SCRAMBLING IN GERMAN*

Wim Scherpenisse

This paper deals with the order of NPs in German sentences. Word order in German seems to be fairly free. This contrasts with Dutch, where in most contexts only one ordering is possible. As will become clear in what follows, the differences between German and Dutch are to a great extent systematic. The paper is, in part, a reaction on Haider (1984a, 1984b), who assumes that German is partially nonconfigurational. My theory is that the sentence structure of both German and Dutch is completely configurational, and that the differences between the two languages are due to the fact that in German, the Case indices are spelled out on the NPs. Thus, my theory predicts that some word orders are possible whereas others are excluded; Haider's flat structure would predict that any word order is possible.

The organization of the paper will be as follows: First, I will make explicit what general sentence structure I assume for German, and contrast this with Haider's structure. From crossover data based upon Saito & Hoji (1983), I will make plausible that a structure containing a VP node is indeed the right structure for German (such a structure is rather uncontroversial for Dutch). In the second part, I will deal with scrambling data, distinguishing three groups of scrambling phenomena in German and comparing them with Dutch.

I. The sentence structure of German and Crossover.

I.1. The sentence structure of German.

I assume sentence structure (1) for German and Dutch:

(1) (INFL NP VP)
INFL'

(1) was proposed by Cremers & Sassen (1983) for Dutch. Implicit in (1) are a few assumptions that have been well-argued for in the literature. As I will not elaborate on any of them here, I will simply list them without comment.

One assumption is that Dutch and German are SOV languages, that is, the verb is in sentence-final position underlyingly. The finite verb is assumed to be moved to second position by the so-called Verb Second (V2) transformation. Furthermore, COMP and INFL are assumed to be one single node in German and Dutch, called INFL in (1). This node is supposed to be the landing site of the V2 transformation. The first sentence position is filled by a constituent from the sentence by a topicalization transformation. Both the V2 and the topicalization transformation are instances of the general rule schema "Move

Alpha" (cf. Chomsky (1981)): V2 is structure-preserving, whereas Topicalization is an instance of adjunction. Cf. section 4 on the question whether Topicalization leads to a branching INFL node. A last assumption implicit in (1) is that INFL' = S', and that there is no equivalent of English S in German and Dutch. <1>

Haider assumes that there is no VP node in German, but that there is a sentence-initial COMP position which takes up the finite verb and an arbitrary constituent from the sentence. Thus, his sentence structure is (2):

(2) (COMP (NP* V)) <2>
S' S

(NP* stands for any number of NPs.) We see from a comparison of (1) and (2) that we must distinguish between two sorts of configurationality: configurationality in the sentence-initial positions and configurationality in the sentence itself. Thus, both Haider's and my theory have a topicalization rule which places constituents in the sentence-initial position in main clauses, but only in my theory does it make sense to speak of scrambling rules, as in a nonconfigurational sentence structure like (2) all word order variants are base-generated.

This difference will be have to be kept in mind when we consider crossover tests.

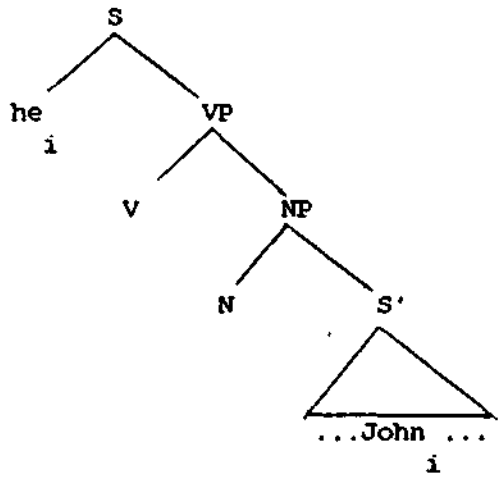
I.2. Crossover tests.

I will now proceed to give some crossover tests to make structure (1) plausible. These tests are drawn from a short article by Saito & Hoji (1983), and were used by Kenesei & Maracz (1984) to demonstrate that Hungarian is a nonconfigurational language.

