

What Moves in German VP-Fronting?

Jorge Hankamer & Vera Lee-Schoenfeld
UC Santa Cruz
Berkeley Syntax/Semantics Circle
February 11, 2005

0. The Starting Point

- Some verbal constituents can front:

(1) (indirect object +) direct object + nonfinite V:

- a. [Einen Wagen geschenkt] hat der Millionär dem Studenten.
a car (ACC) given has the millionaire (NOM) the student (DAT)
'What the millionaire did was give the student a car.'
- b. [Mamas Auto zu Schrott gefahren] hat der Idiot damals.
mom's car (ACC) to scrap driven has the idiot (NOM) then
'What the idiot did back then was total mom's car on her.'
- c. [Dem Hans ein Buch geschenkt] habe ich.
the Hans (DAT) a book (ACC) given have I
'What I did was give Hans a book.'

(2) passive subject + nonfinite V:

- a. [Viele Jobs angeboten] wurden einem damals.
many jobs (NOM) offered were (PASS) one (DAT) then
'Back then we were offered many jobs.'
- b. [Ein gutes Medikament verschrieben] wurde ihr von diesem Arzt.
a good drug (NOM) prescribed was (PASS) her (DAT) by this doctor
'A good drug was prescribed for her by that doctor.'
- c. [Das Auto zu Schrott gefahren] wurde der Mama.
the car (NOM) to scrap driven was (PASS) the mom (DAT)
'Mom's car was totaled on her.'

(3) unaccusative subject + nonfinite V:

- a. [Ein Fehler unterlaufen] ist ihrem Mann damals.
a mistake (NOM) happened is her husband (DAT) then
'What happened to her husband back then was that he made a mistake.'
- b. [Ein Tiger entwichen] ist dem Wanderzirkus neulich.
a tiger (NOM) escaped is the travel-circus (DAT) the other day
'A tiger escaped from the travel circus the other day.'
- c. [Ein verrückter Gedanke durch den Kopf geschossen] ist dem Opa gestern.
a crazy thought (NOM) through the head shot is the grandpa (DAT) yesterday
'A crazy thought came to grandpa yesterday.'

- Other verbal constituents cannot front:

(4) unergative subject + nonfinite V:

- a. ?*[Linguisten gespeist] haben dort gestern.
 linguists (NOM) dined have there yesterday
 ‘Linguists dined there yesterday.’
- b. ?*[Ein Außenseiter gewonnen] hat im zweiten Rennen.
 an outsider (NOM) won has in-the second race
 ‘An outsider won in the second race.’
- c. *[Affen gesessen] haben auf der Schaukel.
 monkeys (NOM) sat have on the seesaw
 ‘Monkeys sat on the seesaw.’

(5) transitive subject (+ indirect object) + direct object + nonfinite V:

- a. *[Ein Idiot Mamas Auto zu Schrott gefahren] hat damals.
 an idiot (NOM) mom’s car (ACC) to scrap driven has then
 ‘What happened back then was that an idiot totaled mom’s car.’
- b. *[Eine Mauer den Hof umgeben] hat hier früher.
 a wall (NOM) the yard (ACC) surrounded has here before
 ‘A wall used to surround the yard here.’
- c. *[Ein Millionär einem Studenten einen Wagen geschenkt] hat hier gestern.
 a millionaire (NOM) a student (DAT) a car (ACC) given has here yesterday
 ‘What happened here yesterday was that a millionaire gave a student a car.’

- data stem from questionnaire-based study; 11 native speakers of German judged sentences using scale from 1 to 5:

1 = ✓	2 = ✓	3 = ?	4 = *?	5 = *
perfect, no special context required	fine, but needs certain context	maybe, but really only in very special context	pretty bad in any context	completely unacceptable

1. The Central Question and an Initial Answer

- What are the conditions under which verb phrases (vP/VP) can front?
 - assumption: (1)-(5) are ‘Verb-Second’ (V2) constructions, i.e. fronted material forms a single constituent in Spec CP
 - initial generalization: fronted phrase can only contain a subject if headed by a passive or unaccusative V, i.e. if subject is derived (underlying object)
 - assumption: subject of passive and unaccusative verbs is introduced by lexical V; subject of transitive and unergative verbs is introduced by little *v* (Hale & Keyser 1993, Chomsky 1995, Kratzer 1996)
 - tentative conclusion: only VPs can front, vPs cannot (cf. Grewendorf 1989)

2. Previous Analyses

- Pointing to the data in (6)-(8), Haider (1990, 1993, to appear), De Kuthy & Meurers (2003), and Wurmbrand (2001, 2004a) consider fronted verb phrases which include unergative (and transitive) subjects grammatical (see also Webelhuth 1990).

