG.DET programme on TVNorge
‘I watched a programme on TVNorge (of the known kind) [recogn. determiner - urban Norw.]
- (2) a. *Ik heb zo vermoeden dat...*
I have HEDGE suspicion that...
‘I (sort of) suspect that...’ [hedging - urban Dutch]
b. *Daar woont zo'n Hollander.*
there lives RECOG.DET Dutch.guy
‘There lives a Dutch guy (of the kind you know)’ [recogn. determiner - (urban) Dutch]

We propose that the two observed uses of *sånn/zo'n* are structurally very similar and have both arisen through a change that can be described as a process of Spec-to-Head reanalysis. Elaborating on Bennis et al. (1998)’s analysis of predication in Dutch NPs, the original comparative/deictic element is a phrase moving to the specifier of FocP, a functional head below DP. In Norw., at this stage *sånn* is often preceded by an indef. article that we take to sit in D.⁴

¹Urban Dutch data in this paper is mainly taken from Moroccorp, (Ruetten and Van de Velde, 2013). Data from Norw. is taken from Ekberg et al. (2015) and queries in the speech corpora UPUS and NoTa.

²*Sånn/zo('n)* can also be used more generally as an adverbial and a quotative marker (see Ekberg et al. 2015:107 and references therein); we leave that aside. *Sånn/zo('n)* can also have an amplifying or approximative function.

³In standard colloquial Dutch in all stages *zo* would need the spurious article *een/n* in front of NPs. The lack of this in some examples in urban varieties may be part of a general tendency to leave out determiners and have bare NPs.

⁴Occasionally, it may also be followed by a postposed article which we take to spell out Foc, like Dutch *'n*, but this seems to be far less common than in Dutch. Both articles may be present at the same time in both Dutch and Norw., see Delsing (1993) and Corver and Van Koppen (2009). For the high article in D, Julien (2005) argues that it raises from CardP, a position between FocP and DP; we abstract away from this.

(3) **Original comparative/deictic zo/sånn:**

- a. $[_{DP} [_{FocP} zo_j [_{Foc} een] [_{XP} jongens\ een_i [_{PredP} z\theta_j]]]]$ [Dutch]
b. $[_{DP} et [_{FocP} sånt_j [_{Foc} (et_i)] [_{XP} program (et_i) [_{PredP} sånt_j]]]]$ [Norw.]

The grammaticalised focus marker arises after the deictic phrase in SpecFocP is reanalysed as the head of FocP (accompanied by loss of agreement between *sånn* and the following noun in Norw.), as shown in (4). We furthermore propose that this hedging marker receives its subjective interpretation through agreement with a logophoric speaker/Agent (Λ_A) in the left-edge of the DP (cf. Sigurðsson 2014):

(4) **Hedging marker:**

- a. $[_{DP} \Lambda_A [_{FocP} [_{Foc} zo_{[\Lambda:A]}] [_{XP} vermoeden]]]]$ [Urban Dutch]
b. $[_{DP} \Lambda_A [_{FocP} [_{Foc} sånn_{[\Lambda:A]}] [_{XP} kornåkerprogram]]]]$ [Urban Norw.]

We propose that the recognitional determiner differs from the hedging marker not in structural position but in featural makeup: whilst the hedging marker is associated with a speaker feature (Λ_A), the determiner is also associated with the logophoric hearer/Patient (Λ_P) to yield the intersubjective interpretation ‘of a known kind’:

(5) **Recognitional Determiner:**

- a. $[_{DP} \Lambda_{A+P} [_{FocP} [_{Foc} zo'n_{[\Lambda:A+P]}] [_{XP} Hollander]]]]$ [Urban Dutch]
b. $[_{DP} \Lambda_{A+P} [_{FocP} [_{Foc} sånn_{[\Lambda:A+P]}] [_{XP} program]]]]$ [Urban Norw.]

To conclude, both Norw. and Dutch exhibit a similar pragmaticalisation process; this process follows Traugott (2003)’s cline from the neutral comparative/deictic *zo’(n)/sånn* to a subjective hedging marker indicating the speaker’s hesitation and finally to an intersubjective determiner indicating that the following NP is familiar to both speaker and hearer. The main difference concerns the interplay between *zo/sånn* and indef. articles. In standard Dutch, the post-*zo* indef. art. *’n* is obligatory; only in the urban vernacular is it occasionally missing. In Norw. on the other hand, the post-*sånn* article has been much less common all along, and seems to be lost in the process of pragmaticalisation. The pre-*sånn* indef. art. (in 3b) is also made redundant; we hypothesise that pragmaticalised *sånn* suffices to introduce new referents due to Agreement with logophoric features in the DP-edge.

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Pseudo-Incorporation by Structure Removal

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1. *Claim* Current approaches to pseudo-incorporation based on evidence from languages like Niuean and Hindi presuppose that a pseudo-incorporated nominal XP is characterized by an invariant set of syntactic properties; this is derived by tying all these properties to a single option (e.g., DP vs. NP status in Massam (2001) and Dayal (2011), or abstract incorporation in Baker (2014)). However, evidence from languages like German, Adyghe, and Archi shows that pseudo-incorporation may also be characterized by various subsets of the properties canonically associated with the concept. Against the background of the DP-vs.-NP approach, this gives rise to conflicting structure assignments: The pseudo-incorporated XP behaves like an NP with respect to some properties, and like a DP with respect to others. In view of this, we propose that pseudo-incorporation is brought about by an independently motivated operation of structure removal (Müller (2015; 2017; 2018), Pesetsky (2016)), whereby the DP shell is removed in the course of the derivation, with operations suggesting the presence of DP taking place before removal of the DP projection, and operations indicating an NP status taking place after DP-shell removal.

2. *Background* Standardly, pseudo-incorporated nominal arguments are taken to give rise to a clustering of properties: (a) interpretation as a non-specific indefinite, (b) formation of a “natural predicate”, (c) XP status, (d) lack of case-marking, (e) number neutrality, (f) V-adjacency, (g) immobility, (h) scope inertness, (i) inability to antecede pronouns, (j) inability to effect control, (k) inability to be modified by relative clauses, (l) valency reduction on the verb, and (m) absence of determiners. This set of properties shows up with pseudo-incorporation in Niuean (Massam (2001)), and by and large it also holds for Hindi (Dayal (2011)), with some qualification (e.g., adjacency, number marking). The co-occurrence of these properties can be derived if pseudo-incorporated arguments are uniformly NPs rather than DPs. The absence of a D-projection accounts for the semantic properties of pseudo-incorporated nominals, and given a few additional assumptions, it also covers the various characteristic syntactic properties. We therefore take the DP vs. NP approach to pseudo-incorporation to be basically on the right track.

