Asymmetry in Emphatic Topicalization

Josef Bayer

1.   The Phenomenon

Southern German of the Austro-Bavarian type is known for its disrespect of the Doubly-Filled-COMP Filter (DFCF). Wh-questions and relative clauses are generally formed by moving the wh-phrase or the relative operator to the specifier of an overt complementizer. The examples in (1) and (2) from Bayer (1984) illustrate the construction:

(1) a. I woaß ned wer daß des   dõa   hot   INDIRECT QUESTION
         I know not who that this   done has
         'I don't know who did this'
     b. I woaß ned wiavui   daß-a   kriagt
         I know not how-much   that-he gets
         'I don't know how much he will get'

(2) a. Der Mantl den   wo   i   kafft   hob   RELATIVE
         the   coat which   that I   bought   have
         'The coat which I bought'
     b. Des Audo des   wo   i   mecht
         the   car   which   that I   want
         'The car which I would like to have'

In Bayer (1984) the phrase structure of these constructions was represented in the S, S', S'' system, and it was assumed that there are two complementizers, one of which (COMP2) hosts the operator while the other (COMP1) is filled with the complementizer. The shortcomings of this analysis are easily

avoided under the phrase structure which Chomsky (1986a) suggests in *Barriers*. This phrase structure extends X'-syntax to functional elements such as COMP (henceforth C). Under this implementation, COMP1 corresponds to C and COMP2 to SpecCP, the specifier of the maximal projection of the head C. Bavarian and Standard German can then be argued to have the same underlying structure, the difference being that Standard German rejects simultaneous filling of C and SpecCP. Since Bavarian does not respect the DFCF, it is not surprising to see that movement to SpecCP is not confined to wh- and relativization operators.[1] Consider the following examples, of which (3a,b) are from Bayer (1984), (3c) is from Weiß (1998) and (3d) is a datum from a corpus which is reported in Lutz (1997):

(3) a.   Da Xaver daß an Mantl kafft   hot hot neamad glaubt
          the Xaver that a coat bought has has nobody believed
           'As for Xaver, nobody believed that he bought a coat'
    b.   An Mantl   daß da Xaver kafft   hot   hot   neamad glaubt
          a coat   that the Xaver bought has   has   nobody believed
          'As for a coat, nobody believed that Xaver bought one'
    c.   Da Hans ob   kummt woaß-e ned
          the Hans whether comes   know-I not
          'As for Hans, I don't know whether he will come'
    d.   An Fünfer daß-e   kriag häid-e   ned   g'moant
          a five   that-I   get   had-I   not   thought
          'As for a grade five, I didn't think I would get one'

The phenomenon central to the present article is that – contrary to the examples in (1) in which the DFC-complement appears in post-verbal or "extraposed" position – this kind of topicalization is only possible if the CP-complement is topicalized itself. It is strictly impossible in CPs which occupy the post-verbal position (in traditional terminology the *Nachfeld*). The data in (4) are all the more puzzling because the *Nachfeld* is the canonical position for a finite complement and is considered by many syntacticians to be its base position:

---

[1]   The construction seems to also be possible in other dialects which don't observe the DFCF with respect to wh-movement, such as Alemannic and more northeastern varieties such as Franconian and Thuringian, but seems to be far less widespread in these dialects. For recent discussion, see Weiß (to appear).

(4) a. *Neamad   hot glaubt,   da Xaver   daß an   Mantl kafft   hot
          nobody   has believed   the Xaver   that a   coat bought   has
     b. *Neamad   hot glaubt,   an Mantl   daß   da Xaver   kafft hot
          nobody   has believed   a   coat   that the Xaver   bought has
     c. *I woaß   ned, da   Hans ob   kummt
          I   know   not   the   Hans whether comes
     d. *I häid ned g'moant,   an Fünfer daß-e   kriag
          I   had not thought   a   five   that-I   get

This restriction on topicalization across C has remained unexplained in the
sense that no agreement has so far been reached among syntacticians as to
the description of the phrase structure.[2]

   The rest of this article is organized as follows: In section 2 I present a
review of two classes of earlier accounts. In section 3 I refer to the differ-
ences between topicalization as movement to SpecCP and left dislocation.
In section 4 it is suggested that the topicalization in question is an indicator
of illocutionary force which I argue is implemented in a functional projec-
tion. The core of my analysis and some of its consequences are presented in
section 5. Previous accounts have mainly been concerned with a parasitic-
gap construction that is intimately connected with the kind of topicalization
seen in (3). I will show in section 6 that the account developed up to section
5 is compatible with and provides new evidence for the ATB-approach to
parasitic gaps. The results are summarized in section 7.

2.   Previous Attempts at an Explanation

The simplest imaginable analysis would be one in which the topicalization
facts in (3) simply result from the Bavarian disrespect of the DFCF. In that
case, it is crucial to assume that the moved XP targets SpecCP in the same

---

[2] One reviewer tells me that according to an Austrian informant constructions such as those in (4) are
    acceptable for "some speakers of Upper Austrian". Given the sharp ungrammaticality that arises
    for myself and all the other Bavarian speakers I could consult, I find this surprising. At this mo-
    ment I can only leave this for further investigation.

way as a wh-phrase targets SpecCP. But then the difference between (1)/(2) and (4) must be made to follow from something else. Alternatively, one may argue that the parallelism between topicalization and wh-movement is only apparent, and that the underlying structures are in fact rather different. Both directions have been explored already. The argumentation has in various cases been determined by the fact that the observed type of topicalization seems to be responsible for parasitic gap constructions which are found in Bavarian, and to which we will turn in section 6. Proponents of the SpecCP theory are Felix (1985), Grewendorf (1988) and Bayer (1988). Proponents of an alternative theory are von Stechow & Sternefeld (1988) as well as Weiß (1998), who closely follows them. They suggest that the topicalized constituent in (3) is not in the specifier of its immediate CP but is in fact part of the matrix clause. In my presentation I partially rely on a review of the earlier work by Lutz (1997). I take the liberty of leaving Felix (1985) aside because his primary concern is the parasitic gap phenomenon, whereas my primary concern here is an explanation of the topicalization asymmetry (TA).[3]

2.1   Top in SpecCP

Grewendorf (1988:254ff.) as well as Bayer (1988) follow the conservative assumption that XPs which are topicalized to the immediate left of C are in SpecCP. While Bayer (1988) does not try to come to grips with the TA, Grewendorf does. He suggests that the asymmetry derives from a restriction on government according to which SpecCP of a clausal complement in post-verbal position is governed, whereas it is ungoverned if CP is topicalized. Grewendorf proposes a principle according to which only a lexically ungoverned *Vorfeld* position may be occupied by XP, and which he makes sure does not apply if XP is +wh and undergoes wh-agreement. Attractive as such a solution may appear within the GB-framework, its attractiveness relies on a central relation that has been given up in the successor of that theory, the *Minimalist Program* (Chomsky 1995): government. If one is justified in assuming that government has ceased to play the role it used to play, it cannot be responsible for the restriction at hand. But let us concentrate

---

[3]   Of course, I believe that a proper account will also have to say something about the parasitic gap construction, and I hope to be able to say something sensible at the end of this article, but I want to emphasize that parasitic gaps are not in the focus of my discussion.

more on empirical arguments. In Bavarian, like in any other variety of German, certain verbs allow V2-complements such as *Ich glaube* [*den Hans₁ hat die Polizei* t₁ *erwischt*] ('I believe Hans has been caught by the police'). Since *den Hans* arguably occupies SpecCP (in which the finite verb has raised to C), extra provisos would have to be invoked to prevent government of the *Vorfeld* here. Such provisos do not appear to be quite natural or plausible. A conclusive argument against an explanation based on government comes, however, from cases which exhibit the very same TA while not involving government according to any standard theoretical implementation. Consider the examples in (5) and (6), both of which involve adjunct clauses of a certain type, namely *if*- and *as*-clauses:

(5)   a.   Da Xaver wenn   hoam kummt   kriagt-a   wos   z' essn
           the Xaver if   home comes   gets -he   something to eat
           'As for Xaver, if he comes home, he will get something to eat'
      b.   *Da Xaver   kriagt wos   z' essn der   wenn hoam kummt
           the   Xaver gets something   to eat   he   if   home comes

(6)   a.   An Xaver wia -s   g'seng hom hom-sa -se   recht
           the Xaver as -they seen   have have-they-REF   really
           g'freit
           rejoiced
           'As for Xaver, when they saw him they were really happy'
      b.   *Sie hom se recht g'freit an Xaver wia-s g'seng hom

Since adjunct CPs as initiated by *wenn* or *wia* (Standard German *wie*) are ungoverned by definition, Grewendorf's explanation can hardly be tenable. I suspect that the TA is independent of government and thereby of lexical selection, argument or adjunct status.

2.2   Topic/Focus in the Matrix CP

Von Stechow & Sternefeld (1988:387f.) propose an entirely different solution which cannot rely on Grewendorf's central point because the data von Stechow and Sternefeld are looking at primarily involve topicalizations in

adjuncts. Their considerations are based on examples in Felix (1985) such as the following:[4]

(7) a. I   bin glei   b'suffa [wenn-e des   Bier no   trink]
         I   am immediately drunk   if   -I this   beer still   drink
         'I'll be drunk right away if I continue drinking this beer'
     b. *I bin glei b'suffa [[des Bier]$_1$ wenn-e no t$_1$ trink]
     c. I bin [wenn-e des Bier no trink] glei b'suffa
     d. *I bin [[des Bier]$_1$ wenn-e no t$_1$ trink] glei b'suffa
     e. [[Des Bier]$_1$ wenn-e no t$_1$ trink] bin-e glei b'suffa

(7c,d) show that the same contrast as before occurs if the dependent CP is in clause-medial position. The *wenn*-clause in (7c) is ok when parenthetically inserted, but as (7d) shows, it ceases to be ok when an XP has been moved to the specifier of the *wenn*-clause. Only when the topicalization in front of C occurs in a CP which is likewise topicalized do we find a grammatical result.