(6) a. [Ein/??der Außenseiter gewonnen] hat hier noch nie.
 an/the outsider (NOM) won has here yet never
 ‘An outsider has never won here before.’

b. [Linguisten gespeist] haben dort noch nie.
 linguists (NOM) dined have there yet never
 ‘Linguists have never dined there before.’

c. [Kinder gespielt] haben hier noch nie.
 children (NOM) played have here yet never
 ‘Children have never played here before.’

(Haider 1990: 94, 97)

(7) a. [Das Telefon geklingelt] hat hier schon lange nicht mehr.
 the phone (NOM) rung has here yet long not anymore
 ‘The telephone hasn’t been ringing here in a long time.’

b. [Ein Hund gebellt] hat hier noch nie.
 a dog (NOM) barked has here yet never
 ‘A dog has never barked here before.’

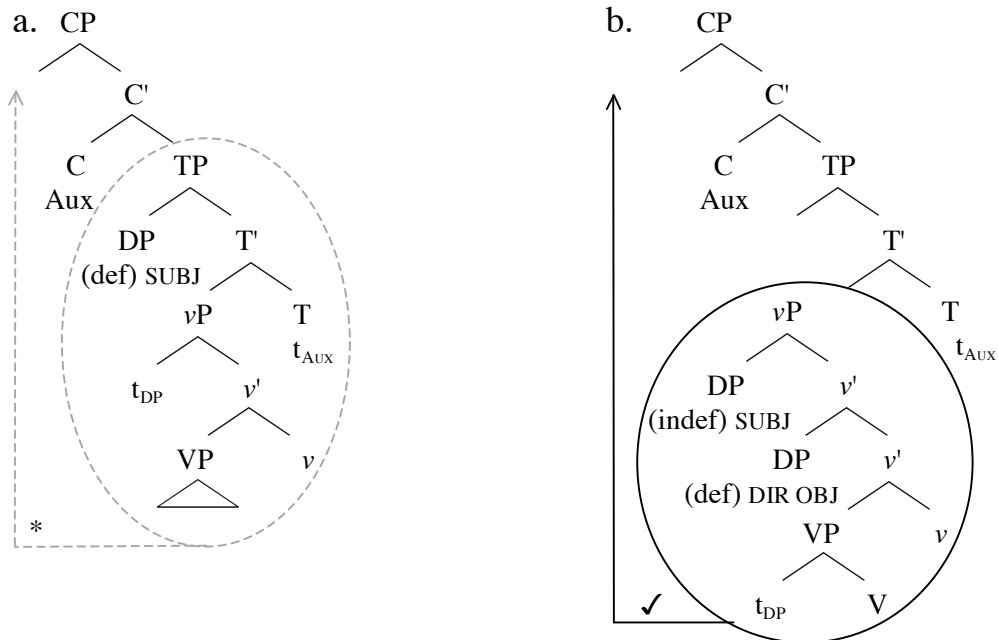
(De Kuthy & Meurers 2003: 2, 4)

(8) [?Ein/*der Millionär einem Studenten einen Wagen geschenkt] hat hier noch nie.
 a/the millionaire (NOM) a student (DAT) a car (DAT) given has here yet never
 ‘It has never happened here that a millionaire gave a student a car.’

(Wurmbrand 2001: 642-642)

- subject-containing verbal constituent, whether passive/unaccusative (VP) or (transitive/)unergative (vP), can front
- Wurmbrand accounts for definiteness effect (see (6a) and (8)) by assuming that definite subjects move to TP for purposes of interpretation (based on Diesing 1996) and that TP cannot front (see (9a))
- no account of ungrammaticality in (4)-(5)

(9) Wurmbrand (2001, 2004):