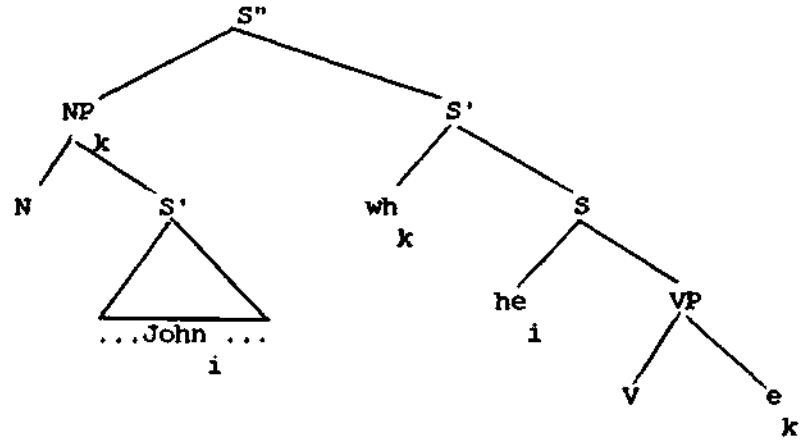
The idea of the test will be appreciated by looking at (3) and (4):

(3)a *He has not yet read the letter that Mary sent to John
i i
b The letter that Mary sent to John he has not yet read
i i

(4)a

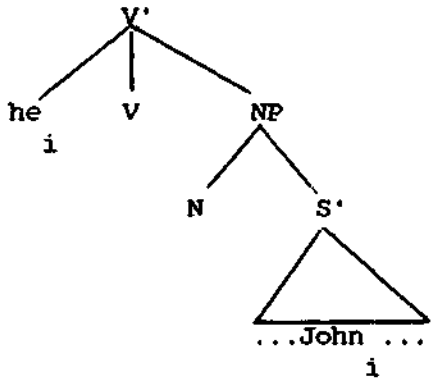


b

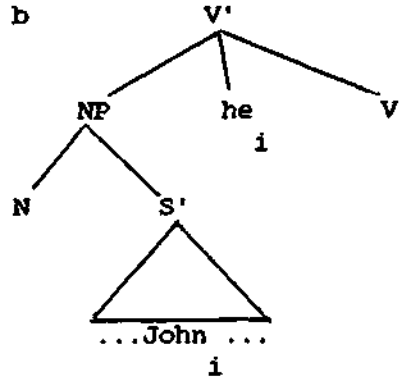


The contrast found in (3) is explicable in the standard structure of English, as shown in (4). However, we must be aware of the fact that the test under concern only tells us that the NP in (3)b is higher in the tree than the pronoun. The inner structure of S does not matter to it, as c-command is not given in (4)b, regardless of this structure. Only in a completely flat structure, like the one shown in (5) would the contrast disappear:

(5)a



b



(5) is a completely hypothetical structure that is not assumed by anyone to be the sentence structure of English, as far as I am aware. (5) only showed that we have to be careful not to draw too wide-reaching conclusions from given contrasts. This is especially important because of the partially configurational structure assumed by Haider, as we will see shortly.

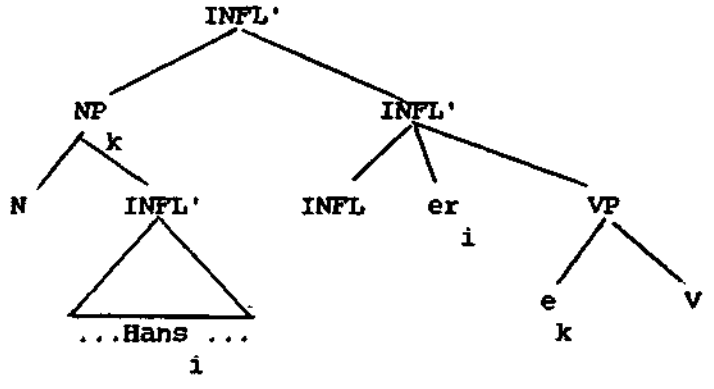
First look at (6):

(6)a *Er hat den Brief, den Hans erhalten hat, noch nicht
i i gelesen.
(he has the letter which Hans received has yet not read)

b Den Brief, den Hans erhalten hat, hat er noch nicht
i i gelesen.
(the letter which Hans received has has he yet not read)

This is the equivalent of (3) in German. We do indeed find a contrast in (6). This indicates a structure where the NP in (6)b is higher in the tree than the coindexed pronoun. This is explicable in the structure we have assumed:

(7)



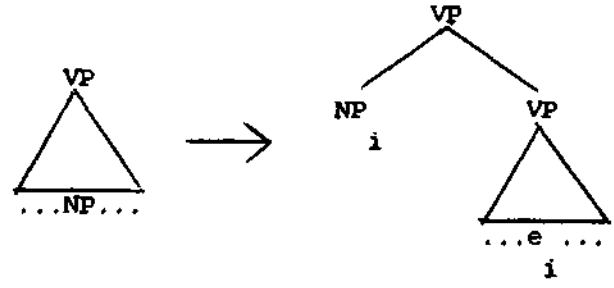
But notice that the contrast tells us nothing about the existence of the VP node. It only says something about the peripheral position; also in Haider's structure (2), this contrast would follow. We therefore have to construct a test that involves the VP itself. Such a test is given in (8):