In their account, von Stechow & Sternefeld consider the topicalized constituent to be *focused*. This is in an interesting conflict with Grewendorf's representations in which the very same type of constituent is considered to be a *topic*. If *topic* and *focus* are mutually exclusive notions, one of the analyses should be wrong. A more benevolent interpretation is possible, however, according to which the notion *focus* is not necessarily restricted to quantificational structure and the standard analysis in terms of variable binding. According to Erteschik-Shir (1997:70), a new topic is introduced in out-of-the-blue sentences by a phonologically stressed phrase. Thus, phonological prominence, which is clearly required in the construction under investigation, should not prevent us from considering the preposed elements to be topics (of some sort).[5] And indeed, the preposed elements pass classical tests for both, topic- and focushood (cf. Erteschik-Shir 1997:14). Discourses in which the preposed element has already been mentioned are well formed, i.e., the usual aboutness relation which topics are subject to is observed. To see this, consider the following discourse:

---

[4]   I take the liberty of turning examples from published sources which do not strike me as quite idiomatic for one reason or the other into what I take to be proper colloquial standard in my own dialect.

[5]   Non-salient elements which can never bear stress such as *es* ('it') or *man* ('one') are banned from this position.

(8) A: Wos hom-s   g'sagt, wia-s   *an Xaver*   wieder g'seng hom?
       what have-they said   as-they the Xaver   again seen   have
       'What did they say when they saw Xaver again?'
    B: *An Xaver* wia-s g'seng hom hom-sa-se recht g'freit   (=6a)
       'As for Xaver, when they saw him they were really happy'

It is also possible to test in the opposite direction. Potential foci (in the sense of quantificational structure) must correspond to a variable as initiated by a constituent question. Normally, the constituent that can be questioned is focus. Consider now the dialogue in (9):

(9) A: *Wos fir -a Notn*   host   g'moant daß-st   kriagst?
       what for-a grade   have (you) thought that-you get
       'Which grade did you think you would get?'
    B: *An   Oanser* daß-e   kriag how -e   g'moant
       a   one   that-I   get   have -I thought
       'Grade one I thought I would get'

It appears here that the preposed XP *an Oanser*, which supplies the new information, can also function as the binder of a variable trace, i.e., as a focus. This fact, or perhaps the mere fact that the preposed element is prosodically prominent, has led various researchers to consider it to be a focus; cf. von Stechow & Sternefeld (1988), Lutz (1997) and Weiß (1998). However, given that one test shows that the preposed XP is a topic, while the other test shows that it is a focus, there is a contradiction because something cannot be topic and focus simultaneously. I think this conflict can be resolved if it is realized that the movement to the immediate left of C is not focus-driven movement but something else. Notice that the construction in (9B) is not at all essential for answering (9A) successfully. The answer could equally well be *I hob g'moant, daß-e an Oanser kriag* ('I thought that I would get a one'). The focality of the filler *an Oanser* (in the sense of "new information") is already checked in the middle field; thus, the constituent must have been raised still higher for an independent purpose. I will return to this issue. At this point we conclude that where the preposed element has been termed *focus* this notion makes sense only if it is identified with prosodic prominence, and not if the position is associated with semantic aspect of the

notion "focus".[6] The motivation for looking at the preposed and stressed XP as a focus constituent seems to have yet another source. As mentioned earlier, the construction under consideration has been considered to be intimately connected with the parasitic gap phenomenon. Starting from Felix' (1985) original analysis, von Stechow & Sternefeld as well as Lutz (1997) consider it essential that the extracted element c-commands both the parasitic gap (e) and the real gap (t) in (10):[7]
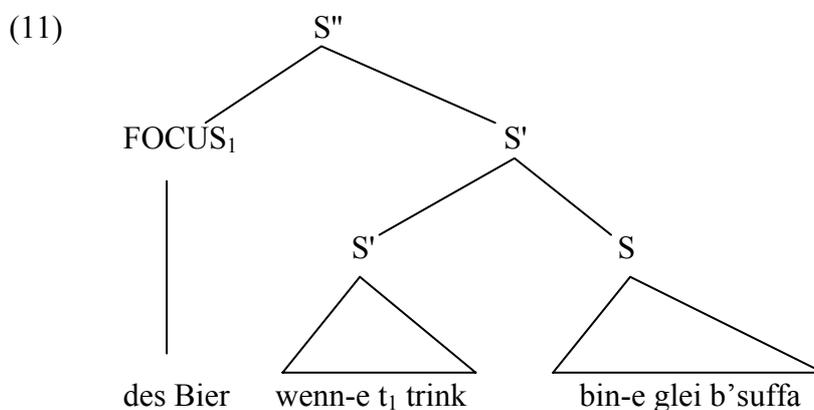
(10) An   Karl$_1$ wenn-e t$_1$ dawisch daschlog-e e$_1$
      the   Karl$_{acc}$ if   -I   get   kill   -I
      'If I get hold of Karl, I'll kill him'

Von Stechow & Sternefeld (1988:387) conclude on the basis of these data that the Bavarian root clause has an additional *Vorfeld* position for focused constituents. Their analysis provides an insight which is of central importance to my own account, namely that this additional position is only available in root clauses. The proposed structure of (7e) is given in (11).[8]

---

[6]   In short, the pre-C position is as neutral w.r.t. topic and focus as the pre-V$_{fin}$ position of an ordinary German V2 clause. For concreteness I assume that the focus feature of a constituent may have been checked before another feature of the same constituent is checked in a higher domain. This is absolutely standard, as one can see in those cases where an NP first moves to an A-position to get its Case feature checked and then moves on to get its wh-feature or some other feature checked.

[7]   It seems obvious that the trace is in the topicalized clause, while the parasitic gap is in the root clause. Only the latter can be replaced by a personal pronoun. However, cf. Lutz (1997:section 3.4) for a controversial discussion of this issue.

[8]   Von Stechow & Sternefeld use the S, S', S'' system. More recent considerations of functional categories in phrase structure suggest that the finite verb of the root clause *bin* is in C° and the adjunct CP as well as the focus phrase *das Bier* are in two specifiers of C°.

(11)   S''

          FOCUS$_1$ S'

                                    S'   S

          des Bier   wenn-e t$_1$ trink   bin-e glei b'suffa

If this point can be established, the deviant examples (4a–d) and (7b,d) are
ruled out as desired. Unfortunately, the von Stechow & Sternefeld analysis
does not specify how the relatedness of the root clause to this position could
be derived. It is left as a stipulation, and as such it reduces to a restatement
of the facts. Technical problems with their analysis have been noticed by
Lutz (1997): One problem is that the analysis violates the *Adjunct Condi-
tion,* according to which nothing may be extracted from an adjunct. How-
ever, the *Adjunct Condition* is respected in Bavarian in the same way as in
Standard German. Another problem is that the preposed/focused constituent
is predicted to successfully bind into the domain c-commanded by it. But
the deviance of the examples in (12) signals that this prediction is in dis-
agreement with the facts:

(12) a. *Kõa Mensch$_1$ wenn t$_1$ b'suffa is foit   eam$_1$ wos
           no   man   if   drunk   is falls him something
         g'scheids   eĩ
         useful   in
         intended: 'Nobody has good ideas when he is drunk'
      b. *A   jeder Mensch$_1$ wenn t$_1$ niachdan is   foit   eam$_1$ wos
           a   every man   if   sober   is falls him something
         g'scheids   eĩ
         useful   in
         intended: 'Everyone has good ideas when he is sober'

Contrary to what (11) may suggest, quantified NPs (QNPs) such as in (12)
cannot bind a pronominal variable in the matrix clause.

Considerations of this kind have led Lutz (1997) to propose two separate structures for what he refers to as the "focus construction" and the "parasitic gap construction". Let me continue to concentrate on the former and postpone discussion of the latter to section 6. Lutz follows Brandt et al. (1992), who claim that the displaced element cannot be in SpecCP because SpecCP may be occupied by a wh-phrase, and that therefore the only possibility is adjunction to CP. On the basis of this, in my view unmotivated, suggestion he proposes the structure in (13):

(13) $[_{CP}$ FOCUS$_1$ $[_{CP}$ ... t$_1$ ...]]

The argument against movement to SpecCP obviously rests in part on a confusion about the word *wann*. While in Standard German *wann* always means 'at what time', in many Bavarian varieties it is homophonous with the conditional particle *wenn* ('if').[9]

---

[9]   For instance, example (i), which is a phonetic variant of (7e), should not lead to the conclusion that the preposed XP is beyond SpecCP. The example is clearly a conditional.