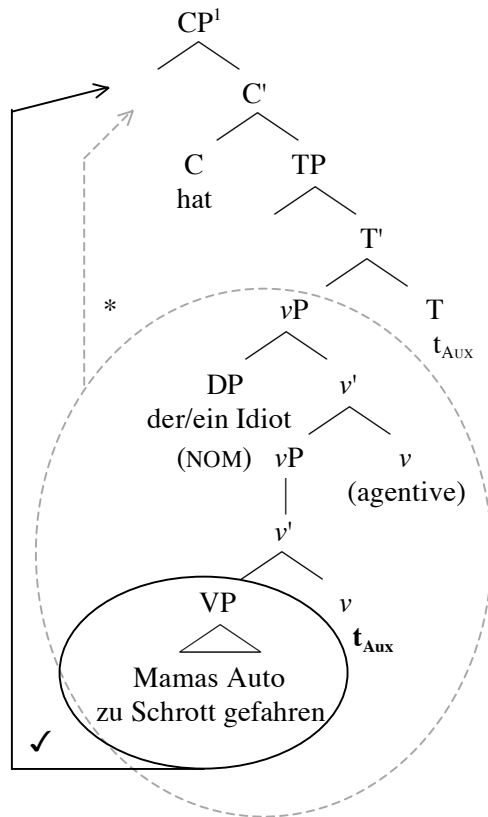


3. A New Account

- Key assumptions:
 - ‘proto-agent’ subjects are generated and can stay within agentive vP ; ‘proto-patient’ subjects within VP ; nom. Case is checked with T via Agree, without movement (Wurmbrand 2004b)
 - Aux moves to C for V2
 - fronted material may not contain trace of Aux because head-movement traces cannot be properly bound under reconstruction (Haider 1993, McCloskey 2004)
- Proposal to account for the facts in (1)-(5):
 - fronted verb phrases with subject introduced by agentive v are ungrammatical due to improperly bound head-trace
 - Aux (*haben* ‘have’, *sein* ‘be’, *werden* ‘PASS’) is generated as v -head below ‘proto-agent’ subject; if there is no agentive vP , Aux vP immediately follows TP
 - Aux movement leaves improperly bound head-trace only when subject of fronted verb phrase is an ‘external’ argument (in vP), not when subject is VP -internal (see tree structures illustrating data in (10)-(11))

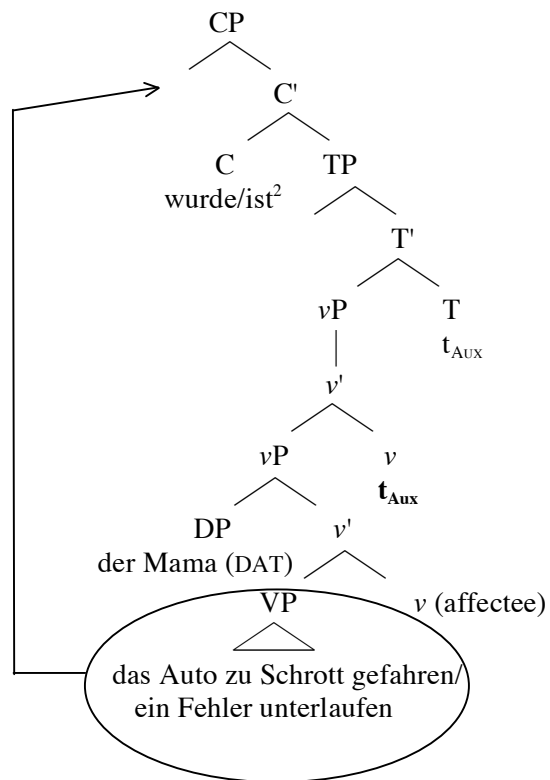
(10) a. [Mamas Auto zu Schrott gefahren]
 mom's car(ACC) to scrap driven
 hat der Idiot.
 has the idiot(NOM)

b. *[Ein Idiot Mamas Auto zu Schrott
 an idiot(NOM) mom's car(ACC) to scrap
 gefahren] hat (damals).
 driven has (then)



(11) a. [Das Auto zu Schrott gefahren] wurde
 the car(NOM) to scraps driven was(PASS)
 der Mama.
 the mom(DAT)

b. [Ein Fehler unterlaufen] ist der Mama.
 a mistake(NOM) happened is the mom(DAT)



4. Two Kinds of Fronting Contexts

- Fronted constituents headed by transitive verbs (see (5) and (8)) are degraded in any type of post-fronting context. Acceptability of fronted constituents headed by intransitive verbs, however, is context-dependent.

¹ Note that the grammatical fronted constituents in (10) and (11) can only contain the verb if we assume that German nonfinite V_s do not have to move to the *v*-heads they project. As also noted in Wurmbrand 2004a, this is a reasonable assumption.