(8)a *dass Cathy ihm den Brief, den Hans erhalten hat,
i i vorliest
(that Cathy him the letter which Hans received has reads)
that Cathy reads to Hans the letter he received

b OK/?dass Cathy den Brief, den Hans erhalten hat,
i ihm vorliest
i
(that Cathy the letter which Hans received has him reads)

Assuming the existence of a VP node, (8) may involve VP-internal movement. Anyway, the NP in (8)b must be higher in the tree than the coindexed pronoun. In a completely flat structure like (2), the contrast in (8) is unexplicable. When there is a VP node, on the other hand, it might be explained by a rule of adjunction to VP, as shown in (9):

(9)



So, the contrast in (8) indicates a configurational sentence structure with a VP node. ‹3›

An account using precedence cannot be invoked to explain the contrasts in (6) and (8), as it would fail to predict the correct grammaticality pattern in such sentence pairs as (10):

(10)a Mit ihrem Schal um den Hals verliess Mary das Haus.
i i
(with her shawl around the neck left Mary the house)

b *Mit Marys Schal um den Hals verliess sie das Haus.
i i
(with Mary's shawl around the neck left she the house)

In (8) we saw a contrast involving movement inside the VP. Now we look at examples without movement but involving a subject-object asymmetry, also indicating the existence of VP. If there is a VP, the subject c-commands the object, but not the other way around. This difference is responsible for the contrast in (11):

(11)a dass die Behauptung, dass er ein Idiot sei, John
i i
hart traf
(that the statement that he an idiot was John hard
hit)

b OK/?dass die Behauptung, dass John ein Idiot sei,
i
ihn hart traf
i
(that the statement that John an idiot was him hard
hit)

c dass John durch die Behauptung, dass er ein
i i
Idiot sei, hart getroffen wurde.
(that John by the statement that he an idiot was
hard hit was)

d *dass er durch die Behauptung, dass John ein Idiot
i i
sei, hart getroffen wurde.
(that he by the statement that John an idiot was
hard hit was)

Only in (11)d does the pronoun c-command the coindexed name John, which is forbidden by the Binding Theory. And indeed, only (11)d is ungrammatical.

I take it that by the tests just described, the existence of a VP node in German has been made sufficiently plausible. I will now proceed with some scrambling data, assuming base structure (1).

II. Scrambling.

II.1. Introduction.

In the beginning of this paper, we mentioned the fronting rule, which places constituents in first position. This rule, also referred to as Topicalization, is only operative in main clauses. I would like to exclude such rules from the term "scrambling". By this I mean to indicate word order variants that equally occur in main and subordinate clauses. My definition of scrambling makes use of the notion Middle Field, a term from traditional German grammar. The Middle Field (henceforth MF) can be defined in the present framework as the set of syntactic positions between INFL and the base position of the finite verb. This is illustrated by the two standard cases of a main and a subordinate finite sentence, (12) and (13), respectively:

(12) Den Mann [habe] ich schon vor Jahren gekannt [e]

INFL — MF — base position V f

(13) [dass] ich mich selbst im Spiegel [sehe]

INFL — MF — base position V f

In other words, the MF is precisely that portion of the sentence about which Haider's structure (2) and my structure (1) make different predictions. I will use the simplest possible definition of scrambling, namely (14):

(14) Scrambling = any change of the base-generated word order in the MF <4>

Before we start examining the data themselves, it will be good to distinguish two groups of scrambling phenomena, namely: First, a group of VP-internal scramblings (of which we saw an example above in (8)), the output of which still fits in the schema (1), and second, a group also involving the subject NP. The output of this last group may superficially look like (15):

(15) (XP NP VP)
INFL'

XP in (15) denotes a preposed NP <5>. But (15) constitutes a problem, because a structure like (15) has no right to exist if we assume a base structure like (1). We will have to find an explanation for cases that look like (15). As far as I can see, there are three ways to do away with (15): First, we can argue that the position called XP in (15) is provided by the base rules; this amounts to saying that (1) is wrong. I will not follow this line of reasoning, as I believe it would essentially weaken the configurational hypothesis: When special positions are assumed to "take up" scrambled phrases, the use of a configurational base structure decreases, and it becomes more easy to explain the word order variants by assuming a structure like (2). I feel we have to start from the strongest possible claim about configurationality, which is something like (1) or similar to it. So, there only remain two explanations for (15):

One explanation would be to hypothesize that NP, or XP and NP both, are really inside the VP. Another explanation would be to say that XP is cliticized to INFL. I think these two possibilities both exist in German. I will first give an example of both, to make the previous more concrete; look at (16) and (17).