(i)   [Des Bier]$_1$ wann-e   no t$_1$ trink   bin-e glei   b'suffa
      this beer   if -I   still   drink   am-I directly   drunk

Both Lutz (1997) and Weiß (1998) point to (constructed) examples in which *wann* must be interpreted as a wh-phrase, and as such should occupy SpecCP rather than C. Given that for the speaker the conditional *wenn* and the temporal *wann* may not be fully distinct due to the ambiguity of the form /van/, one would have to search for more convincing examples. The only other case that seems to be frequently attested is *wia*:

(ii)   [B 'Muatter]$_1$ wia t$_1$ des   g'heat   hot   is -s ganz   naarisch woan
       the mother   as   this   heard   has   is-she completely   furious   become
       'As/when mother heard this, she became really furious'

But in this case, *wia* is clearly not interpreted as 'in which manner' but rather as the particle 'as'. While some of the details may remain murky, there can be no doubt that whenever an unambiguously maximal wh-phrase occupies SpecCP, preposing – adjunction to CP – leads to an ungrammatical result, e.g.:

(iii) a.   *[Da Xaver]$_1$ wohı̃   t$_1$ zong   is   woaß-e ned
            the Xaver   where-to   moved   has   know-I   not
      b.   *[Da Xaver]$_1$ in wäichan   Haus t$_1$ wohnt   woaß-e ned
            the Xaver   in which   house   resides know-I   not

Therefore I think that in the cases at hand adjunction to CP is neither necessary nor desirable. The minority of examples which seem to invite such a solution are either built on misunderstand-

If trace-binding cannot take place under any other relation than c-command, as Lutz assumes, i.e., if m-command plays no role here, (13) successfully prevents the derivation of the examples in (12). On the other hand, however, the fact that (13) is confined to the left periphery of the matrix clause must still be made to follow from some other principle. Lutz briefly considers Rizzi's (1997) proposal of a more articulate structure of the left periphery of the clause in which more functional heads are available than under the received standard analyses of German in terms of CP, and he also considers Chomsky's (1995) suggestion that there may be multiple specifiers, if one head carries different features which need to be checked by different phrases. His remarks are too short to allow any firm conclusions, but they point in a promising direction as I will try to show in the following. Lutz' adjunction analysis in (13) suffers from a conceptual problem, because it leaves unexplained why only Bavarian but not Standard German too should have this construction. The conservative approach according to which movement targets SpecCP, however, connects to the well-known difference with respect to the DFCF.

The arguments that can be raised against von Stechow & Sternefeld's as well as Lutz' analyses indicate that the conservative solution in terms of movement to SpecCP may have been abandoned too quickly. What follows should be seen as an attempt to push the conservative approach as far as possible. If successful, the analysis will enable us to retain the closest possible connection between the DFC- and the top/foc-construction, because the latter will simply be an instantiation of the former.

3.   Topicalization versus Left Dislocation

It is widely known that German has left dislocation (LD), i.e., cases in which an XP seems to be left-adjoined to a V2-clause in which SpecCP hosts a pronoun that is coindexed with XP. (14) shows some examples of V2 root clauses with LD. The examples in (15) show that no TA arises here:

---

ings or should be investigated more carefully before an adjunction analysis is adopted. For instance, movement across *warum* ('why') leads to a more acceptable construction than those in (iii), but this class also shows special behavior elsewhere; cf. Rizzi (1990), Hornstein (1995) and § 3.1 of Bayer (to appear), among others.

(14) a. Den Hans$_1$, den$_1$ kennt er kaum
          the Hans   him knows he hardly
          'As for Hans, he hardly knows him'
      b. [An dieser Sonate]$_1$, [an der]$_1$ hast du bestimmt viel   Freude
          at this   sonata   at this have you certainly much   fun
          'As for this sonata, you will certainly have much fun with it'

(15) a. Ich glaube [den Hans$_1$, den$_1$ kennt   er kaum]
          I believe the Hans   him   knows   he hardly
      b. Ich glaube [[an dieser Sonate]$_1$, [an der]$_1$ hast du   bestimmt
          I believe at this sonata   at this have you   certainly
          viel   Freude]
          much fun

Topicalization in the face of embedding as in (15) is obviously possible be-
cause the V2-complement has root properties.[10] The TA-effect can, how-
ever, be witnessed in those cases in which LD applies to a C-headed CP. In
Standard German such cases are only possible with a focused resumptive
pronoun in situ. The examples in (16) and (17) demonstrate this with argu-
ment and adjunct CPs respectively. In each case, the LD-topic carries a ris-
ing contour and is separated from CP by a prosodic break, which I indicate
with a double slash:

(16) a. [Den Hans$_1$ // [daß er den$_1$ kennt]] glaube ich   nicht
          the Hans   that he him knows   believe I   not
          'As for Hans, that he knows HIM, I don't believe'
      b. *Ich glaube nicht [den Hans$_1$ // [daß er den$_1$ kennt]]

(17) a. [Den Hans$_1$ // [wenn du   den$_1$ siehst]] sag   ihm er soll   mich
          the Hans   if you him   see   tell him he should me
          anrufen
          call
          'As for Hans, if you see HIM, tell him he should call me'
      b. *Sag ihm er soll mich anrufen [den Hans$_1$ // [wenn du den$_1$ siehst]]

---

[10] Cf. Heycock (2000).

As already suggested by the prosodic break, the LD-topic must be outside SpecCP, which is expected in those varieties of German which respect the DFCF. This impression is corroborated by the fact that such constructions are not possible with quantified NPs (QNPs) in LD-position which cannot receive a referential interpretation. QNPs which give clear results are those which involve the operators *jeder* ('each') *kein* ('no'):

(18) a. *[Jeden/keinen   Studenten$_1$ // [daß er den$_1$ kennt]] glaube ich nicht
         each/no   student   that he him knows believe I   not
     b. *[Jeden/keinen   Studenten$_1$ // [wenn du   den$_1$ siehst]] dann sag
         each/no   student   if   you him   see   then tell
         ihm er   soll   mich anrufen
         him he   should   me   call

Although the LD-examples from Standard German show the TA, the Bavarian topicalizations under consideration are different in showing neither the prosodic break nor the semantic restriction nor the resumptive pronoun. We have already seen that the Bavarian examples which give rise to TA do not invoke resumptive pronouns. There is also no indication of a prosodic break. According to prosodic information, the topic is entirely part of the CP proper. The following examples show that QNPs can be topicalized too:

(19) a. Neamad$_1$ wenn t$_1$ kummt, no   is-s   aa   ned   recht
         nobody   if   comes   then is-it also   not   good
         'If nobody shows up at all, it isn't ok either'
     b. A jeder$_1$ daß t$_1$ so deppert is glaub   -e ned[11]
         a everyone that   so stupid   is believe -I not
         'I don't think that everybody is that stupid'

Thus, the construction is distinguished from LD by three factors: prosody, lack of a resumptive pronoun, and the semantic nature of the topic. It can be no accident that according to this list the *Vorfeld* patterns exactly with the Bavarian topics:

---

[11]   The fact that there is an indefinite determiner in front of *jeder* does not affect the semantics. In Bavarian the use of determiners is in general much more widespread and obligatory than in the standard language.

(20) a. [Den Hans$_1$ (??//) [kennt er t$_1$ nicht]]   NO PROSODIC BREAK
 the Hans   knows he   not

 b. [Den Hans$_1$ [kennt er (*ihn$_1$) nicht]] NO RESUMPTIVE PRONOUN
 the Hans   knows he (him)   not

 c. [Jeden/keinen Studenten$_1$ [kennt er t$_1$]]   NO REFERENTIALITY RESTRICTION
 each /no   student   knows he

I take this to be strong evidence that the Bavarian topics which give rise to TA are indeed in SpecCP and not in a higher position such as an LD-position.

4. Emphatic Topicalization as an Indicator of Illocutionary Force

We have seen above that both the notions topic and focus may be slightly confusing in connection with the construction under consideration. The preposed element must bear stress but seems to be neutral with respect to topicality or focushood in the semantic sense. What is the common feature that is shared by all the elements that undergo such preposing into SpecCP? I want to suggest here that it is *emphasis*, and that the proper notion should be "emphatic topicalization", where "topicalization" simply refers to the fact that the effect of emphasis is achieved by preposing to SpecCP. I admit that emphasis – or more appropriately *Erregung* ('excitement') in Behaghel's term – is not a well-defined notion in linguistic theory, as it can be achieved by a variety of grammatical means. Nevertheless it seems to be true that this form of topicalization is the grammar's reflex of the speech act to be performed and is as such on a par with German constructions involving modal particles like *aber, denn, doch, ja*, etc. Modal particles supply features which interact with other features such as [wh], yielding a wide range of illocutionary forces.[12] As Doherty (1985: 64) points out, modal particles are root clause indicators of illocutionary force or, in her terminology, epistemic meaning. Embedded clauses which are modified in this way lead to illform-

---

[12] Cf. Bayer (1991) and Hasegawa (1999). The special properties of root clauses were, of course, noticed very early; cf. Emonds (1969), Hooper & Thompson (1973) for English and Heycock (2000) for an overview that covers various Germanic languages.

edness unless the root predicate is a verb (e.g. of speaking) that permits a quotational reading:

(21) a. Konrad ist {ja / doch} verreist
        Konrad is PRT / PRT traveled-away
        'Konrad is out of town'
     b. *Nina   nimmt an, daß Konrad   {ja   / doch} verreist   ist
         Nina   assumes   that Konrad   PRT / PRT traveled-away   is
     c. Nina {sagte / meinte},   daß Konrad {ja /doch} verreist sei
        Nina said /gave the opinion that Konrad   ... ...   be_{subj}

Obviously, particles like *ja* and *doch* are indicators of an attitudinal meaning that cannot be activated unless the particle has access to a root(like) clause. According to Cinque's (1998) universal hierarchy of functional heads which provide positions for adverbs, the highest projection is reserved for speech act indicators.

   If emphatic topicalization belongs to the class of grammatical means of force projection in the sense of Rizzi (1997), its root clause property and strict left peripherality are not surprising. (22) shows that a V2-clause with emphatic topicalization can be in the scope of a manner-of-speaking predicate just like the complement with a modal particle in (21c).

(22) B'Fanny hot g'moant [[da Hans ob   kummt] wissat   i ned]
     the Fanny has thought the Hans whethercomes   knew_{subj} I not
     'Fanny uttered the opinion that as for Hans I wouldn't know whether he would show up'

Thus, although it seems to be difficult to elucidate the semantics and pragmatics of emphasis and emphatic topicalization, it seems equally clear that the syntax reserves for them a specific space in phrase structure. If we adopt the view that this space is defined by a functional head, the head responsible for emphatic topicalization must be to the extreme left. In the next section I will develop an account which specifies the activation of emphasis by topicalization to SpecCP. The relevant feature will be dubbed [etop].