² The passive Aux *werden* and the perfect Aux *sein* are represented by one *v*-head here. Since the two can cooccur, however (...weil der Mama das Auto zu Schrott gefahren **worden ist** 'because mom's car has been driven to scrap/totalled on her'), they must be separate heads.

- The “general” post-fronting context (intonation pattern: HL):
 - consists of one or more of the following: dative-marked nominal, PP, time adverbial (e.g. *damals* ‘then’, *neulich* ‘the other day’, *gestern* ‘yesterday’)
 - allows fronting of constituents with passive or unaccusative subject (see (2)-(3); (3b) is repeated here as (12))

(12) [Ein Tiger entwichen] ist dem Wanderzirkus neulich.
 a tiger (NOM) escaped is the travel-circus (DAT) the other day
 ‘A tiger escaped from the travel circus the other day.’

- The “special” post-fronting context (intonation pattern: LH):
 - consists of *hier noch nie*-type adverbial expression (see (14))
 - allows fronting of constituents with unergative subjects (see (6)-(7); (6a) is repeated here as (13))

(13) [Ein Außenseiter gewonnen] hat hier noch nie.
 an outsider (NOM) won has here yet never
 ‘An outsider has never won here before.’

(14) Place adverbial + Modified temporal quantificational adverb

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{hier} \text{ ‘here’} \\ \textit{da} \text{ ‘there’} \\ \textit{dort} \text{ ‘there’} \\ \dots \end{array} \right\}$	+	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{noch nie} \text{ ‘never before’} \\ \textit{eigentlich (noch) nie} \text{ ‘actually never (before)’} \\ \textit{schon immer} \text{ ‘always/since forever’} \\ \textit{schon öfter} \text{ ‘several times before’} \\ \textit{nie wieder} \text{ ‘never again’} \\ \textit{schon lange nicht mehr} \text{ ‘not for a long time’ ...} \end{array} \right\}$
---	---	--

- Fronted verbal constituents and information structure (Webelhuth 1990, De Kuthy & Meurers 2003):
 - fronted constituent must be focused as a unit
 - only a nominal that can project focus on the whole clause (i.e. can be the ‘focus exponent’) may be part of a fronted constituent (see (15))
 (Note: VP-fronting is really VP-focusing, opposite of VP-topicalization)
 - direct object of transitive verb (a-b) and subject of passive (e-f) and unaccusative (g-h) verb, but not subject of transitive verb (c-d) can be focus exponent:

(15) Was ist passiert? (‘What happened?’)

- a. Der Präsident hat den HUND gestreichelt.
 the president (NOM) has the dog (ACC) petted
 ‘The president petted the DOG.’
- b. [Den Hund gestreichelt] hat der Präsident.

- c. #Der PRÄSIDENT hat den Hund gestreichelt.
 the president (NOM) has the dog (ACC) petted
 ‘The PRESIDENT petted the dog.’
- d. *[Der Präsident gestreichelt] hat den Hund.
- e. Ein gutes MEDIKAMENT wurde ihr von diesem Arzt verschrieben.
 a good drug (NOM) was (PASS) her (DAT) by this doctor prescribed
 ‘A good DRUG was prescribed for her by that doctor.’
- f. [Ein gutes Medikament verschrieben] wurde ihr von diesem Arzt.
- g. Ein FEHLER ist ihrem Mann damals unterlaufen.
 a mistake (NOM) is her (DAT) husband then happened
 ‘Her husband made a MISTAKE.’
- h. [Ein Fehler unterlaufen] ist ihrem Mann damals.

- Thetic vs. categorical (Kuroda 1972, Ladusaw 1994):
 - Weibelhuth’s and DeKuthy & Meurers’ intuition of fronted constituent being focused as a unit is captured by thetic/categorical distinction
 - categorical: subject and predicate require two separate interpretation acts:
 - (i) act of recognizing subject
 - (ii) act of confirming/denying what is expressed by predicate about subject; corresponds to traditional view of splitting up subject and predicate into P and S, where P is predicated of S
 - thetic: single act of confirming/denying existence of an eventuality of a certain type; incompatible with ‘strong’ (including true definite) subjects (Milsark 1974)
 - fronted verbal constituents containing subject must get thetic interpretation
 - Scope roofing: a subject in a fronted verbal constituent cannot scope out of it.
 - The connection between scope roofing and the thetic/categorical distinction:
 - subjects, definite or indefinite, which scope out of fronted constituent (referring to specific entity) are strong
 - strong subjects are incompatible with thetic interpretation (see (16))
- (16) a. *[Der verrückte Gedanke durch den Kopf geschossen] ist dem Opa gestern.
 the crazy thought (NOM) through the head shot is the grandpa (DAT) yesterday
 ‘The crazy thought came to grandpa yesterday.’
- b. *[Der Bello/Ein kleiner Hund herumgelaufen] ist gestern im Park.
 the Bello (NOM)/a little dog (NOM) around-run is yesterday in-the park
 ‘Bello/A little dog ran around in the park yesterday.’