3. *Pseudo-Incorporation in German* Frey (2015) shows that German also exhibits the phenomenon of pseudo-incorporation with internal arguments: If non-specific indefinite nominal XPs follow a manner adverbial, as in (1-a), they have all the characteristic semantic properties, and several of the syntactic properties as well, and he therefore suggests a pure NP status. (As for the presence of an indefinite article, Frey argues convincingly that these items are adjectives, with an empty D showing up with regular (non-pseudo-incorporated) indefinites in German.) Crucially, however, some of the typical syntactic properties supporting an NP status are notably absent. First, pseudo-incorporated XPs (as in (1-a)) can be overtly case-marked; given that DP is the locus of case agreement in nominal projections in German, this suggests a DP status of the pseudo-incorporated phrase. Second, a pseudo-incorporated XP can provide a source for anaphoric reference (e.g., (1-a)) can be continued by *ohne ihn geübt zu haben* (‘without practising it’). Third, a pseudo-incorporated XP can be a controller ((1-b)). Fourth, there is no strict adjacency: Finite V may undergo verb-second movement, stranding the pseudo-incorporated XP (but, as Frey notes, non-finite V may not undergo topicalization alone). Fifth, a pseudo-incorporated XP has limited syntactic mobility: It cannot undergo scrambling without losing the non-specific indefinite reading ((1-c); ?* signals illformedness under this reading); but it can undergo topicalization to a pre-verb second (Vorfeld) position ((1-d)).

- (1) a. Maria hat heute wunderbar [_{XP} einen alten Beatles-Song] gespielt
Maria has today beautifully an old Beatles song played
b. Sie hat umständlich [_{XP} Passanten] aufgefordert [_{CP} PRO nach Hause zu gehen]
she has circuitously passersby asked home to go
c. ?*Maria hat heute [_{XP₁} einen alten Beatles-Song] wunderbar t₁ gespielt
Maria has today an old Beatles song beautifully played
d. [_{XP} Einen alten Beatles-Song] hat Maria heute wunderbar gespielt
an old Beatles song has Maria today beautifully played

4. *Pseudo-Incorporation in Caucasian Languages* A similar picture arises with pseudo-incorporation in both Northwest and Northeast Caucasian languages. As for the former, Arkadiev & Testelefs (2014) observe that pseudo-incorporated XPs in Circassian (Adyghe and Kabardian) exhibit many properties indicative of NPs, but also three properties that support a DP analysis: A pseudo-incorporated XP can be moved to the left periphery; it can be the antecedent of a pronoun; and V’s valency is not affected (ergative can still show up on the external argument). In the same way, the well-studied bi-absolutive construction in Nakh-Daghestanian languages like Archi and Tsez (which alternates with regular ergative-absolutive constructions; Forker (2012), Gagliardi et al. (2014), Chumakina & Bond

(2016), Polinsky (2016), Borsley (2016)) shows many but not all of the canonical properties of pseudo-incorporation. Forker (2012), Gagliardi et al. (2014), and Chumakina & Bond (2016) note that the typical pseudo-incorporation properties of the biabsolutive construction might suggest an NP status of the internal argument, as opposed to a DP status in the ergative-absolutive construction. However, they all eventually abandon such an analysis since an internal argument in the biabsolutive construction also shows several DP properties; e.g., it can exert control, and it can be modified. Also, there is some variation within Nakh-Daghestanian as regards the mobility of the internal argument in this context: Whereas it cannot undergo movement in Chechen, Avar, and Tsez (as expected from a canonical pseudo-incorporation perspective), languages like Archi and Lak do not have this restriction.

5. *State of the Art* The evidence from Germanic, Circassian, and Nakh-Daghestanian languages shows that beyond a common core that is ultimately semantically defined, the properties of pseudo-incorporated arguments can vary to some extent from one language to the next, and they thus often require conflicting structure assignments in individual languages. However, to the best of our knowledge, there is no theory so far that could capture the variable nature of pseudo-incorporation. This is obvious for the DP vs. NP approach we have been presupposing; but it also holds for Baker's (2014) abstract incorporation approach; for the post-syntactic, morphology-based approaches in Levin (2015), van Urk (2017), and Weisser (2018); and so on. At this point, what is called for is a principled approach that makes it possible to systematically accommodate evidence for conflicting structure assignments.

6. *Structure Removal* The approach to structure removal developed in Müller (2015; 2017; 2018) is designed to do just that. The basic assumption is that there is an elementary operation *Remove* that acts as the mirror image of the basic structure-building operation *Merge*, and that obeys exactly the same kinds of constraints: It is feature-driven (unlike Pesetsky's (2016) *Exfoliation*, which is repair-driven), it obeys strict cyclicity, and it may apply to phrases (removing subtrees) or heads (removing a head and its projection but leaving embedded structure intact). This latter scenario is what is relevant for the case at hand: The analysis of evidence for conflicting structures with pseudo-incorporation that we will present is similar to the earlier approaches to restructuring (based on removal of CP, TP, and vP shells as complements of a restructuring V) in Müller (2017), and to the complex prefield construction (based on removal of a topicalized VP shell by C) in Müller (2018).