(16) dass diesen Mann ein Auto überfahren hat
(that this-ACC man a car run-over has)
that this man has been run over by a car

(17)a dass meinem Onkel diese Musik gefällt
(that my-DAT uncle this-NOM music pleases)
that my uncle likes this music

b dass diese Musik meinem Onkel gefällt
(that this music my uncle pleases)

Example (16), which involves cliticization to INFL, we will discuss later. In the following, I will first say something about examples like (17) (II.2), then I will deal with VP-internal scrambling (II.3) and finally (II.4) I will try to account for (16).

II.2. Ergative scrambling.

The examples (17)a and b have been drawn from Den Besten (1982). Den Besten tries to account for the two word order variants in the following way: He hypothesizes, following Burzio (1981), that certain verbs are ergative, in that they are generated with a D-structure object but with no subject; like passives, they do not assign Case to an NP they govern and no θ-role to their subject position. On the assumption that gefallen is such a verb, the NP diese Musik is not assigned Accusative but has to be moved to the subject position of the clause. This gives the word order (17)a. As far as (17)b is concerned, Den Besten assumes that also the Dative-marked NP meinem Onkel can be in the subject position. In that case, Nominative is assigned to diese Musik in situ via an intricate mechanism called Chain Government.

The D-structure of both (17)a and b can be represented as (18):

(18) dass (e) ((meinem Onkel) (diese Musik) ge-
NP VP NP NP fällt
(-θ,+C) (+θ,+C) (+θ,-C)

I believe that the hypothesis that there is some connection between the "ergativity" (in Burzio's sense) of the verb gefallen and the present word order variants is correct; however, I will make this connection explicit in a somewhat different way than Den Besten. My explanation makes use of the theory of Case indices as developed by Haider (1984b). This theory is an extension of Williams' predication theory (cf. Williams (1981)), on which I will not elaborate here. I will only present the facts that are relevant for scrambling.

The first step in the theory of Case indices is the distinction between variant and invariant Cases. Look at examples (19) and (20):

(19)a dass der Mann seinen Freund tötet
(that the man his-ACC friend kills)

b dass der Freund getötet wird
(that the-NOM friend is killed)

(20)a dass Mary ihrem Bruder hilft
(that Mary her-DAT brother helps)

b dass dem Bruder geholfen wird
(that the-DAT brother is helped)

In (19), the second argument of the verb töten is realized as Accusative in the active, but as Nominative in the passive; thus, an NP bearing one and the same θ-role changes with regard to realization of its Case index as a function of its environment. Hence, Nominative and Accusative are called structural Cases in German. Dative and Genitive, on the other hand, do not change as a function of the construction in which they appear; they are always realized directly, and they are only determined by the element subcategorized for them. This kind of Case is called inherent. (20) is an example involving Dative, the Genitive is somewhat archaic in present-day German. It is assumed that number and kind of the indices are fully specified in the subcategorization frames of the assigning elements, also the subject θ-role, which Chomsky (1981) assumes is assigned compositionally by the VP.

Haider now assumes that there is a principle affecting the realization of structural indices (and only these). This principle may be formulated informally as (21):

(21) When there are structural indices, one of these must be realized externally.

External realization means that the index is assigned by another element than the one subcategorized for it. The standard case of this is assignment of Nominative by INFL, other possibilities are Case assignment by a special verb (e.g. an ACI verb, cf. (22)b below) or a s.c. dummy Case assigner like for in English. ‹6›

We saw in (19) above that the second argument of töten has a structural index. But (22) shows that this goes for the first argument, too:

(22)a dass er einen Feind tötet
(that he-NOM an enemy kills)

b dass ich ihn einen Feind töten sah
(that I saw him-ACC kill an enemy)

So it would seem that we had to give to töten the following subcategorization:

(23) töten: (NP NP)
str str

It will be clear, however, that (23) is not sufficient. If we would let (23) pass, this would mean that there were no distinction between the two structural indices mentioned in it, and that either would be allowed for external realization. This amounts to saying that the sentences "I kill him" and "he kills me" could mean the same in German,

clearly an unwanted state of affairs. We therefore must mark one of the indices in (23) so as to indicate that that index is the proper one for external realization. This marking is called "designation", following Williams, and the common notation for the designated argument is underlining. Thus, (23) is modified to (24):

(24) töten: (NP NP)
str str
———

Now look back at (18), the underlying structure of both (17)a and b. When we assume with Haider that the Dative is an inherent Case in German, there is one structural index in (18), that of diese Musik. According to (21), this index must be realized externally. The only possibility for such an external realization in a structure like (18) is Nominative Case from INFL. A first, obvious possibility is NP movement of diese Musik to the empty subject position, yielding (17)a. But I assume that there is a second possibility not involving movement at all, namely, coindexing of the empty subject and the Caseless NP, yielding word order (17)b.