5.   The Syntactic Nature of Emphatic Topicalization

5.1   The Feature [etop]

If we want to push the conservative approach of movement to SpecCP to its limits, we have to assume a feature in C to which a phrase from within the clause is moved to check a corresponding feature. A phrase which bears the feature [etop] is moved to C if the language permits C to bear the feature [etop] too. The DFC-phenomenon of Bavarian syntax shows that something similar is independently needed if we want to keep to the widely accepted analysis according to which a wh-phrase may move to SpecCP although the C-position is filled with a complementizer. Recall that neither wh-movement to SpecCP nor emphatic topicalization is allowed in the standard language if C is lexicalized. Let me therefore propose a low-level parametric difference between Standard German and Bavarian according to which the complementizers of Bavarian may bear the features [wh] and [etop], whereas the complementizers of the standard language cannot.[13] As we were able to demonstrate in (16) and (17), the standard language does show emphatic topicalization, thus giving rise to the TA-effect. The difference is that the topicalized phrase cannot have been moved to SpecCP as shown by various tests. The topicalized phrase seems to be adjoined to CP. From a Minimalist perspective it is more plausible to assume a spec-head relation in this case too, albeit one in which the feature [etop] is associated with a zero head.[14] This form of emphatic topicalization can also be used in Bavarian. Let me therefore suggest that the feature [etop] may be associated with a zero head in all varieties of German, whereas it can be associated with a class of overt complementizers only in Bavarian. This class of complementizers consists of *daß, ob, wenn/wann, wia* and *bai* (corresponding to *daß, ob, wenn/wann, wie* and *sobald* in the standard language). These elements

---

[13]   Within Rizzi's (1991) Criterion approach one could say that Bavarian complementizers are either positively or negatively specified for [wh] and [etop], whereas those of the standard language are always negatively specified for these features. Here I assume that there are only positive specifications of features. Negative specification amounts to the absence of a feature, which means that no checking can take place.

[14]   Notice that in the embedded clause of Standard German a wh-phrase moves to SpecCP whose head C must be zero.

are lexically compatible with the feature [etop] such that this feature may be added in the numeration or not; *daß* may in addition be enriched with the feature [wh]. If *daß* is endowed with [wh], a wh-phrase will move toward SpecCP, checking its wh-feature against *daß*. If *daß, ob, wenn/wann, wia* and *bai* are endowed with [etop], an etop-phrase will move toward SpecCP checking its etop-feature against the respective head. The parametric difference that exists between Bavarian and Standard German with respect to the DFCF is summarized in table 1, in which we adopt the convention that α and β can freely adopt the values + or –.[15]

	Standard German	**Bavarian**
$\varnothing$	αwh, βetop	αwh, βetop
daß	-	αwh, βetop
ob	-	αetop
wenn/wann	-	αetop
wie	-	αetop
(so)bald	-	αetop

Tab. 1

Table 1 determines that both Standard German and Bavarian allow sentences in which the wh-phrase corresponds to no overt head. Both varieties equally allow constructions such as those in (16a) and (17a). According to the present proposal, (16a) has the partial structure in (23), in which the etop layer is completely above CP:[16]

(23)   [$_{etopP}$ den Hans$_1$ [$_{etop'}$ [$_{etop}$ $\varnothing$] [$_{CP}$ daß er den$_1$ kennt]]] ...

---

[15]   In terms of the present theory, the minus value amounts to the absence of the feature; thus, to say that *daß* is [βetop] is a way of saying that *daß* can bear the feature [etop] or not.

[16]   The question here is how the feature [etop] can be checked in this case. There being a pronoun in situ, it is not plausible to assume that the left-dislocated phrase is moved. It rather seems to be base-generated where we see it. It remains to be shown how it acquires its Case and how it can be subject to feature checking for the feature [etop]. I have to leave these questions for future research. One reviewer suggests that [*Den Fritz$_1$* [*wer* t$_1$ *kennt*]] *weiß ich nicht* (the Fritz$_{acc}$ who knows, know I not) is grammatical in certain varieties of Bavarian. In my speech it clearly is not. The only grammatical option for me would be to resort to the resumptive pronoun strategy as in [*Den Fritz$_1$* [$\varnothing$ [*wer **den**$_1$ kennt*]] *weiß ich nicht*.

Bavarian *ob, wenn/wann, wie* and (*so*)*bald* are incompatible with a wh-feature, but are compatible with an etop-feature.[17] This amounts to structures in which CP coincides with EtopP, the emphatically topicalized phrase now being in SpecCP/SpecEtopP. Example (3a) then receives the partial structural description in (24):

(24) [CP/etopP da Xaver₁ [C'/etop' [C/etop daß] [IP t₁ an Mantl kafft hot]]] ...

With respect to the feature [etop] the rest of the set of complementizers seen in table 1 behaves accordingly in Bavarian.

5.2   Feature Combination and Wh-Scope

The feature specification of Bavarian *daß* seen in table 1 suggests that α and β may choose the positive value simultaneously. The result would be an emphatic wh-construction. Given that in Bavarian both [etop] and [wh] can be associated with SpecCP and the moved phrase binds a trace (and not a resumptive pronoun as in the LD-cases), no semantic conflict with the non-referentiality of a wh-phrase is expected. As example (25) shows, the combination of the features [etop] and [wh] indeed leads to a well-formed result. The emphatic nature of the question is signaled by stress and is indicated here with capital letters on the wh-phrase:

(25)   [WER₁ [daß [t₁ sein Hund ned fiadat]]]₂   hot-a   g'moant t₂?
        who   that   his   dog   not   feeds   has-he   meant
        'WHO did he think does not feed his dog?'

This example differs from cases of regular wh-movement in interesting ways.[18] Notice first that according to the conservative approach which I am

---

[17]   As Hoekstra (1993) points out, there are Dutch dialects in which the corresponding interrogative complementizer *of* is compatible with the wh-feature. Since *ob* and *of* are interrogative, a more fine-grained distinction would have to distinguish between [+interr, –wh] for all German varieties and Standard Dutch and [+interr, +wh] for the Dutch dialects Hoekstra describes.

[18]   Regular wh-movement would be as in (i):

(i) [Wer₁ [hot [-a   g'moant [t₁' [daß [t₁ sein   Hund ned   fiadat]]]]]]?
   *who   has-he   thought   that   his   dog   not   feeds*

trying to defend here, the wh-phrase has not been moved into the root clause; it rather remains part of an embedded CP which has undergone movement to SpecCP of the root clause. As it stands, it is not at all obvious why the entire clause should be an interrogative. But notice that it *has* to be an interrogative. If it were an assertion, it could never be grammatical. The reason is that the attitude verb *moana* ('mean', 'think') is incompatible with a wh-complement as seen in the ungrammaticality of **Er hot g'moant* [*wer daß sein Hund ned fiadat*] ('*He thought who does not feed his dog'). Indeed, (25) turns into an ungrammatical declarative as soon as the stress on the wh-element is removed and shifted elsewhere, e.g. to *Hund* as in (26):

(26) *[Wer₁ [daß [t₁ sein HUND ned fiadat]]] hot-a g'moant?
      who   that   his   dog   not feeds   has-he   meant
      'He thought who does not feed his dog?'

The topicalized CP is then interpreted in its pre-movement position, and wh-scope gets activated in this lower position and not at all in the root. Thus, somehow (25) must be such that the wh-operator has scope over the entire clause. We have the interesting situation that the wh-phrase reaches matrix scope without moving into the matrix itself. Wh-scope is rather obtained by a combination of CP pied-piping and stress on the wh-phrase. I would like to suggest here that this is due precisely to the fact that the wh-phrase may in addition to [wh] carry the feature [etop]. If emphatic topicalization is a root phenomenon as we have argued in section 4, and if the phrase which gives rise to emphatic topicalization is itself a wh-phrase, we expect matrix wh-scope. However, the missing link is still to understand how [etop] and [wh] can be activated in the root clause without the phrases which carry these features actually moving there. To fill this gap, I will in the next section develop an account in terms of pied-piping which will also enable us to give an explanation of the TA-effect.

Notice that (25) is not an echo question. The topicalized clause is subordinated, and the wh-phrase is in SpecCP. This is normally not the constellation which allows an echo interpretation. Thanks to Susanne Trissler for pointing this out to me.

5.3   Pied-Piping[19]

We can substantiate the claim that [etop] is a root feature by considering re-
cent proposals as to a more fine-grained articulation of the C-system. Ac-
cording to Rizzi (1997), the C-system is "the interface between proposi-
tional content (expressed by the IP) and the superordinate structure (a higher
clause or, possibly, the articulation of discourse, if we consider a root
clause)." The structure proposed by Rizzi is given in (27):[20]

(27)   [$_{ForceP}$ …[$_{Force°}$ [$_{TopP*}$…[$_{Top°}$ [$_{FocP}$…[$_{Foc°}$ [$_{TopP*}$ …[$_{Top°}$ [$_{FinP}$ …[$_{Fin°}$ IP]]]]]]]]]]

Most relevant for our concern is the suggestion that ForceP is the highest
projection of the clause. If emphasis is a pragmatic feature that can be im-
posed on the primary illocutionary force of the utterance, its place in ForceP
is expected. There is an important difference, however, between the features
that are subsumed under Force. The quote from Rizzi (1997) suggests that in
a subordinate clause the highest projection of the C-system mediates be-
tween the subordinate clause and its minimally superordinate clause, while
in a root clause the highest projection of the C-system mediates between the
root clause and the discourse. Closer scrutiny reveals, however, that force in
the narrower sense of speech act theory can only be the latter.[21] Imperatives,
exclamatives, etc. are generally not selected by predicates but depend di-
rectly on discourse.[22] Assuming that [etop] is part of the force features asso-
ciated with the C-system, we expect feature checking by movement to
SpecCP (or in Standard German to the specifier of a separate projection for

---

[19] Thanks to reviewer 2 for helping me remove certain unclear formulations in this section w.r.t. the
role of features in the derivations I propose. My proposal is certainly not fully compatible with
standard minimalist assuptions in Chomsky (1995). For lack of space I cannot discuss the differ-
ences here.