7. *Analysis* We propose that pseudo-incorporation is to be viewed as feature-driven removal of a DP shell of an internal argument by V, which results in a bare NP structure that triggers non-specific indefinite interpretation. Like other *Remove* operations, removal of the DP shell takes place in a highly local domain (here, the VP); and due to strict cyclicity, a DP shell that is to be removed has only a fairly short life cycle (once the derivation has moved beyond VP, removal of the DP shell cannot be carried out anymore). On the VP cycle, languages may differ with respect to the order of operations (Assmann et al. (2015), Georgi (2017)). If *Remove* applies very early, it will bleed all other operations requiring a DP status of the internal argument, feed all operations requiring an NP status, and a homogeneous picture will emerge, as in Niuean, where there is no evidence for a DP status. If *Remove* applies last, it will counter-bleed all operations requiring DP, and counter-feed NP-based operations, with again a homogeneous picture emerging where semantic evidence for pseudo-incorporation will mostly be blurred by DP status. From the present perspective, the interesting case is the one where *Remove* is interspersed with other operations on the VP cycle. For German, we argue that *Remove* applies *after* (i) case assignment; (ii) referential index assignment; (iii) control; and (iv) intermediate A-bar movement to the minimal specifier, *SpecV* (Bošković (2002), Chomsky (2008), Müller (2011)). We will show that all these operations require DP status; so they all still find DPs to operate on. However, *Remove* applies *before* all the other possible VP-internal operations in German, where the empirical evidence indicates the presence of NP; among others, this includes intermediate A-movement (thus blocking scrambling). Circassian and Nakh-Daghestanian languages differ from German (and among each other) with respect to the kinds of DP- and NP-accessing operations that are available under pseudo-incorporation, but the analysis will be essentially the same: *Remove* bleeds subsequent DP operations and feeds subsequent NP operations, and it counter-bleeds earlier DP operations and counter-feeds earlier NP operations.

8. *Outlook* To end this paper, we will address two open questions. First, something needs to be said about the cases of (weak) definites that have been argued to show up in pseudo-incorporation contexts in German (Borik & Gehrke (2015), Frey (2015)), Archi (Chumakina & Bond (2016), Polinsky (2016)), and elsewhere; this is a challenge for every approach that addresses pseudo-incorporation in terms of DP vs. NP. And second, the question arises whether the extremely local domain in which *Remove* can apply suffices to make available all the information needed to determine whether pseudo-incorporation is possible or not, or whether ultimately a larger domain for structure removal needs to be postulated (see, e.g., Weisser's (2018) argument that clause-type information is relevant in Mari); we will sketch a way (based on checking vs. valuation) to solve this potential look-ahead problem in a local approach.

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**Progressive microvariation:
Grammaticalisation of the Dutch and Afrikaans periphrastic progressive**
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INTRODUCTION This paper compares Dutch (1) and Afrikaans (2) periphrastic progressives (henceforth ‘PeriProgs’) in which motion verb *lopen/loop* ‘walk’ or a posture verb (*zitten/sit* ‘sit’, *staan/staan* ‘stand’ or *liggen/lê* ‘lie’) marks progressive aspect of the lexical verb.

- (1) Ik heb ***lopen/ zitten/ staan/ liggen*** (*te*) werken.
I have walk/ sit/ stand/ lie to work.
- (2) Ek het (***ge-)*loop/ (*ge-)*sit/ (*ge-)*stand/ (*ge-)*lê (*en*) werk.
I have GE-walk/ GE-sit/ GE-stand/ GE-lie and work.
‘I’ve been working.’**

These PeriProgs show a high degree of morphosyntactic variation, both within and across the two languages. In both languages, the PeriProgs with *lopen/loop* show more morphosyntactic variation than their posture verb counterparts. That is, they show *te/en*-drop—phenomena that are less frequent/ungrammatical with posture verbs (Haeseryn et al. 1997; Biberauer 2017). Across the languages, we see variation in the form of the motion/posture verb when embedded under a temporal auxiliary (Schmid 2005). In Afrikaans, the motion/posture verb can optionally appear as past participle or in IPP form (i.e. without *ge-*) (cf. (2)). In Dutch, however, it always has to appear in IPP form. So far, the morphosyntactic variation in these PeriProgs has (i) not been systematically compared across the two languages, and (ii) not yet received a unified formal analysis. The present paper aims at filling these gaps.

THE DATA The data were extracted from the *SoNaR+* corpus (Oostdijk et al. 2013) for Dutch and from the *Korpusportaal* corpus (VivA 2016) for Afrikaans. See Tables 1/2.

Verb	<i>te</i> present	<i>te</i> absent	total
<i>lopen</i> ‘walk’	0 (0%)	89 (100%)	89 (100%)
<i>zitten</i> ‘sit’	8 (0,8%)	920 (99,2%)	928 (100%)
<i>staan</i> ‘stand’	13 (10,7%)	110 (89,4%)	123 (100%)
<i>liggen</i> ‘lie’	2 (0,9%)	212 (99,1%)	214 (100%)

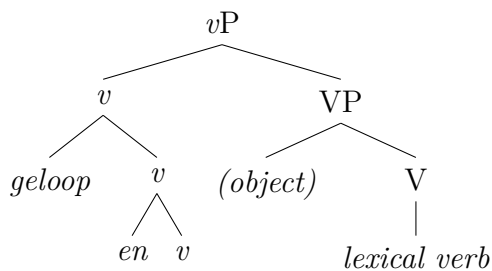
Table 1: Frequency overview of presence/absence of *te* ‘to’ in Dutch PeriProgs

Verb	+IPP, + <i>en</i>	+IPP, - <i>en</i>	-IPP, + <i>en</i>	-IPP, - <i>en</i>	total
<i>loop</i> ‘walk’	8 (7,2%)	77 (69,4%)	17 (15,3%)	9 (8,1%)	111 (100%)
<i>sit</i> ‘sit’	220 (48,4%)	0 (0%)	235 (51,6%)	0 (0%)	455 (100%)
<i>staan</i> ‘stand’	155 (44,8%)	0 (0%)	191 (55,2%)	0 (0%)	346 (100%)
<i>lê</i> ‘lie’	113 (45,4%)	0 (0%)	136 (54,6%)	0 (0%)	249 (100%)

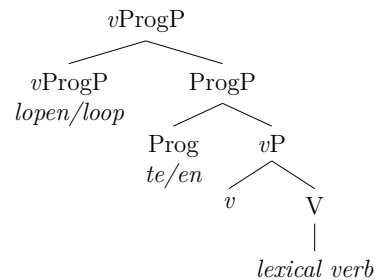
Table 2: Frequency overview of presence/absence of IPP & *en* ‘and’ in Afrikaans PeriProgs
In Dutch, all PeriProgs with motion verb *lopen* show *te*-drop, whereas *te* is sometimes present with posture verbs (Table 1). In Afrikaans, there are two factors to consider: the form of the motion/posture verb (i.e. it occurring with *ge-* = -IPP, it occurring without *ge-* = +IPP) and the presence of *en*. The data show that only the PeriProgs containing *loop* have *en*-drop, and that the combination of IPP and *en*-drop is the most frequent one for *loop*. The posture verb counterparts never show *en*-drop, and all show optional IPP (Table 2).