This coindexing is permitted, because there is no binding relation in either direction: The NP in the VP does not bind the empty subject precisely because it is in the VP, and, conversely, the subject does not bind the NP because it is not an argument and the Binding Theory only deals with A-binding. ‹7› So the Nominative can go from the empty subject to the NP inside the VP.

A few words on the status of the empty subject. According to the functional determination of empty categories (Chomsky (1982)) it must be a little pro, in this case a nonreferential pronoun like it or there in English. ‹8› This is not so strange as it might sound, perhaps, because little pro probably appears in a number of other constructions in Dutch as well as German. ‹9›

The analysis just given for ergatives easily transfers to passives. With passives we find the same word order variants as with ergative verbs, see (25):

(25)a dass Mary das Buch gegeben wird
(that to-Mary the book is given)

b dass das Buch Mary gegeben wird
(that the book to-Mary is given)

This is easily understandable if we take the passive to be the suppression of the designated argument; see (26):

(26)a töten: (NP NP)
str str
———
↓

b getötet werden: (ø NP)
str

The result is a structure with an empty subject and a Caseless NP, so once again the coindexing mechanism described above can be used. This coindexing mechanism can be formalized as in (27): <10>

(27) In the structure $(\ldots x_{(-\theta,+C)} \ldots y_{(+\theta,-C)} \ldots)$, coindex x and y

I assume that by the devices just described, the first group of scrambling is accounted for.

II.3. VP-internal scrambling.

The group of scrambling phenomena discussed in the previous section also occurs in Dutch. VP-internal scrambling, however, is not or very marginally attested in Dutch. I hypothesize that this sort of scrambling is effected as an adjunction to the VP node (cf. (9) above, see also Bennis & Hoekstra (1984 : 48-60)).

The question is where this adjunction takes place. I assume that it would probably interact with the fronting rule discussed earlier, perhaps also with the group of scrambling phenomena discussed in II.2, if it would occur at S-structure, as the adjunction creates extra VP nodes. I therefore hypothesize that this group of scramblings takes place in the phonological component PF. I have three arguments in favor of this hypothesis.

First: When we assume the T-model, it follows from the different levels at which the two groups of scrambling supposedly occur that the first group of scrambling does, but the second does not influence the LF interpretation of a sentence. This is so because sentences displaying scrambling I have different word orders already at S-structure, whereas word order variants showing scrambling II correspond to one single S-structure. But this is a prediction that can be tested. Look at the following examples:

(28)a dass drei Dramen allen Schülern gefielen
(that three plays all pupils pleased)

b dass allen Schülern drei Dramen gefielen
(that all pupils three plays pleased)

(29)a dass der Lehrer allen Schülern drei Dramen erklärte
(that the teacher all pupils three plays explained)

b dass der Lehrer drei Dramen allen Schülern erklärte
(that the teacher three plays all pupils explained)

Both (28) and (29) involve two quantifiers, the order of which is inverted by scrambling. In (28), where scrambling I takes place, there are different orders at S-structure; this means that the quantifier that is *leftmost* at S-structure will also be leftmost at LF. In (29), on the other hand, there is only one S-structure, namely (29)a. This means that *both* quantifiers may be raised by Quantifier Raising at LF, i.e. both may have wide scope. An indeed, the sentences in (28) have only one interpretation, while (29)a and b both have two interpretations. <11>

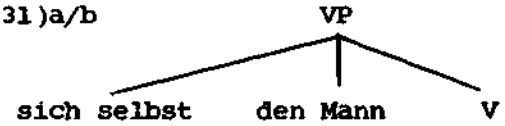
Second: Consider sentences with the relexive <u>sich selbst</u>:

(30)a *dass Cathy sich selbst den Mann überlässt
i i
(that Cathy to-himself the man leaves)
that Cathy doesn't care about the man

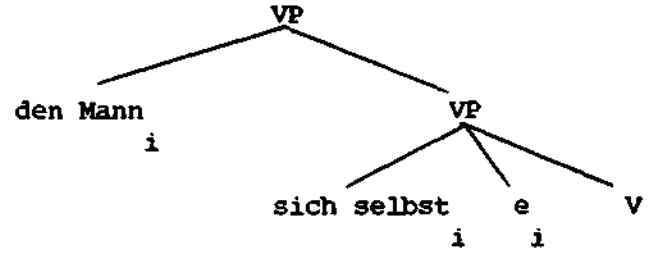
b *dass Cathy dem Mann sich selbst überlässt
i i
c dass Cathy den Mann sich selbst überlässt
i i

As I have mentioned earlier, the *unmarked* order in German inside the VP is Dative-Accusative. But the only grammatical configuration in structures like (30) is the exact opposite: Accusative-Dative ((30)c). On the assumption of adjunction to VP, this is the only structure where <u>den Mann</u> is higher in the tree than the reflexive, hence not c-commanded by it:

(31)a/b



c



But the trace in (31)c is problematic. From simple examples like (32) we see that it is only the position of the trace that is relevant for the Binding Theory:

(32)a Wir betrachten uns selbst ungern.
(we observe ourselves not voluntarily)
We don't like to observe ourselves.

b Uns selbst betrachten wir ungern.
(ourselves observe we not voluntarily)
Ourselves, we don't like to look at.