[20] This phrase structure has mainly been developed to account for word order data in Italian and
French. The asterisk on TopP indicates that TopP can be iterated.

[21] For wh-sentences a sharp distinction has to be drawn between the formal feature [wh] and the
contentive feature for interrogativity. Various clause types which are subsumed under [wh] have
nothing to do with interrogativity. There are likewise interrogatives which appear in declarative
mood (with rising intonation). Clear examples are also root yes/no questions, which differ for-
mally from their embedded counterparts which are introduced by a complementizer such as *if* or
whether (German *ob*).

[22] As has been pointed out in the text already (cf. section 4), the complexity of the issue is enhanced
by the fact that certain predicates in German permit V2-complements which may show root
properties. But it is debatable whether we are dealing with genuine subordination in these cases.

a left-dislocated e-topic above C). If we are right in assuming that [etop] is a root feature, the result of such simplex movement does not yield a grammatical output as long as the CP in which this movement takes place is not identical with the root clause. The examples in (4), which have the structure seen in (28), are such that emphatic topicalization has taken place in the embedded CP, while the root clause remains unaffected.

(28)

rootCP

$CP_{[etop]}$

XP_1

[etop]

$C'_{[etop]}$

$C_{[etop]\text{ -int}}$

IP

t_1
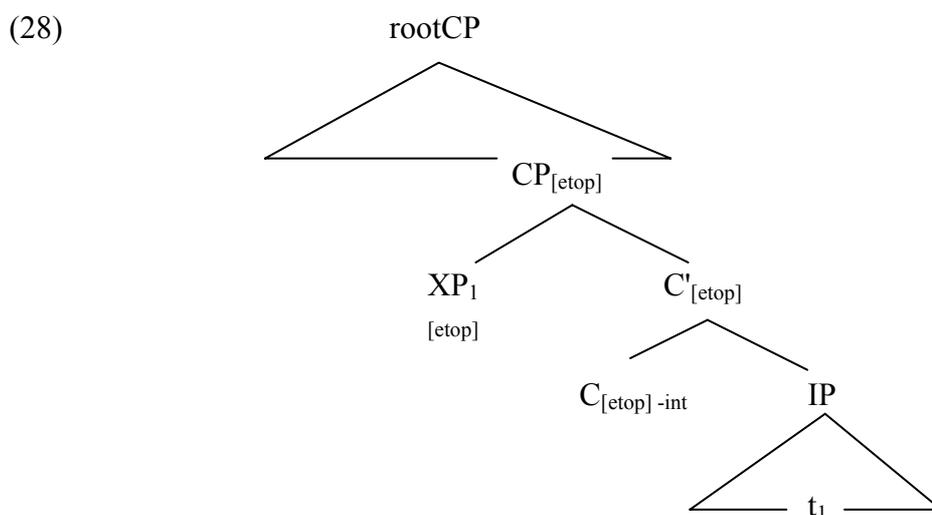
The feature [etop] resides in C° and therefore projects to C' and CP, but no further. An important question is this: If [etop] is a root feature which arguably has interpretive import, why should it be part of the feature structure of C? In my view, the answer must be that [etop] cannot be an interpretable feature in C. This makes it similar to a moved wh-phrase in a non-root clause of a partial-movement construction where we also find a wh-phrase in a position in which its wh-feature cannot be interpretable.[23] I assume that [etop] is a formal feature that may be freely inserted in C, be it interpretable

---

[23]   (i)   Was glaubst du [**wen** ich gesehen habe]
                 what believe you whom I seen   have
                 'Who do you believe I have seen?'
    (ii)   *Du glaubst [**wen** ich gesehen habe]

(i) shows that wh has moved to SpecCP of the embedded clause, although it cannot be interpreted there, as suggested by the ill-formedness of (ii). Obviously the wh-part has to be attracted by the root wh-element because only there can it be interpreted.

there or uninterpretable. Once in C, [etop] will attract XP for checking, a process after which XP loses its corresponding feature. This process leaves the embedded CP with the feature [etop] which is likewise uninterpretable because it resides in a constituent distinct from the force system associated with the root clause. In order to activate [etop] in the root clause, the embedded CP has to move to the specifier of the root clause. This leads to the grammatical output seen in the examples in (3), the structure of which is given in (29):

(29)

rootCP$_{[etop]}$

CP$_{[etop]}$ C'$_{[etop]}$

C$_{[etop]\,+int}$ IP

V$_{fin}$ ... t$_{CP}$
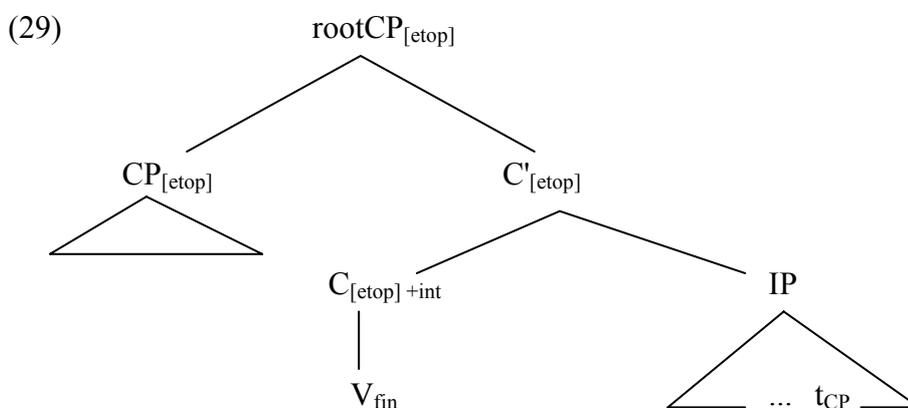
The requirement that [etop] be a root feature has been met here by pied-piping the entire CP (which already bears the so far uninterpretable feature [etop]) to the specifier of the root CP. Since force can only be associated with the root-CP (or its equivalent in a quasi-quotative context), checking the [+etop] CP against the head C$_{[etop]}$ leads to the feature's interpretability. In the head of the root CP, [etop] has become part of the force system in the same way as wh may have become part of interrogative force in a root-question.

This analysis, which I believe is the only feasible one, leads to two questions in connection with the minimalist theory I am subscribing to. The first question is how pied-piping should be possible at all after the phrase marked [etop] has been checked against the complementizer of the embedded clause. The second question is why instead of the minimal phrase marked [etop] the entire CP should move, i.e., why pied-piping should be allowed, if the same effect could be achieved by movement of a smaller phrase. Let me try to answer these questions in the following two sections.

5.3.1   How is Pied-Piping Possible?

According to our assumptions, the movement seen in (28) is motivated by feature checking: Both C and XP bear the feature [etop], and XP will get rid of [etop] as soon as it is in SpecCP. As a result, it is now the embedded CP which bears the feature [etop]. This feature cannot be interpreted, however, unless it is the feature of a root CP. Assume now that [etop] may also be part of the feature complex associated with the head of the root CP. This is the place to which the finite verb moves. We know that the V2 property is strongly connected to clausal typing: Imperatives, yes/no interrogatives and conditionals in German rely on I-to-C movement, and obviously the feature of wh-clauses which specifies the ForceP for interrogativity is also dependent on I-to-C. I take this as a motivation for proposing the principle in (30), which makes our earlier assumption that emphatic topicalization is a root phenomenon more precise:

(30)   [etop] cannot be interpreted unless it is part of the featural complex associated with [$_C$ I].

The *Principle of Full Interpretation* (Chomsky 1986b) dictates that any information that remains in a representation be interpretable. As we saw, [etop] in the *daß*-CP is not. Thus, the *daß*-CP has to undergo movement to the specifier of the root CP (which is headed by the raised V+I). This kind of process is familiar: In the course of the derivation the formal features are deleted up to interpretability. If we are right, movement can be triggered by purely formal requirements before the final step is reached in which [etop] – now being interpretable – remains.

5.3.2   Why Pied-Piping?

The next question that needs to be answered is why the pied-piping option can be chosen if the same effect could be achieved by simply moving the phrase which primarily bears the feature [etop] to the specifier of the root CP.[24] Notice that roughly the same semantic effect as in (3) can be achieved by simply moving the e-topic phrase alone.