ANALYSIS I. Two types of structures I propose that there are two types of structures for PeriProgs. The first one, given in (3) (as proposed by De Vos 2005), is less grammaticalised, while the other, given in (4), is more grammaticalised. In the first structure, the motion/posture verb and *en* form a complex *v*, which as a whole indicates progressive aspect of the lexical verb. The motion/posture verb appears in past participle form (i.e. with *ge-*), as it still behaves as a light verb (compare English light verbs like *go* that also show inflection: ‘he *went* and left’). In the second structure the motion/posture verb is directly merged in the functional sequence of the lexical verb, and, being a functional head rather than a light verb, it can only appear in bare form (i.e. IPP form). In line with Harwood (2013), I take there to be a *v*ProgP head above ProgP. The motion/posture verb is merged in *v*Prog, whereas *te/en*, being progressive markers, are merged in the Prog head below: the motion/posture verb and *te/en* together indicate progressive aspect of the lexical verb.

(3)



(4)



II. Dutch PeriProgs Dutch PeriProgs always have the structure in (4). This explains why the motion/posture verbs can only appear in IPP form. A support for Dutch PeriProgs having this structure is the fact that the motion/posture verbs are semantically bleached to a high degree, especially the motion verb *lopen*: in 87,1% of the sample’s sentences containing a PeriProg with *lopen*, no physical motion through space is entailed. This also explains the frequent *te*-drop: the progressive verbs are grammaticalising as progressive markers, meaning that the progressive marker *te* is no longer obligatory. *Lopen* is semantically bleached the most: we therefore find the highest frequencies of *te*-drop with this progressive verb.

III. Afrikaans PeriProgs I propose that Afrikaans PeriProgs are on a grammaticalisation path from the structure in (3) to the structure in (4). Furthermore, *loop* is further ahead on the grammaticalisation path than the posture verbs: the data show that it is semantically bleached to a higher degree than the posture verbs. This explains why we find the highest frequencies of IPP with *loop*, and why we find many occurrences of *en*-drop.

CONCLUSION AND OUTLOOK This paper compares the morphosyntax of Dutch and Afrikaans progressives with motion/posture verbs—an understudied construction which variation patterns were not yet systematically investigated. The presented microvariation between and within the two languages is accounted for by one unified analysis, highlighting the formal mechanisms of a grammaticalisation process that underlies the attested variation.

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Apparent intervention in German *tough*-movement and its implications

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1. Abstract. Recent work on English *tough*-movement (TM) has shown that the presence of an experiencer PP can lead to ungrammaticality. There is disagreement though, whether this instantiates a proper intervention effect. I will show that in the German translational equivalent of Engl. TM, experiencer PPs also lead to degradation in (linearly) similar positions. Crucially though, the syntax of German TM is quite different: I will provide new evidence that it is indeed based on the modal passive construction with the adjective as a modifier of the dependent VP. The positional options of experiencer PPs then automatically follow from basic word order properties and the requirement that the experiencer take scope over the constituent whose ‘toughness’ is evaluated with respect to him. Against this background, I will reassess intervention in English TM by taking into account data that have been neglected so far in the discussion.

2. Intro. Recent work on English TM has provided substantial evidence that experiencer PPs lead to degradation in certain positions in TM but not in the expletive construction (EC):

- (1) a. It is important (to Mary) to avoid cholesterol. EC
b. Cholesterol₁ is important (*to Mary) to avoid __₁. TM

The degradation induced by the PP in TM has received different explanations. While Hartman (2011) interprets it as a bona fide intervention effect arising from A-movement across the experiencer, Keine and Poole (2017) provide a reanalysis in terms of a semantic type mismatch. Longenbaugh (2016), on the other hand, attributes the ungrammaticality of (1-b) to the fact that the infinitival clause is an external argument, which prevents A-movement out of the infinitive. Bruening (2014), finally, argues that the effect is due to general word order properties of the language.

3. Tough-movement in German. German has a translational equivalent of English TM:

- (2) a. dass es schwer ist, den Vorschlag zu verstehen
that it difficult is the.ACC proposal to understand.INF
‘that it is difficult to understand the proposal’ EC
b. dass der Vorschlag schwer zu verstehen ist
that the.NOM proposal difficult to understand.INF is
‘that the proposal is difficult to understand’ TM

The EC is non-restructuring and requires accusative on the internal argument; TM, on the other hand, is obligatorily restructuring and the DP bears nominative. While the expletive construction is similar to the English one, it is well-established (e.g. Wurmbrand 2001) that the TM-variant differs from English TM in the absence of an A'-dependency inside the infinitival clause. Rather, because it lacks a vP-layer, there is obligatory A-movement from the embedded object position into the matrix clause for reasons of case-licensing – exactly as in the long-distance passive.

4. Intervention in German TM. Importantly, as in English, the EC and TM differ in the positional options for the experiencer PP: In the expletive construction, a PP-experiencer can occur both before or after the adjective and in extraposed position immediately after the copula (and also marginally after the extraposed infinitival clause – the reduced acceptability can probably be attributed to a heaviness effect):

- (3) dass es {für Hans} schwer {für H.} ist {für H.}, den Vorschlag zu verstehen {??für H.}
that it for John difficult for J. is for J. the.ACC proposal to understand for J.
‘that it is difficult for John to understand the proposal’ EC

In TM, however, the PP can only occur before the adjective or in extraposed position:

- (4) dass der Vorschlag {für Hans} schwer {*für H} zu verstehen {*für H.} ist {für H.}
that the.NOM proposal for John difficult for J. to understand for J. is for J.
‘that the proposal is difficult to understand for John’ TM

Some speakers initially may not find the PP in post-adjectival position fully ungrammatical; I take this to be a grammatical illusion since the string A+PP is locally well-formed (A = predicate); the unacceptability becomes clear if a focus particle like *nur* ‘only’ is inserted before the A, which forces the adverbial parse (the same goes for some of the hits one may find online).