That is, the trace in (31)c should make this structure as ungrammatical as (30)a and b. If we assume VP-internal scrambling to take place at PF, this problem disappears, for at PF traces have been erased, so the offending trace in (31)c would be absent. This explanation entails, however, that we must assume that the Binding Theory takes places at PF, too. <12>

Third: The distinction proposed would also explain why VP-internal scrambling does not or very marginally occur in Dutch. In German, we can hypothesize, the Case indices are spelled out on the NPs. At S-structure and LF, where the indices are (abstractly) present in both languages, this does not entail differences. At PF, where all abstract elements have been erased, the Case endings are still visible in German, but not in Dutch. This means that the original configuration will be easily retrievable in German, whereas scrambling in Dutch quickly leads to loss of structural information. This would explain why this type of scrambling is very restricted in Dutch.

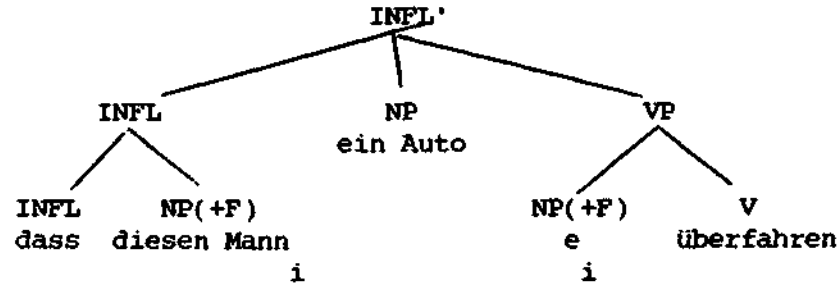
II.4. Cliticization to INFL.

Finally, a few words about (16), repeated below as (33). As I said above, I assume that this example involves cliticization to INFL. I think that the main clause variant (34) can be explained by the same cliticization procedure. This is visualized in (35) and (36), respectively:

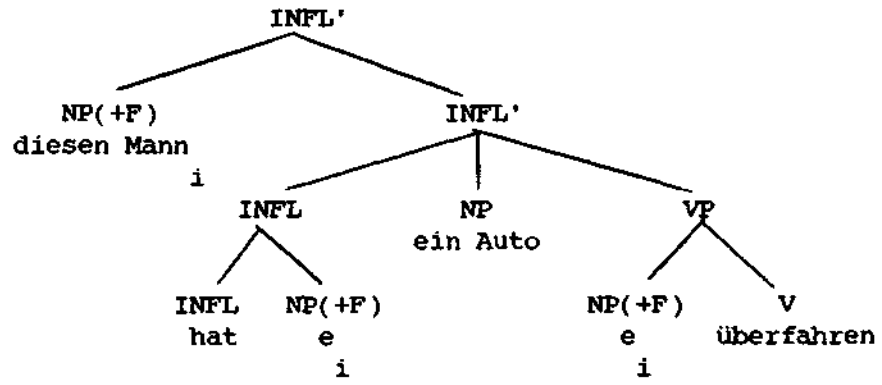
(33) dass diesen Mann ein Auto überfahren hat
(that this man a car run-over has)
that this man has been run over by a car

(34) Diesen Mann hat ein Auto überfahren.
(this man has a car run-over)
This man has been run over by a car.

(35)



(36)

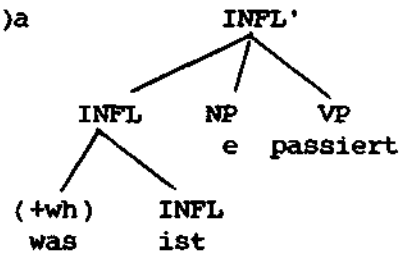


This is reminiscent of a remark of Cremers & Sassen's (1983) to the extent that there is an asymmetry (in Dutch) between fronting of (+wh)-marked constituents and other constituents. (+wh)-marked constituents would adjoin to INFL, other constituents to INFL' (= the clause). They analyze (37)a as (38)a and (37)b as (38)b:

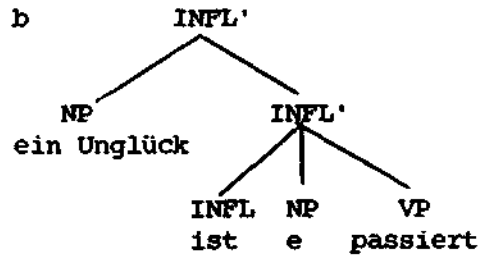
(37)a Was ist passiert?
(What has happened?)

b Ein Unglück ist passiert.
(An accident has happened.)