---

[24]   I am not aware of an economy principle that favors the movement of small constituents over the movement of larger constituents of the same syntactic type, but it is not unlikely that such a prin-

(31) a. Da Xaver$_1$ hot   neamad glaubt   [daß t$_1$ an Mantl   kafft   hot]
          the Xaver has   nobody believed that   a coat   bought has
          'As for Xaver, nobody believed that he bought a coat'
      b. An Mantl$_1$ hot neamad glaubt   [daß da   Xaver t$_1$ kafft   hot]
          a coat   has nobody believed that the   Xaver   bought has
          'As for a coat, nobody believed that Xaver bought one'
      c. Da Hans$_1$ woaß-e ned   [ob   t$_1$ kummt]
          the Hans know-I not   whether   comes
          'As for Hans, I don't know whether he will come'
      d. An Fünfer$_1$ häid-e ned g'moant [daß-e   t$_1$ kriag]
          a five   had-I not   thought that-I   get
          'As for grade five, I didn't think I would get one'

If pied-piping is a last-resort operation that applies in avoidance of a viola-
tion of principles of grammar, we would expect (31) rather than (3). Why is
it then that both options exist? One reason might be that pied-piping enables
us to apply emphatic topicalization even in cases in which movement of the
smaller XP would be blocked by the *Adjunct Condition*. This can be seen in
the difference between (32a) (which is identical to (5a)) and (32b):

(32) a. Da Xaver$_1$ wenn   t$_1$ hoam kummt kriagt-a   wos   z'
          the Xaver   if   home comes   gets -he   something   to
          essn
          eat
          'As for Xaver, if he comes home, he will get something to eat'
      b. *Da Xaver$_1$ kriagt(-a) wos   z' essn [wenn   t$_1$ hoam
           the Xaver gets (-he) something to eat   if   home
          kummt]
          comes

Under the present theory, pied-piping of the adjunct clause as seen in (32a)
could be seen as an option which is chosen if direct movement of the critical
XP (here *da Xaver*) would violate the restriction against movement from ad-
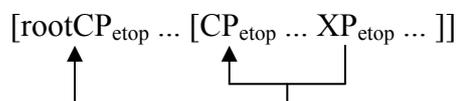junct clauses. But even then, the question remains as to why the pied-piping

---

ciple could play a role in considerations of derivational economy. A principle like that could be
seen as a natural extension of the idea that covert movement or feature movement be preferred
over move-alpha.

option may still be chosen where XP-movement is legitimate, as is the case in the examples in (31). My suggestion is that the difference between (3) and (31) rests on a difference in the numerations with which the respective derivations start. In examples of type (3), in which we see pied-piping, the complementizer of the embedded CP bears the feature [etop], which, however, cannot be interpreted in this position whence the entire CP undergoes movement to the left periphery of the root CP. The difference in the numeration underlying examples of type (31) is that the complementizer of the embedded CP does not bear the feature [etop]; only the C-position of the root CP does. As a consequence, XP does not move for checking to the specifier of the CP which minimally contains it. It rather moves directly to the specifier of the root CP to check the feature [etop]. In order to make this possible we must assume the operation *Form Chain*, which has been suggested by Chomsky & Lasnik (1993).[25] This operation is distinct from move-alpha because under the *Form Chain* approach, long movement may rest on a single instance of movement, independent locality conditions (such as *Minimal Links*) taking care of the well-formedness of the resulting chain. The difference between direct movement of XP to SpecCP of the root clause and movement of the embedded CP to SpecCP of the root clause by pied-piping then boils down to a difference in the respective numerations underlying the derivations, which can be described as in (33):

(33) a. The *Form Chain* option

$$[\text{rootCP}_{etop} \ ... \ [\text{CP} \ ... \ \text{XP}_{etop} \ ... \ ]]$$

b. The *Pied-Piping* option

$$[\text{rootCP}_{etop} \ ... \ [\text{CP}_{etop} \ ... \ \text{XP}_{etop} \ ... \ ]]$$
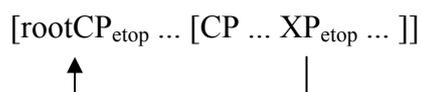
One may ask why XP cannot move out of the lower CP and directly move on to the root CP such that pied-piping would still be avoided, despite the difference in terms of numerations. There is a theoretical as well as an em-

---

[25] Reprinted as chapter 1 of Chomsky (1995); see p. 44.

pirical answer. The theoretical answer is that once XP has checked its feature against [etop] in C, it becomes inert for further movement as conditioned by [etop]. The empirical answer is that whenever movement of XP to SpecYP is observed, further movement of XP (to SpecZP) appears to be blocked. Since Ross (1967) this has been known as the *Freezing Effect*.[26] Movement of the domain in which XP-movement has taken place is widely attested, however. In the present account this is expected since the feature that functions as the "checker" may still remain active in the sense that it must undergo movement itself in order to reach a position at which it can attain full interpretation. If we are right in arguing that emphatic topicalization is a root phenomenon, pied-piping of CP to the specifier of the root clause is a way of satisfying the semantic needs of the feature [etop].

5.3.3 Recursive Pied-Piping

Grewendorf (1988:256) observes that emphatic topicalization may apply recursively. His example is given in (34). According to our theory, it has the derivation seen in (35a) through (35d):

(34) Da Peter daß bled   is, daß-e g'sagt hom soi,   is glatt   g'long
      the Peter that stupid is that-I said have should is straightly lied
      'As for Peter, it is a straight lie that should have said that he is stupid'

(35) a. [$_{CP}$ is glatt g'long [$_{CP}$ daß-e g'sagt hom soi [$_{CP}$ daß da Peter bled is]]]
      b. [$_{CP}$ is glatt g'long [$_{CP}$ daß-e g'sagt hom soi [$_{CP}$ da Peter$_1$ daß t$_1$ bled is]]]
      c. [$_{CP}$ is glatt g'long [$_{CP}$ [$_{CP}$ da Peter$_1$ daß t$_1$ bled is]$_2$ daß-e g'sagt hom soi t$_2$]]
      d. [$_{CP}$ [$_{CP}$ [$_{CP}$ da Peter$_1$ daß t$_1$ bled is]$_2$ daß-e g'sagt hom soi t$_2$]$_3$ is glatt g'long t$_3$]

---

[26] See also more recent considerations of the *Freezing Effect* in Müller (1997) and Bayer (1999). With respect to semantics, the clearest effect of freezing is the scope of operators. Once an operator has reached a scope position, its scope can never be altered. For details see Bayer (1996) as well as Bayer & Grosu (2000).

The derivation is driven by repeated checking of the feature [etop], which is attributed to C in each cycle. Since [etop] can only be interpreted at the root CP, the process of topicalization must carry on until the root is reached. The steps (35a) through (35c) cannot surface because the feature [etop] cannot be interpreted yet; only (35d) can.

In section 2 we have seen that emphatic topicalization is allowed in certain adjunct clauses. The example in (36) shows that recursive pied-piping may also apply under the involvement of adjuncts of this type:

(36) An Fünfer daß-e   kriagt   hob wenn der   Vater   ned   merkt
     a five   that-I   gotten   have if   the   father   not   notices
     bin-e froh
     am-I happy
     'As for grade five, I am happy, if father does not notice that I've gotten one'

The recursivity observed in constructions like (34) and (36) strongly supports the analysis in terms of pied-piping of CP.

5.3.4 Free Ride

Example (25) has demonstrated that the scope of [wh] can be extended to the root CP, although – according to my proposal – the wh-phrase remains in the specifier of the embedded CP. The example is repeated here for convenience:

(25) [WER$_1$ [daß [t$_1$ sein Hund ned   fiadat]]]$_2$ hot-a   g'moant t$_2$?
     who   that   his   dog   not   feeds   has-he   meant
     'WHO did he think does not feed his dog?'

The embedded CP is headed by *daß*. Since this CP is selected by a verb which is incompatible with a wh-complement, *daß* can be assumed to lack a wh-feature. On the other hand it may contain the feature [etop]. If the wh-phrase *wer* is marked [wh, etop], it will move to SpecCP$_{etop}$ giving [wh] a "free ride" (cf. Chomsky 1995). The embedded CP is now marked [wh, etop] and will move on to the specifier of the root CP, where the feature [etop] can be interpreted. Under the realistic assumption that the features [etop] and [wh] do not exclude each other, the root CP can in addition bear

the feature [wh]. Thus, if the head of the root CP is marked [wh], the relevant part of the raised CP's representation can appear in reconstructed position in such a way that the wh-part of *wer* is stripped off, essentially leaving an indefinite. Thus, wh-scope has been obtained by pied-piping the embedded CP due to a feature that is entirely independent of the feature [wh]. We see a property of the system here which I think speaks favorably for the modular character of a grammar in which semantic effects may be achieved as a consequence of morphosyntactic necessity.

6.   Parasitic Gaps

Let me finally consider parasitic gaps (PG) as briefly introduced above by example (10), which is repeated here:

(10) An   Karl$_1$ wenn-e t$_1$ dawisch daschlog-e e$_1$
      the   Karl$_{acc}$ if   -I   get   kill   -I
      'If I get hold of Karl, I'll kill him'

As Lutz (1997) notes, it is unclear how the PG e$_1$ can be licensed if its binder – the emphatically topicalized phrase – remains in SpecCP of the topicalized clause. This seems to challenge the analysis we have presented above. In the rest of this article, I want to sketch a solution that preserves the present analysis while removing the observed incompatibility.

Let me start with an observation from Bayer (1988) about the Bavarian PG-constructions which I take to be of central importance for an adequate account. As the minimal pair in (37) shows, the presence of the resumptive adverb *dann* ('then') destroys the licensing of the PG. (37a) is grammatical because of the presence of the clitic pronoun *-n* (which is the reduced form of German *ihn*). The PG-construction in (37b), in which we see a gap instead of the clitic pronoun, is, however, sharply ungrammatical:

(37)a.   An   Karl$_1$ wenn-e t$_1$ dawisch dann daschlog-e -n$_1$
        the   Karl$_{acc}$ if   -I   get   then kill   -I -him
        'If I get hold of Karl, then I'll kill him'

b.   *An Karl$_1$ wenn-e t$_1$ dawisch dann daschlog-e e$_1$

As I have argued in Bayer (1988), the primary licensing of the PG can therefore not be due to the topicalized phrase in the preposed CP, but must be connected to the position in which the element *dann* occurs. This leads us to the account suggested in Contreras (1984) and Chomsky (1986a), according to which the PG is bound by a null operator (OP), and there is a process of chain composition as indicated by the dotted line in (38):

(38)   XP$_1$ ... t$_1$ ... [OP$_2$ ... e$_2$ ...]   where 1 = 2

Applied to (37b), the argument would be that if the position for OP is occupied by *dann*, the PG (e$_2$) remains unbound.