- definite objects are compatible withthetic interpretation (see (1b-c), repeated here as (17a-b)); object is part of predicate;thetic/categorical distinction is concerned only with recognition of subject as separate from predicate

(17) a. [Mamas Auto zu Schrott gefahren] hat der Idiot damals.

mom's car (ACC) to scrap driven has the idiot (NOM) then

‘What the idiot did back then was total mom's car.’

b. [Dem Hans ein Buch geschenkt] habe ich.

the Hans (DAT) a book (ACC) given have I

‘What I did was give Hans a book.’

- explains definiteness restriction on subj. (not obj.) in fronted verbal constituents

- Thethetic/categorical distinction and the two kinds of post-fronting contexts:

- general context: picks out situation with particular event and particular participant as subject; subject and predicate require separate interpretation acts => categorical
- special context (*hier noch nie*): comments on frequency/likelihood of a type of event at a certain place (e.g. race track or restaurant, as in (18a-b)); single interpretation act which does not recognize subject separately =>thetic

(18) a. [Ein Außenseiter gewonnen] hat hier noch nie/?*im zweiten Rennen.

an outsider (NOM) won has here yet never / in-the second race

b. [Linguisten gespeist] haben hier noch nie/?*dort gestern.

linguists (NOM) dined have here yet never / there yesterday

- Proposed structural correlate of thethetic/categorical distinction w.r.t. different subjects:

- thetic interpretation requires subject which is not recognized as separate from predicate
- passive/unaccusative subjects fulfill this requirement; underlying objects are interpreted as part of predicate (something special needs to be said about pass./unacc. subjects that are definite)
- unergative subjects in general post-fronting context do not fulfill this requirement; not interpreted as part of predicate

- in framework assumed here, θ -role assignment associated with unaccusative/unergative distinction is structurally encoded:

proto-patient (passive/unacc.) subjects are introduced as complement to lexical V, i.e. are structurally part of predicate

proto-agent (unerg.) subjects are introduced by VP-external, agentive *v*, i.e. are structurally not part of predicate

- fronted agentive vPs, with subject in Spec vP, are then incompatible withthetic interpretation; only VP-internal subjects can be part of single interpretation act
- The structure of fronted verbal constituents in the special post-fronting context:
 - *hier noch nie*-context forces structure that is compatible withthetic interpretation: lexical VP without functional structure
 - fronted verbal constituent can then only be VP, not agentive vP
 - intransitive verbs like *gewinnen* ‘win’, *speisen* ‘dine’, and *spielen* ‘play’ must be compatible with (or coerceable into) structure with VP-internal subject; i.e. must be able to project *either* agentive vP, hosting typical unergative subject *or* just lexical VP, hosting passive/unaccusative subject
- The analysis proposed in section 3 (see (10)-(11)) then accounts for fronting of constituents with both passive/unaccusative subjects, as in (2)-(3), and subjects of verbs which are typically considered unergative, as in Haider’s (1990) and De Kuthy & Meurers’ (2003) data in (6c)-(7b), repeated here as (19a-b):

(19) a. [Kinder gespielt] haben hier noch nie.
 children (NOM) played have here yet never
 ‘Children have never played here before.’

 b. [Ein Hund gebellt] hat hier noch nie.
 a dog (NOM) barked has here yet never
 ‘A dog has never barked here before.’

 - *spielen* ‘play’ and *bellen* ‘bark’ must be used unaccusatively (without agentive vP-projection) here

5. Extensions, Connections, and Residual Issues

- Fronting of non-agentive vPs?
 - fronted verbal constituents can include datives, both core dative arguments (see (1c) and (20a)) and non-core dative arguments (see affected possessor dative in (20b))
- (20) a. [Der Mama geholfen] habe ich.
 the mom (DAT) helped have I
 ‘What I did was help mom.’
- b. [Der Mama das Auto zu Schrott gefahren] hat der Idiot.
 the mom (DAT) the car (ACC) to scrap driven has the idiot (NOM)
 ‘What the idiot did was total the car on mom.’