5. Analysis. *5.1. Expletive C:* The placement facts in the EC follow straightforwardly under extraposition of the non-finite CP (because of Control arguably moved from the complement position of the A, but see Bennis 1987); the PP is generated above the A [_{AP} [_{A'} CP A] PP] and can stay there, scramble to the left or undergo extraposition. *5.2. TM.* I will adopt the so-called modal passive analysis for German TM (Demske-Neumann 1994, Holl 2010), where the *tough*-adjective is treated as an adverbial modifier of the dependent VP. For semantic reasons the experiencer has to be introduced above the *tough*-predicate (the toughness of the proposition is evaluated w.r.t. him, cf. Keine and Poole 2017). I assume that it is adjoined to VP (it is thus not a complement of the A):

(5) [_{TP} [_{DP} proposal]₁] [_{VP} [_{PP} for John] [_{VP} [_{AP} difficult] [_{VP} ___₁ to understand]]] is]

This automatically accounts for part of the ‘intervention’ effect: the PP can be left-adjoined as in (5), or it can be extraposed above the copula, deriving the two grammatical versions in (4). The position between A and V is impossible as this would require adjoining the PP below the adjective. Right-adjunction of the PP to VP above the AP is in principle possible. This results in ungrammaticality in (4), but this is due to a general adjacency requirement on verb clusters in descending order, cf. (6-a) (Wurmbrand 2007, Haider 2010). Support for this view comes from the fact that topicalizing the VP with the PP right-adjoined is grammatical (*[schwer zu verstehen für Hans] war der Vorschlag nicht* ‘difficult to understand for John was the proposal not’). Based on this structural analysis, I will provide further arguments for the modal passive approach (next to the well-established evidence that (i) the same modal interpretation obtains without the A and that (ii) occurrence of TM in attributive position *a difficult to understand proposal* precludes treating A as the head): First, the dependent infinitive behaves like a VP rather than like an AP with respect to the adjacency effect in the verb cluster, which only holds for verbal but not adjectival predicates:

(6) a. dass er {dran} **gedacht** {*dran} hat {dran} b. dass er {drauf} **stolz** {drauf} ist {drauf}
 that he of.it thought of.it has of.it VP that he of.it proud of.it is of.it AP

(7) a. weil der Vorschlag {für H.} schwer **nachzuvollziehen** {*für H.} ist {für H.}
 because the proposal for J. difficult comprehend.INF for J. is for J.
 ‘because the proposal is difficult to comprehend for me’

VP

b. weil der Vorschlag {für H.} schwer **nachvollziehbar** {für H.} ist {für H.}
 because the proposal for J. difficult comprehensible for J. is for J.
 ‘because the proposal is difficult to comprehend for me’

AP

Second, the VP-structure above makes correct predictions for topicalization: Possible are A+VP+PP (VP+adjuncts), only VP (adjuncts can be stranded), AP+VP but without PP (highest VP-segment can be stranded), only AP or only PP without VP undergoing movement (adjuncts can move independently and the VP is in-situ in *schwer ist der Vorschlag nicht [zu verstehen] gewesen*: lit. ‘difficult is the proposal not to understand been’, thus no remnant-AP-mvt). What is correctly ruled out is VP+PP without AP (no constituent) and AP+PP without VP (no constituent). Third, further support for the non-complement relation between A and PP comes from the fact (i) that the same placement restrictions on PP-experiencers obtain with adverbials like *kaum* ‘hardly’, which don’t take complements, and (ii) that the PP can occur in TM/the modal passive without an adjective.

6. Implications. What looks like an A-intervention effect thus turns out to be due to independent phrase-structural properties of German (and the requirement that the experiencer take scope over the *tough*-predicate). Consequently, neither reference to syntactic intervention nor to a type mismatch is necessary. Given the surface similarity to the effect in English, it may be surprising that completely different explanations are necessary. I therefore intend to reevaluate the English facts by taking into account TM-data with remnant movement of the AP, cf. (8) (Heycock 1994):

(8) [How important to John ___₁] is cholesterol [to avoid ___₁]?

Crucially, this derivation involves the configuration that otherwise leads to an intervention effect/type mismatch since the PP occurs between the base-position of the subject (arguably in SpecAP) and the infinitival clause (which is generated as a complement of A). I will thus try to develop an account along the lines of Bruening (2014), who attributes the ‘intervention effect’ to independent word order properties of English (like restrictions on the placement of infinitives).

Predicative case: default or not?

Case-impooverished Germanic languages (Afrikaans, Danish, Dutch, English, Frisian, Norwegian, Swedish) seem at first sight to have simple and almost identical case systems, with only (a phrasal genitive and) a NOM/OBL distinction for a handful of pronouns. Nevertheless, there are some a priori surprising differences in the distribution of NOM/OBL in these languages. For example, some of them normally opt for NOM as a predicate case (most consistently Swedish and Afrikaans), others for OBL (most consistently English and Danish).

- (1) a. Det är bara ^{ok}**jag**/^{*}mig. *Swedish*
 b. Det er kun ^{*}jeg/^{ok}**meg**. *Danish*
 it is only I/me both: ‘It’s only me.’

See Maling & Sprouse 1995, Sigurðsson 2006, Parrott 2009. However, closer inspection reveals that the variation is even more extensive and complex than the received understanding would seem to suggest. We report on a large-scale online survey on case marking in Swedish (5,315 informants, 85 examples + a complementary survey, 417 informants, 69 examples). One of the main results is that predicative OBL is rapidly gaining ground, as suggested by the results in (2). The numbers show the percentages for “natural – I would say so myself”.

- (2) Jag låtsas inte vara **dig**! Age: ≤24 25-44 45-64 65≥
 I pretend not be you.OBL.SG 50% 38% 28% 20%
 ‘I’m not pretending to be you.’

This spread of predicative OBL is not random, though. It is largely absent from examples that express plain deictic identity (roughly equative in the sense of Higgins 1973, see further Adger & Ramchand 2003, Heycock 2012, Roy 2013, Bartošová 2017), instead taking place in contexts where the predicate expresses what we refer to as *role semantics* (the predicate taking on the role of the subject, rather than its plain deictic identity; a similar tendency is seen in Dutch and Frisian, see Sigurðsson 2006). Consider the overall results (for all ages) in (3)–(5).