The examples in (19) have shown that a quantified NP can be moved to SpecCP by emphatic topicalization. The failure of binding which was observed in (12) demonstrates that the QNP is not in a position "high enough" for c-commanding the pronoun which could be a potential variable. The examples are repeated here:

(19) a. Neamad$_1$ wenn t$_1$ kummt, no   is-s   aa   ned   recht
          nobody   if   comes   then is-it   also   not   good
          'If nobody shows up at all, it isn't ok either'

      b. A jeder$_1$ daß t$_1$ so deppert is glaub   -e ned
          a everyone that   so stupid   is believe -I not
          'I don't think that everybody is that stupid'

(12) a. *Kõa Mensch$_1$ wenn t$_1$ b'suffa is foit   eam$_1$ wos
          no   man   if   drunk   is falls   him   something
          g'scheids   eɪ˜
          useful   in
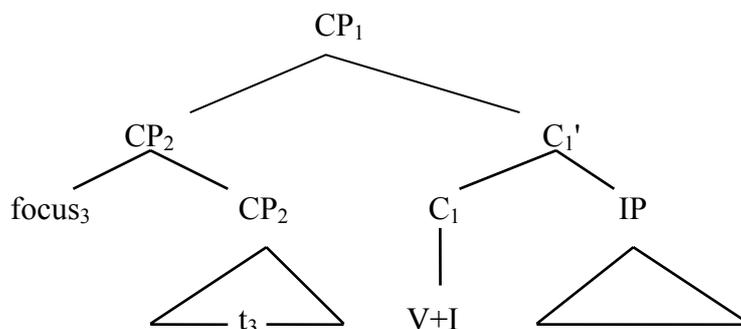   intended: 'Nobody has good ideas when he is drunk'

b. *A   jeder Mensch$_1$ wenn t$_1$ niachdan is   foit   eam$_1$ wos
  a   every *man   if   sober   is   falls him something*
g'scheids eı̃
useful   in
intended: 'Everyone has good ideas when he is sober'

In spite of emphatic topicalization, the scope of the QNP is confined to the minimal clause from which it has been moved. This is exactly what the theory presented so far makes us expect. But consider now the following examples of PG-constructions with QNPs, which are taken from Lutz (1997):
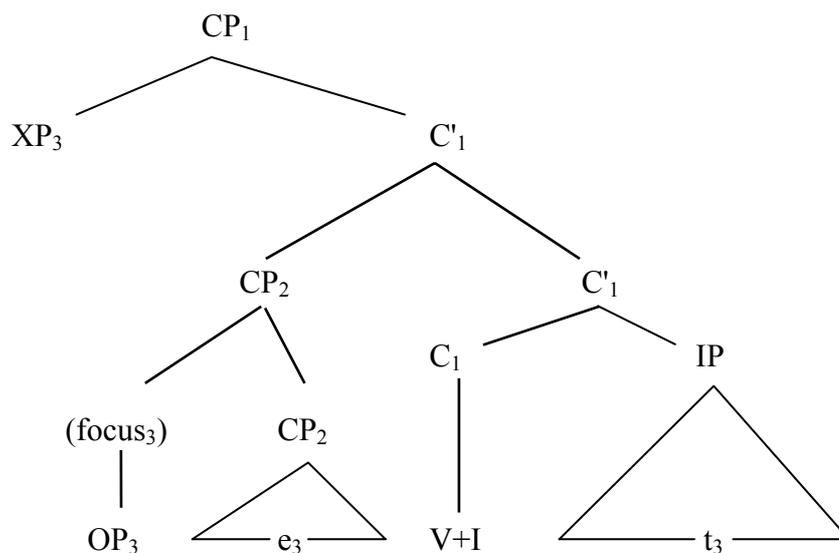
(39) a. A jeda   Hund t$_1$ wann t$_1$ seı̃   Fuada   kriagt   wedelt e$_1$
    a every dog   when   his   food   gets   wags
mit'n   Schwanz
with-the tail
'Every dog, when it gets food, wags its tail'

b. Kõa Hund t$_1$ wenn t$_1$ g'schlong wead   traut   se   e$_1$
no   dog   when beaten   becomes ventures REFL
no   amoi zur   Tür reı̃
yet   once to-the   door in
'No dog, if beaten, dares to enter the door once again'

As Lutz observes, the QNP now has scope over the matrix clause, a fact which at first sight seems to be in blatant conflict with our suggestion that the QNP is an emphatic topic which is in the specifier of the topicalized adjunct CP. This conflict has led Lutz to propose different phrase structures for the PG-construction and for what he calls the "focus construction" (cf. (13) above). These two constructions are shown in (40):

(40)   a. The focus construction according to Lutz (1997)

```
                          CP₁
                  ╱              ╲
               CP₂                C₁'
            ╱      ╲            ╱      ╲
      focus₃       CP₂       C₁        IP
                   ╱  ╲       │       ╱  ╲
                  ╱ t₃ ╲     V+I     ╱    ╲
                 ╱_____╲           ╱_____╲
```

b. The PG-construction according to Lutz (1997)

```
                       CP₁
                ╱              ╲
             XP₃                C'₁
                           ╱           ╲
                        CP₂              C'₁
                      ╱    ╲          ╱      ╲
                     ╱      ╲       C₁        IP
               (focus₃)    CP₂      │       ╱    ╲
                  │        ╱  ╲    V+I     ╱      ╲
                 OP₃      ╱ e₃ ╲          ╱  t₃    ╲
                         ╱_____╲        ╱_____╲
```

For reasons I cannot discuss here, Lutz assumes that in the PG-construction
the PG is in the adjunct clause, and the actual trace is in the matrix clause
(see also note 6). He remains neutral as to the attachment of XP_3 and CP_2,
which I represent here as part of a multiple specifier construction for merely
expository reasons. It is important for Lutz to express the fact that the left-
most XP c-commands both the PG and the real gap. He manages to retain a
connection with the construction in (40a) by postulating an empty operator
(OP) in the position where normally the emphatically topicalized (in Lutz'

terminology "focus") phrase is found. The adjunct CP must somehow be in the left periphery. Otherwise examples like those in (41) – which are modeled after (39) – would be expected to be grammatical not only with a pronoun (here with the clitic -*a* for 'he') but also with a gap (here e_1):

(41) a. A jeda   Hund$_1$ wedelt –   wann-{ a$_1$ /*e$_1$} seı̃ Fuada kriagt –
         a every dog   wags   if   it   his food gets
         t$_1$ mit'n   Schwanz
            with-the tail

   b. Kõa Hund$_1$ traut   se   – wenn-{a$_1$ /*e$_1$} g'schlong wead –
      no   dog ventures REFL   when it   beaten   become
      t$_1$ no   amoi zur   Tür reĩ
         yet   once to-the   door in

(41a,b) show that the adjunct clause can be used parenthetically, but never under the condition of PG-licensing. How would the left-peripherality of the adjunct clause in the PG-construction follow if the structure were as in (40b), i.e., if the adjunct were essentially a parenthetical? My suggestion is to keep the parenthetical constructions in (41) apart and account for the PG-construction by deviating as little as possible from the general analysis according to which the emphatically topicalized XP remains in the specifier of the adjunct CP.

In order to do this, I return to an analysis of the PG-construction that has been proposed by Huybregts & van Riemsdijk (1985). These authors suggest analyzing PG-constructions in terms of an *Across the Board* (ATB) rule application. ATB rule application has been intended for coordinate constructions.[27] An application to the PG-phenomenon requires two things: Firstly, the clauses from which simultaneous leftward movement takes place must conform to the parallelism that normally holds in coordinate constructions, and secondly, there must be independent evidence that the hypotactic construction resembles or can be reanalyzed as a paratactic construction.[28] Parallelism as observed in the Dutch and English cases Huybregts & van Riemsdijk had in mind is clearly given in the Bavarian cases too. The

---

[27]   Cf. Williams (1978).
[28]   For the kind of reanalysis required here, Huybregts & van Riemsdijk (1985:10) have coined the term "insubordination".

grammaticality difference between (37a) and (37b) shows that the PG has to be bound by a null operator. If it is bound by a null operator, the emphatically topicalized XP and its trace form a parallel chain. As to the second requirement, there is evidence that the conditional introduced by *wenn*, which forms the core of the Bavarian PG-constructions, shows signs of parataxis.[29] If I was right about the core configuration of the Bavarian PG-construction in Bayer (1988), the topicalized conditional CP cannot occupy SpecCP but must be either adjoined to CP or merged into the specifier of another head. Given our overall account, let us assume that the latter is the case. SpecCP is then filled by the null operator OP, and there is a higher projection ZP which licenses the interpretability of the feature [etop].[30]

(42)   ZP   where 3 = 4

---
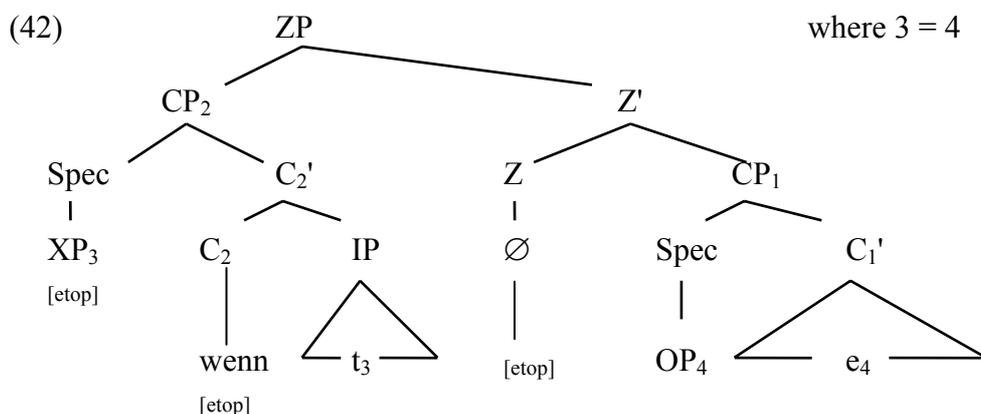
[29] Consider the examples (i) through (iii) from Standard German, of which (iii) is taken from König & van der Auwera (1986). In (i), the conditional occupies SpecCP, while in (ii) and (iii) it precedes SpecCP:

(i)   Wenn das   mein Hund wäre, bekäme er keinen   Zucker
      if   that my   dog were got   he no   sugar
      'If that were my dog, it would not get any sugar"
(ii) Wenn das mein Hund wäre, dann bekäme er keinen Zucker
(iii) Wenn das mein Hund wäre, er bekäme keinen Zucker

In the terminology of König & van der Auwera (1986), (i) shows *integration* of the conditional by having it right in the *Vorfeld* of a V2-clause; (ii) shows *resumption* by *dann*, which arguably occupies the position which hosts the conditional CP in (i); (iii) shows *non-integration* by putting a topic in SpecCP instead of the resumptive *dann*. In this case, the conditional appears to be completely separated from the root.