- assuming that possessor datives raise from Spec of possessee to Spec of dative-case-checking affectee-*v* (see Lee-Schoenfeld to appear), affectee *v*Ps must be able to front
- facts in (20) are incompatible with De Kuthy & Meurers' (2003) focus projection test; dative nominal can be part of fronted constituent but cannot project focus:

(21) Was ist passiert? ('What happened?')

#Ein Idiot hat der MAMA das Auto zu Schrott gefahren.

an idiot (NOM) has the mom (DAT) the car (ACC) to scrap driven

'What the idiot did was total the car on MOM.'

- facts in (20) *are* compatible with analysis based on thematic/categorical distinction; only separately recognized subject can interfere with thematic interpretation; here, subject is not part of fronted constituent
 - note, however: affectee *v*Ps must differ from agentive *v*Ps; unlike proto-agent (transitive/unergative) subject, argument introduced by affectee *v* must be compatible with single interpretation act; structure does not reflect this, as both proto-agent and affectee are introduced VP-externally
 - question: in framework assumed here, what is special about structurally external arguments that are 'subjects'?
- An interesting connection: fronting of verbal constituents and the unaccusativity/unergativity distinction (see Grewendorf 1989)
 - acceptability of fronted verbal constituent including subject has been used as diagnostic for unaccusativity (see e.g. Haider 1985)
 - but fronting of constituents headed by seemingly unergative verbs (see (6)-(7)) was taken as indication that diagnostic yields inconsistent results (see Seibert 1993)
 - structural analysis given here in connection with thematic/categorical distinction reaffirms validity of diagnostic: in general post-fronting context, only passive/unaccusative VPs can front; in special (*hier noch nie*) context, only constituents headed by intransitive verb which may occur in unaccusative structure (bare VP) can front
 - Some open questions:
 - What are the fronting facts with auxiliaries other than *haben*, *sein*, and *werden* (PASS), e.g. modals?
 - What do these facts say about the structural position of modals?
 - What if two auxiliaries cooccur?

- In conclusion, we have accounted for:
 - (i) data, not addressed in previous work, indicating that transitive and unergative verb phrases cannot front in general context
 - (ii) what is special about *hier noch nie* context
 - key to this account is thethetic/categorical distinction

Appendix: Wurmbrand’s (2001, 2004a) definiteness restriction (based on Diesing 1996)

- Definite nominative DPs (underlying or derived subjects) cannot be contained in fronted constituent:
 - (22) a. *[Der Orden verliehen] wurde ihr erst gestern.
 the medal (NOM) awarded AUX her (DAT) just yesterday
 ‘It just happened yesterday that she was awarded the medal.’
 - b. *[Dieser Fehler unterlaufen] ist ihrem Mann noch nie.
 this mistake (NOM) happened is her husband (DAT) never
 ‘It never happened that her husband made this mistake.’
 - c. *[Die Außenseiter gewonnen] haben/hat hier noch nie.
 the outsiders (NOM) won have/has here never
 ‘It never happened before that the outsiders won.’
 - d. *[Der Millionär einem Studenten einen Wagen geschenkt] hat hier noch nie.
 the millionaire (NOM) a student (DAT) a car (ACC) given has here never
 ‘It never happened here that the millionaire gave a student a car.’

(Wurmbrand 2004: 4)

because:

- (i) definite DPs cannot be interpreted in their respective base-position (must move from vP/VP to TP) and
 - (ii) fronting of TP is illicit (“No Headless Fronting” constraint)
 - note, however: empirical generalization based on (22) may not be accurate; (22a) and (c) are acceptable in right context; (22b) is bad because *ein Fehler unterlaufen* is idiomatic; (22d) is bad because fronted verb phrase is transitive; definiteness effect is not as straightforward as it seems here; probably not captured correctly by (i) above
- Definite accusative DPs are also argued to be uninterpretable in base-position (must move from VP to vP).
 - examples like (23) are then analyzed as fronting of vP, not VP
- (23) [Einen Wagen geschenkt] hat der Millionär dem Studenten.
 a car (ACC) given has the millionaire (NOM) the student (DAT)