(38)a



b



I assume that this may be correct, but that the cliticization to INFL may only be an intermediate step in reaching a final structure like (38)b, no matter the features that the constituent has.

On this assumption, we could explain the difference between Dutch and German by saying that NPs with the feature (+F) may cliticize to the right of INFL in German, but only to the left in Dutch; in Dutch, (+F) would thus be completely parallel to (+wh). This would explain the contrast between the Dutch translations of (33) and (34) shown in (39):

(39)a *dat deze man een auto overreden heeft
b Deze man heeft een auto overreden.

With this difference the grammaticality pattern of (33,34,39) would of course be explained. There are some problems, however. First, this explanation is totally ad hoc, only being devised for the cases under concern, and second,

the position directly following INFL in German is a position for elements with weak stress ‹13›, whereas the NPs we discuss usually have heavy (contrastive) stress.

In short, this type of scrambling must be more thoroughly investigated, which I will leave as a topic for further research.

III. Summary.

In this paper I have presented an analysis of some scrambling phenomena in German (with occasional sidesteps to Dutch) on the assumption of a completely configurational base structure (1). (1) was argued to be plausible in view of a number of crossover tests.

A difference between German and Dutch could be explained on the assumption that a specific type of scrambling takes place at the PF level, where the spelled-out Case indices of German allow more freedom of word order in that language.

Footnotes.

* I would like to thank Werner Abraham, Laci Marácz, Sjaak de Mey and the audience to which I presented an earlier version of this paper at the Groningen Linguistics Club for criticism and comments. Furthermore, I would like to thank a number of German speakers for judging a sample of test sentences. All remaining errors are my own.

1. For Dutch as SOV, see Koster (1975); for German as SOV see Thiersch (1978); for COMP as landing site of finite verb, see Den Besten (1977); for COMP/INFL parameter, see Platzack (1982); for S/S' distinction, see Cremers & Sassen (1983); for adjunction, see Chomsky (1981: 141 fn. 39).

2. The observation that Dutch preposes nonstressed object pronouns to the VP boundary, whereas German preposes them to the S boundary in the unmarked case (Haider, letter), is irrelevant for a decision between (1) and (2); first, both options are available in both languages, so the rule is probably a stylistic one; second, both possibilities are derivable under both base structure (1) and (2).

3. Judgments on weak crossover sentences with (+wh) elements in German are not clear, so this test cannot be used as evidence for or against VP.

4. I assume, following standard practice, that the base order of German is Nominative-Dative-Accusative (cf. Lenerz (1977)). But see the treatment of s.c. ergative verbs below.

5. In this paper, only NP scrambling will be discussed. Scrambling of PP and especially of adverbs requires a separate treatment.

6. The feature that makes (21) attractive is the fact that it is applicable in both configurational and nonconfigurational languages. In the latter, (21) must simply be regarded as an abstract principle affecting the realization of Cases, whereas in configurational languages, (21) implies NP movement. An NP unable to get Case in a position inside VP, i.e. governed by V, would never be able to get Case from another element in that position and therefore has to leave VP. Moreover, (21) unifies Absorption and non-θ-role-assignment, the two characteristic features of ergatives and passives, and thereby explains why these two features always occur together. Thus, the universality of (21) is a strong claim, but it is nevertheless desirable.

7. I assume that argument positions are not given by the base rules, but are rather dependent on which arguments are selected by the verb. Thus, if a verb does not select a subject argument, the subject position (NP in (1)) is not an argument position.

8. We might say that pro is the empty pendant of Dutch er, a pronoun not found in German, cf. Scherpenisse (1984)). This expletive use of little pro is in fact what has to be expected on the basis of the features Case, θ-role and phonetic content; see the following table:

(i)	C	θ	P	type of element
a.	+	+	+	lexical NP in A-position
b.	+	+	−	wh trace
c.	+	−	+	lexical expletive
d.	+	−	−	empty expletive
e.	−	+	+	Caseless NP in D-structure
f.	−	+	−	NP trace, PRO
g.	−	−	+	wh-element in COMP
h.	−	−	−	wh trace in COMP

By combination of these three features, the existence of the class of empty expletives is simply predicted, along with the other classes. I take this to be additional evidence in favor of this particular use of pro. Cf. also Scherpenisse & Janssen (1984) and the next footnote.