- | | NOM | OBL |
|---|-----|------------|
| (3) a. Jaså, det är bara du/dig .
oh it is only you.NOM.SG/OBL.SG | 99% | 1% |
| b. Om jag vore du/dig , skulle jag åka.
if I were you.NOM/OBL, would I go | 90% | 33% |
| (4) a. Den där lilla bebisen på bilden
this little baby on picture-the
ser ut att vara jag/mig .
seems to be I/me | 97% | 2% |
| b. Det är inte lätt att vara jag/mig !
it is not easy to be I/me | 80% | 23% |
| (5) Nej, jag skulle aldrig vilja vara hon/henne .
no, I would never want be she/her | 45% | 59% |

In *all* our 21 predicative examples with role semantics (7 finite, 14 non-finite) the acceptance of OBL increases monotonically with decreased age: 24 and younger > 25-44 > 45-64 > 65 and older (and in *all* cases this is statistically highly significant).

Schütze (2001) develops an analysis of English case marking, where OBL is default (syntactically “no case”), as for example in coordinated DPs (*Us and them are ...*; see also e.g. Johannessen 1998 and Quinn 2005 on case mismatches between coordinated DPs), dislocation (*Me, I like beans*) and ellipsis (*Who wants to try this game? Me*). Schütze does not assume that predicative case is default (see his appendix), but Parrott (2009, 2018) extends his analysis to predicates in English and Danish, and suggests, conversely, that NOM is default in Swedish. If so, it might seem possible to analyze the NOM/OBL variation in (2)–(5) as resulting from OBL replacing NOM as default case to some extent. However, our results do not support this. **First**, the strong correlation of OBL predicates with role semantics indicates that copular constructions may contain a head that assigns case (“inherent”, as it were – as also suggested by predicative case in other languages, including Russian, see Bailyn 2012, 2013, among many). **Second**, there are no signs that predicative OBL speakers are extending OBL to those constructions that are argued to involve default OBL by Schütze: almost zero acceptance of OBL in coordinated subjects (“You and ^{ok}she/*her are ...”), in subject dislocation (“^{ok}I/*Me, I like beans”), in elliptical answers (“Who likes this? ^{ok}I/*Me”), etc. Given that up to 59% of our informants accept predicative OBL (see (5)), the default OBL thesis predicts that at least some of the predicative OBL speakers should accept OBL in these constructions as well, contrary to fact. **Third**, our results show that there is an ongoing reverse change in objects, 3rd person NOM replacing 3rd person OBL, particularly in complex objects, as illustrated in (6).

(6)	Ser du	hon	med	den	röda	hatten?	Age:	≤24	25-44	45-64	65≥
	see	you	her	with	the	red	hat-the	70%	57%	41%	21%

NOM is also gaining ground in simple 3rd person objects, but much less radically (“I have not seen she today”: 13%, 9%, 5%, 2% for ≤ 24, 25-44, 45-64, 65≥, respectively). – There is a statistically highly significant relation between OBL>NOM in predicates and NOM>OBL in objects, such that speakers who accept predicative OBL are likely to accept object NOM and vice versa, which is incompatible with an overall default case (these changes belonging to a “youth register” rather than being linguistically “the same”).

We argue that the changes all have *different structural explanations*. **First**, OBL>NOM in simple 3rd person objects is due to a partial case loss ($v^* > v$); it is exceptionally common in Norrland (up to 37%), where it is also sporadically observed for 1st and 2nd person objects (Eklund 1982, Holmberg 1986). **Second**, OBL>NOM in complex objects involves downstairs subject case in a (often reduced) relative clause (“know you ~~her~~ [CP **she** ~~who~~ ~~is~~ with (=has) the red hat]?”); see the *Inverse Attraction* analysis of a similar phenomenon in Icelandic in Wood et al. 2017. **Third**, OBL copular constructions with role semantics are being reanalyzed by some speakers as containing a silent case assigning head.

This does not necessarily undermine the notion of default case (or Schütze’s/Parrott’s analyses of English/Danish), but it shows that the ongoing case changes in Swedish cannot be explained in terms of an overall default case. Rather, they involve separate micro-parametric changes. We conclude with a brief comparison with Dutch, Frisian and Norwegian, where partly similar changes either have taken place or are taking place.

Microvariation in the polarity sensitivity of Germanic quantity words

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SUMMARY: This paper investigates regularities and diversity in the polarity sensitivity of quantity words such as *much* in nine Germanic languages, proposing an account on which the observed patterns derive from the vagueness of quantity words in relation to the alternatives they compete with and the interpretations that the latter receive.

Empirical picture: The English quantity words *much* and (to a lesser extent) *many* are known to behave as negative polarity items (NPIs), as illustrated in the following examples (Israel 1996; Lee 2015; among others):

- (1) Homer *drank / didn't drink much water. (2) Homer *slept/didn't sleep much.
- (3) There ?were / weren't many cars in the parking lot.

These data are part of a more general phenomenon: NPI counterparts of *much* have been documented in languages as different from English as Persian (Raghibdoust 1994, as cited in Israel 1996) and Japanese (Matsu 2011). Within the Germanic languages in particular, we observe considerable diversity, but also regularity, as follows:

i) Syntactically constrained NPI status. In English as well as Afrikaans and Frisian, unmodified quantity words (Eng: *many/much*; Afr: *veel*; Fr: *folle*) in prenominal and adverbial positions are NPIs (Donaldson 1996; Berghoff 2016; Hoekstra 2010; taalportal.org); see (1)-(3) for English and (4)-(5) for Frisian. However, when modified by a degree modifier, these words are no longer polarity sensitive. This is illustrated in (6) for English; Afrikaans *te veel* 'too much', *verskriklik veel* 'terribly much' etc. and Frisian *safolle* 'so much', *tefolle* 'too much', *wittefolle* 'very much' behave similarly. Furthermore, in all three languages these items also occur as modifiers of comparatives and excessives, in which position they can occur in positive as well as negative sentences; see (7)-(9):