- note, however: Diesing's (1996) generalization about definite DPs having to move out of VP in order to be interpreted properly is based on examples like (24) (see also Büring 1994); unshifted definite DP in (a) is judged as marked and only supposed to be acceptable with contrastive emphasis on *die Katze*

(24) a. *?weil ich selten die Katze streichle.

since I seldom the cat pet

b. weil ich die Katze selten streichle.

since I the cat seldom pet

(Diesing 1996: 72)

- disagree with judgment on (24a); neither (a) nor (b) need special emphasis
- The fact that definite nominals need to move out of the nuclear scope of the VP may not be straightforwardly translatable into syntactic movement (i.e. subject movement to TP and object movement to agentive vP).
- An analysis based on thethetic/categorical distinction accounts for the definiteness effect without assuming that all definite DPs need to move out of their base-positions:
 - strong subjects are incompatible withthetic interpretation
 - on this view, sincethetic interpretation requires VP-internal subject (underlying object), fronting of agentive vP is ungrammatical)

References

- Chomsky, Noam. 1995. *The Minimalist Program*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- De Kuthy, Kordula & W. Detmar Meurers. 2003. The secret life of focus exponents, and what it tells us about fronted verbal projections. In S. Müller (ed.) *Proceedings of the HPSG03 Conference*. CSLI Publications.
- Diesing, Molly. 1996. Semantic variables and object shift. In H. Thráinsson, S. D. Epstein, & S. Peter (eds.) *Studies in Comparative Germanic Syntax II*, 66-84. Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- Grewendorf. 1989. *Ergativity in German*. Dordrecht: Foris.
- Haider, Hubert. 1985. Über *sein* oder nicht *sein*: Zur Grammatik des Pronomens *sich*. In W. Abraham (ed.) *Erklärende Syntax des Deutschen* 223-254. Tübingen: Narr.
- Haider, Hubert. 1990. Topicalization and other puzzles of German syntax. In G. Grewendorf & W. Sternefeld (eds.) *Scrambling and Barriers*, 93-112. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Haider, Hubert. 1993. *Deutsche Syntax – Generativ*. Tübingen: Narr.
- Haider, Hubert. To appear. Mittelfeld phenomena. In M. Everaert & H. van Riemsdijk (eds.) *The Syntax Companion (SynCom)*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Hale, Kenneth & Samuel Keyser. 1993. On argument structure and the lexical expression of syntactic relations. In K. Hale & s. Keyser (eds.) *View from Building 20*, 53-109.

- Kratzer, Angelika. 1996. Severing the external argument from its verb. In J. Rooryck & L. Zaring (eds.) *Phrase Structure and the Lexicon*, 109-137. Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- Kuroda, Sige-Yuki. 1972. The categorical and the thetic judgments. *Foundations of Language* 9, 153-185.
- Ladusaw, William. 1994. Thetic and categorical, stage and individual, weak and strong. In M. Harvey & L. Santelmann (eds.) *Proceedings from Semantics and Linguistic Theory IV*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University.
- Lee-Schoenfeld, Vera. To appear. German possessor datives: raised *and* affected. *Journal of Comparative Germanic Linguistics*.
- McCloskey, James. 2004. Heads and phrases, movement and ellipsis. Workshop on Morphosyntax, Universidad de Buenos Aires, July 1-2, 2004.
- Milsark, Gary. 1974. Existential sentences in English. PhD dissertation, MIT, Cambridge, MA.
- Seibert, Anja. 1993. Intransitive constructions in German and the ergative hypothesis. *Working Papers in Linguistics* 14. University of Trondheim.
- Webelhuth, Gert. 1990. Diagnostics for structure. In G. Grewendorf & W. Sternefeld (eds.) *Scrambling and Barriers*, 40-75. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Wurmbrand, Susi. 2001. AGREE: the other VP-internal subject hypothesis. In K. Megerdooomian & L. Bar-el (eds.) *Proceedings of the 20th West Coast Conference on Formal Linguistics (WCCFL 20)*.
- Wurmbrand, Susi. 2004a. No TP Fronting Meets Nearly Headless Nick. Ms., University of Connecticut, Storrs.
- Wurmbrand, Susi. 2004b. Licensing Case. Ms., University of Connecticut, Storrs.

Jorge Hankamer: hank@ucsc.edu

Vera Lee-Schoenfeld: vls@ucsc.edu