9. An example of such a construction is the ACI construction, cf. Scherpenisse & Janssen (1984). It may very well be the case that German is an in-between between the configurational and the nonconfigurational language type. In English the only possible way out in Case conflict situations is NP movement; a coindexing procedure like (27) is unknown. In

nonconfigurational languages, on the other hand, (21) is a simple mechanical procedure on Case indices and Case assigners. We may think of (27) as a mechanism that occurs in a typical intermediate stage between the two types, a stage at which expletive elements begin to occur. In German, there is not yet an overt representation of this expletive; pro is used. Dutch optionally uses er in these environments. In English, where the change to the configurational language type has been accomplished, the possibility to employ a mechanism like (27) has been lost. Notice that there are no there passives in English comparable to the er passives in Dutch and the (superficially) subjectless passives in German. Thus, the development sketched here can be seen as a consequence of the emerging of a structural subject position combined with the assumption that INFL cannot "vacuously" assign Case, from which it follows that there is an empty subject in superficially subjectless structures. Cf. Bok-Bennema & Groos (1983).

10. In Hoekstra (1984:220f.) a similar procedure is argued for, using cosuperscripting instead of coindexing.

11. There are, however, preferred readings for (29)a,b; this is rather a pragmatic than a syntactic phenomenon. It need not worry us here, although it may trouble speakers' judgments, making the contrast between (28) and (29) less clear.

12. Eric Reuland has suggested to me (p.c.), that the contrast between (30) and (32) may also be explained by postulating a difference between large movement and small movement. If we assume that only the former type of movement leaves a trace, we can explain the difference in grammaticality, as (30) involves no trace.

13. In traditional German grammar, this position is called the "Wackernagel position".

REFERENCES.

Bennis, H. & T. Hoekstra (1984). "The distribution and interpretation of gaps." Ms. University of Leiden, to appear in The Linguistic Review.

Besten, H. den (1977). "On the interaction of root transformations and lexical deletive rules." Ms. University of Amsterdam, published in W. Abraham (ed.) (1983): On the formal syntax of the Westgermania. Amsterdam.

Besten, H. den (1982). "Some remarks on the Ergative Hypothesis." GAGL 21: 61-82.

Bok-Bennema, R. & A. Groos (1983). "Ergativiteit." Tilburg Papers in Language and Literature.

Burzio, L. (1981). "Intransitive verbs and Italian auxiliaries." Dissertation, MIT, Cambridge, Mass.

Chomsky, N. (1981). Lectures on Government and Binding. Dordrecht.

Chomsky, N. (1982). Some concepts and consequences of the Theory of Government and Binding. Linguistic Inquiry Monograph 6.

Cremers, C. & A. Sassen (1983). "On V1, GB and INFL." In: H. Bennis & W.U.S. van Lessen Kloeke (eds.): Linguistics in the Netherlands 1983. Dordrecht.

Haider, H. (1984a): "Topic, focus and verb-second in German." GAGL 25: 72-120.

Haider, H. (1984b). "A unified account of Case and θ-marking: the Case of German." Ms. University of Vienna.

Hoekstra, T. (1984). Transitivity. Grammatical relations in Government-Binding Theory. Dordrecht.

Kenesei, I. & L. Marácz (1984). "To move or not to move: is that a question?" Ms. University of Szeged/University of Groningen.

Koster, J. (1975). "Dutch as an SOV language." Linguistic Analysis 1,2: 111-136.

Lenerz, J. (1977). Zur Abfolge nominaler Satzglieder im Deutschen. Tübingen.

Platzack, C. (1982). "Germanic word order and the COMP/INFL parameter." Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax 2.

Saito, M. & H. Hoji (1983). "Weak Crossover and Move Alpha in Japanese." Natural Language and Linguistic Theory 1,2: 245-259.

Scherpenisse, W. (1984). "Topic, theme, and the German Initial Field." GAGL 25: 211-227.

Scherpenisse, W. & H. Janssen (1984): "The structure of infinitival complements in Dutch and German." Ms. University of Groningen/University of Göttingen.

Thiersch, C. (1978). "Topics in German syntax." Dissertation, MIT, Cambridge, MASS.

Williams, E. (1981). "Argument structure and morphology." The Linguistic Review 1: 83-114.

Some introductory remarks to "The final field in German: extraposition and frozen positions"

What follows is a chapter from my dissertation, which will hopefully be finished by the end of 1986. This prepublication in GAGL is its first public appearance. I am aware that the text will be far from smoothly readable, in the first place because of its preliminary character (it will no doubt contain many errors), secondly because of the fact that it is conceived as a chapter which is part of a larger whole. This will be seen by a number of cross-references to other chapters, to which the reader of GAGL has no access.

The reason why I let this text out, nonetheless, is that I am very much interested in critical comments, both theoretical ones and criticism concerning the German examples and/or improvements on my English. I hereby encourage all readers to send me such comments. My address can be found at the end of this article.

Wim Scherpenisse
March, 1985