- (4) Hy dronk *folle/net folle wetter. (5) Hy praat *folle/net folle.
'He *drank/didn't drink much water' 'He *speaks/doesn't speak much'
- (6) Homer drank / didn't drink so much / too much / that much water.
- (7) (not) much taller; (not) much more; much too much
- (8) Afr: *veel te veel* 'much too much' (9) Fr: *folle tûker* 'much smarter'

Note that for Frisian in particular, diachronic data suggests this pattern developed independently from the English case.

ii) Secondary NPI use. In Dutch, German and Norwegian, quantity words (Ger: *viel*, Du: *veel*; Nor: *mye*) in their canonical uses are not polarity sensitive (source: informant data). However, all of these items have secondary uses where they are NPIs. In German, the usual adjectival intensifier is *sehr* 'very'; but the adjective *anders* 'different' can also be modified by *viel* in negative but not positive sentences (**viel/nicht viel anders* '*much/not much different'). Dutch shows the same pattern (for some speakers). Norwegian *mye* likewise can modify adjectives, but only in negative sentences (e.g. **mye/ikke mye høy* '*very/not very tall'), where it yields a strengthened or ironic interpretation.

iii) No polarity sensitivity. In Icelandic, we find no evidence that the quantity words *mikið* 'much' and *margir* 'many' are polarity sensitive (source: informant data).

iv) Syntactically constrained PPI status. The Danish quantity word *meget* and its Swedish counterpart *mycket* span the semantic territory of English *much* and *very* (Allan et al. 2010; Holmes 2013). On the 'much' use they are not polarity items; but on the 'very' use they are PPIs (e.g. Da: *John er meget/??ikke meget høj* 'John is/??isn't very tall').

Analysis: Taken together, these data suggest that there is something about the meaning of 'much' words that makes them susceptible to becoming NPIs. As quantity words are attenuating polarity items (Israel 1996), they are problematic for theories that link polarity sensitivity to semantic strengthening (e.g. Chierchia 2013). We therefore propose a semantic/pragmatic account based on Katzir (2007), according to which polarity items

introduce alternatives derived via substitution and/or deletion, and polarity-based distributional restrictions arise when a form always has a better alternative.

1) Since the documented cases of polarity sensitivity among quantity words are restricted to their unmodified forms, we conclude that this pattern does not derive from their lexical semantics (contra Israel 1996), but rather from the vague standard/threshold of the positive form, which is introduced by a null ‘positive’ morpheme *pos* (Kennedy 2007). We propose that due to their vagueness, ‘much’ words in some contexts do not contribute sufficient incremental informativity to offset the added complexity vs. the form without ‘much’.

2) We propose that that pressure towards NPI status is present across languages, but is only realized if there is a well-lexicalized alternative to the ‘much’ word that can occur in positive sentences. Such alternatives are found in all of the NPI cases discussed above (English *a lot*, Afrikaans *baie* ‘very/many/much’, Frisian *in protte* ‘a lot’) and are absent from the other languages, including the closely related Dutch and German (exception: the adjectival use).

3) Finally, we demonstrate that the syntactic conditioning of polarity sensitivity in those languages that exhibit it (i.e. Eng/Af/Fr: prenominal/adverbial vs. differential uses) can be related to the interpretation of the corresponding form without ‘much’, with NPI status obtaining when it too is vague. To briefly sketch the formal analysis, we assume a rule of assertion based on Katzir (2007), which specifies that a sentence ϕ should not be used if it has a ‘better’ alternative ϕ' that is assertable. We define the ‘better than’ relation $>$ in terms of informativity *INF* and structural simplicity *SIMP*; the ‘more informative’ relation $>_{INF}$ itself is defined as ‘definitively’ stronger than (see Leffel et al. 2017 for independent motivation for this). An English *much* sentence competes with the alternative derived by deleting *much*:

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>(10) $\phi = *Sue\ drank\ much\ water$
 $\phi' = Sue\ drank\ water$
 $\phi' >_{SIMP} \phi \quad \phi' \sim_{INF} \phi \quad \text{thus } \phi' > \phi$</p> | <p>$\phi = Sue\ didn't\ drink\ much\ water$
 $\phi' = Sue\ didn't\ drink\ water$
 $\phi' >_{SIMP} \phi \quad \phi' >_{INF} \phi \quad \text{thus } \phi' > \phi$</p> |
| <p>(11) $\phi = Sue\ is\ much\ taller\ than\ Bob$
 $\phi' = Sue\ is\ taller\ than\ Bob$
 $\phi' >_{SIMP} \phi \quad \phi >_{INF} \phi' \quad \text{thus } \phi' \sim \phi$</p> | <p>$\phi = Sue\ isn't\ much\ taller\ than\ Bob$
 $\phi' = Sue\ isn't\ taller\ than\ Bob$
 $\phi' >_{SIMP} \phi \quad \phi' >_{INF} \phi \quad \text{thus } \phi' > \phi$</p> |

In all cases, the bare alternative ϕ' is structurally simpler. In the **quantificational** case (10), the positive *much*-less alternative *Sue drank water* receives a strengthened interpretation: the amount consumed was significant in the context (R-based implicature; Horn 1984). This coupled with the vagueness of the *much* sentence means there is no definitive difference in informativity between the two. As a result, ϕ' is the better option overall; the assertion of ϕ results in a contradictory implicature *NOT* ϕ' , blocking the *much* sentence. In the negative version of (10) there is also an implicature, but it does not contradict the assertion, so no blocking occurs. In the positive **differential** case (11), the *much*-less alternative has a simple existential interpretation: Sue is some amount taller than Bob. Thus here, the *much* sentence is formally stronger than its alternative, offsetting its greater complexity; there is no implicature, so no blocking. The negative (11) patterns with negative (10).

4) The PPI status of Danish/Swedish quantity words on their ‘very’ use requires further study. We hypothesize that these should be aligned to the PPIs *quite* and German *ganz*, and pursue an account based on competition with other adjectival degree modifiers.

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Unorthodox C-domain agreements: complementizer agreement vs. allocutive agreement

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Two unorthodox agreement phenomena (henceforth C-domain agreements) in the clausal left periphery have recently been the topic of extensive theoretical discussion, but are seldom discussed together: complementizer agreement, familiar from West Germanic (see van Koppen, 2017, for an overview), and allocutive agreement in Basque, Japanese, Tamil and others (Oyharçabal, 1993; Miyagawa, 2017; McFadden, To appear). (1) illustrates complementizer agreement in West Flemish (from van Koppen, 2017): the complementizer *dan* agrees with the 3PL embedded subject; Basque (2) shows allocutive agreement (Oyharçabal, 1993) for male vs. female addressee:

- (1) K peinzen da-n die studenten nen buot gekocht ee-n.
I think that-3PL those students a boat bought have-3PL
'I think that those students have bought a boat.'
- (2) a. Pettek lan egin dik. *To a male friend*
Peter.ERG work.ABS do.PRF 3.S.ABS-2.S.C.MSC.ALLOC-3.S.ERG
'Peter worked.'
- b. Pettek lan egin din. *To a female friend*
Peter.ERG work.ABS do.PRF 3.S.ABS-2.S.C.FM.ALLOC-3.S.ERG

C-domain agreement differs from familiar argumental agreement in that it crucially involves the C layer of the clause, and not T or *v*. For complementizer agreement, we see this from the fact that the agreement morphology surfaces not on a verb or auxiliary, but suffixed to a complementizer or to an XP in Spec-CP (Bayer, 1984). For allocutive agreement, agreement targets not an argument in the lower portions of the clause, but the syntactic representation of the addressee, similarly high in the left periphery. Nevertheless, Germanic complementizer agreement targets the subject of the (embedded) clause in which it is contained, not the addressee; and allocutive agreement is not necessarily a suffix on a complementizer.

We need an integrated theory that can simultaneously account for both types of agreement (as well as Bantu-style complementizer agreement with a *matrix* subject (Diercks, 2013)), deriving their distinct properties and ideally also having something to say about how they are distributed across languages. And yet, this cannot simply be achieved by amalgamating the simplest analyses of each, taken individually. For Germanic complementizer agreement, one could simply assume (along the lines of e.g. Carstens, 2003; van Koppen, 2005) that, in the relevant varieties, C⁰ bears unvalued ϕ -features. Given standard definitions of Agree (Chomsky, 2000, etc.), these probe downward and find the subject in Spec-TP as the closest appropriate goal, deriving the fact that the form of C agrees with the subject just like the verb does. On its own, this is entirely reasonable. The problem is that essentially the same starting point has been assumed (e.g. by Miyagawa, 2017; McFadden, To appear) to account for allocutive agreement. In the relevant languages, C⁰ bears unvalued ϕ -features, but probing is *upward* and thus encounters the representation of the addressee in the left periphery, rather than the subject in Spec-TP.

One could try to reconcile these two possibilities by positing that both sides of the directionality debate (Zeijlstra, 2012; Preminger, 2013, etc.) have it right, but for different languages. In those where Agree is upward, ϕ -features on C⁰ will lead to allocutive agreement; in those where it is downward, such features will lead to complementizer agreement. But this faces an immediate challenge from languages like Lubukusu which show embedded complementizer agreement with the *matrix* subject (Diercks, 2013, etc.). This certainly looks like upward Agree, but crucially *doesn't* result in allocutive agreement patterns. This suggests that the direction of

Agree is clearly not a sufficient, though it may still be a necessary, condition for determining the type of C-domain agreement.

We thus propose the following. While complementizer agreement is essentially restricted to embedded clauses, allocutive agreement is a (potentially embedded) root phenomenon (Miyagawa, 2012; McFadden, To appear). The latter is famously impossible in embedded clauses in Basque and highly restricted in other languages (Antonov, 2015), appearing only in complement clauses under typical ‘bridge’ verbs (Miyagawa, 2012; McFadden, To appear). Germanic-style complementizer agreement, on the other hand, is ruled out in main clauses (except those with embedded clause syntax, which are presumably actually complement clauses with an elided matrix). Note that this is not simply a matter of the presence or absence of an overt complementizer — e.g. agreement can attach to a *wh*-phrase in Spec-CP in an embedded clause with no overt C (Bayer, 1984). This shows that C-domain agreement must be sensitive to the syntactic difference between root and embedded clause (which in itself could be taken to argue for the syntacticization of this region).

We formalize the root vs. embedded distinction in terms of the representation of a SpeechActP in the C layer. Following Miyagawa (2017); McFadden (To appear), we propose that allocutive agreement involves the representation of the addressee in SpeechActP, explaining why we only get allocutive agreement in root clauses and embedded clauses with the syntax of root clauses. We propose then, that complementizer agreement, on the other hand, obtains *only* when SpeechActP is missing: i.e. in non-root embedded clauses. This predicts that complementizer agreement cannot co-occur with root phenomena including, but not limited to, embedded verb second or Konjunktiv I in Germanic, and the presence of certain modal particles. There is initial confirmation that this is correct: in Frisian, embedded V2 clauses (4) can be headed by an overt complementizer but, crucially unlike verb-final clauses (3), cannot show complementizer agreement (de Haan, 2001):

- (3) Heit sei **dat-st do** soks net leauwe **moa-st**.
das said that-2P.SG you such not believe must-2P.SG
- (4) Heit sei **dat(*-st) do moa-st** soks net leauwe.
das said that-2P.SG you must-2P.SG such not believe
‘Dad said that you should not believe such things.’

Such an account also predicts that complementizer agreement and allocutive agreement should be able to co-occur in a single language. This is also fulfilled. Upper Austrian German exhibits both complementizer agreement with the embedded subject and (a restricted form of) allocutive agreement on the confirmational particle (*goi* with singular addressee, *goi-ts* with plural and *goi-ns* with formal) (Wiltschko and Heim, 2016; Wiltschko, 2014):

- (5) Wonn-**ts** nua es kumm-**ts**.
if-2PL only you.PL come-2PL
‘If only you guys would come.’
- (6) Ea hot an neichn Hund, **goi-ts**.
He has a new dog, CONF-2PL.ALLOC
‘He has a new dog, right (you guys)?’

We predict too that the allocutive and complementizer agreements should not co-occur in a single clause — which also seems preliminarily confirmed for Upper Austrian. Finally, it is to be expected that cross-clausal upward complementizer agreement (as in Bantu) would only be possible from a clause that *lacks* its own SpeechActP (though clearly more needs to be said).

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