[30] For support of the idea that conditionals are topics, see Haiman (1978).

The chains (XP_3, t_3) and (OP_4, e_4) show the required parallelism, and the positioning of the two clauses CP_2 and CP_1 conforms to the phrase structure that is standardly assumed for coordinate constructions in antisymmetric syntax and its predecessors.[31] My suggestion is that ATB applies to CP_2 and CP_1 in such a way that the head of the original chain, here XP_3, is adjoined to ZP, licensing the null operator, here OP_4. According to Lasnik & Stowell (1991), who adopt the Contreras/Chomsky chain composition analysis of PG, OP is not a quantifier but a name-like null operator, in their terminology a *null-constant* or a *null R-expression*. Assuming that by moving a non-referential phrase (QNP, wh-phrase), ATB identifies OP as the head of the parasitic chain, and (42) turns into the structure seen in (43):

(43)
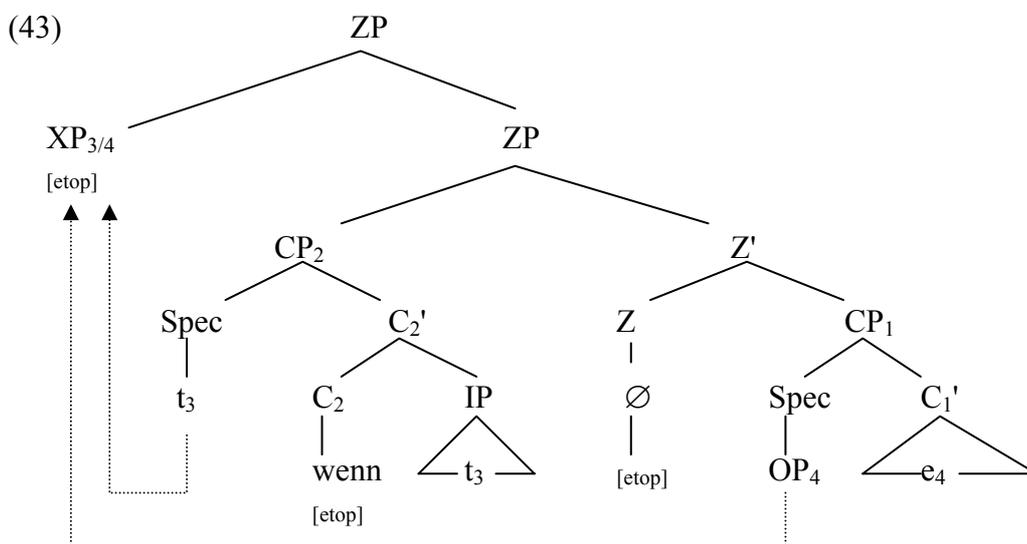
It is important to notice here that the leftward adjunction of XP to ZP is not the result of emphatic topicalization but the result of ATB. We predict that it applies only in cases where two clauses are involved which exhibit the necessary parallelism. The deviance of examples like (12a,b) is expected because the required parallelism is lacking, and the ATB process cannot apply. In (12a,b) we find a pronoun instead of a gap, which would be bound by OP. Thus, since OP is lacking, the ATB process cannot apply, and the QNP of the conditional clause remains in SpecCP. As a consequence, the bound variable interpretation of the pronoun is unavailable.

---

[31]   Cf. Kayne (1994) and references given therein.

Bavarian quantified sentences provide independent evidence for the correctness of this analysis. As predicted by Lasnik & Stowell, movement of a QNP gives rise to crossover or weak crossover (WCO) effects, but movement of the null operator does not (or only gives rise to "weakest" CO). To see that this prediction is borne out, consider the pair of examples in (44):

(44) a.   ?*An jedn Hund$_1$ wann sei˜$_1$ Herr   t$_1$ ziagt [OP$_1$ packt   e$_1$
      a   every dog$_{acc}$ if   his   master   pulls   grabs
      d'Wuat]
      the rage
      intended: 'Every dog gets enraged, if its master pulls it'

     b.   An jedn   Hund$_1$ wann-st   t$_1$ ziagst [OP$_1$ druckt sei˜$_1$
      an every   dog$_{acc}$ if -you   pull   presses his
      Hoisbandl e$_1$]
      throat-band
      'Every dog is troubled by his collar if you pull it (=the dog)'

Movement of the QNP to the specifier of *wann* in (44a) elicits a WCO violation. However, movement of OP to the specifier of the root clause in (44b) does not.

To summarize, we have shown that the dilemma that has been revealed by Lutz (1997) can be avoided by having an ATB-rule apply to the output of emphatic topicalization. To the extent that the ATB-approach to the PG-phenomenon is tenable in general, it seems to serve as the most parsimonious and straightforward extension of my analysis of emphatic topicalization as the phrase structure for emphatic topicalization can be monotonously expanded.

7.   Summary

The empirical starting point of this article was a topicalization asymmetry (TA) which holds in Bavarian and similar Southern German dialects. The topicalization of this kind applies in a dependent clause, but is only possible if the embedded clause itself is topicalized to the left periphery of the root clause. My conjecture was that the observed topicalization is possible because Bavarian lacks the Doubly-Filled-COMP Filter (DFCF). Once the phenomenon is connected to the lack of the DFCF, however, there seem to be two major questions. One question is why there should be the TA (while there is no such asymmetry with respect to regular wh-movement); another is how this kind of topicalization can license parasitic gaps (PGs) if the moved element remains in the embedded clause and thus fails to c-command the PG. To approach the first question, I suggested that the topicalization involved is an *emphatic* topicalization, and should as such be characterized as a property of the illocutionary force of the utterance. Since illocutionary force is syntactically a root phenomenon and is – at least in the western languages – located in the left periphery of the root CP, it could be argued that emphatic topicalization is only semantically successful if it can access the root CP. We have argued at length that there is a formal feature [etop] which can be checked by a C-head but can only be interpreted if it is associated with the force system, which by definition is part of the root. The feature [etop] can access the root clause although it remains in the specifier of the embedded CP if CP moves to the specifier of the root clause, – essentially a case of pied-piping. To answer the second question, we suggested that in Bavarian PG-constructions the basic configuration of emphatic topicalization remains the same, the difference being that an Across-the-Board (ATB) rule applies to both CPs simultaneously. The viability of this approach is supported by the fact that SpecCP of the root clause (in which we located the PG) must be able to host a null operator by which the PG can be locally bound. Once SpecCP is occupied by the resumptive element *dann*, no PG can be licensed.

The conceptual advantage of the present approach is that hardly any tampering with the concept of the German *Vorfeld* was necessary, and virtually all the relevant differences between Standard German and Bavarian could be

derived from a low-level parametric difference according to which the standard language obeys the DFCF while Bavarian does not.

References

Bayer, Josef: 1984, „COMP in Bavarian syntax," *The Linguistic Review* **3**, 209-274.

Bayer, Josef: 1988, „Fortschritte der Syntaxtheorie. Anmerkungen zu Henk van Riemsdijk und Edwin Williams, Introduction to the Theory of Grammar, MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass. 1986" *Linguistische Berichte* **117**, 410-426.

Bayer, Josef: 1991, „German particles in a modular grammar: Neurolinguistic evidence," in Werner Abraham (ed.). *Discourse Particles*, Benjamins, Amsterdam, 253-302.

Bayer, Josef: 1996, *Directionality and Logical Form. On the Scope of Focussing Particles and Wh-in-situ.* Kluwer, Dordrecht.

Bayer, Josef: 1999, „Final complementizers in hybrid languages," *Journal of Linguistics* **35**, 233-271.

Bayer, Josef: to appear, „Wh-in-situ," *SynCom*, University of Utrecht.

Bayer, Josef & Alexander Grosu: 2000, „Feature Checking meets the Criterion Approach: Three ways of saying *only* in Romance and Germanic," in Virginia Motapanyane (ed.). *Comparative Studies in the Syntax of Romanian*. North-Holland Linguistic Series, Amsterdam, 49-81.

Behaghel, Otto: 1932, *Deutsche Syntax. Eine geschichtliche Darstellung.* vol. IV. Carl Winters Universitätsbuchhandlung, Heidelberg.

Brandt, Margareta, Marga Reis, Inger Rosengren & Ilse Zimmermann: 1992, „Satztyp, Satzmodus und Illokution," in Inger Rosengren (ed.), Satz und Illokution. vol.1, Niemeyer, Tübingen, 1-90.

Chomsky, Noam: 1986a, *Barriers*, MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Chomsky, Noam: 1986b, *Knowledge of Language: Its Nature, Origin and Use*, Praeger, New York.

Chomsky, Noam (1995), *The Minimalist Program*. MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Chomsky, Noam & Howard Lasnik: 1993, „The theory of principles and parameters," in Joachim Jacobs, Arnim von Stechow, Wolfgang Sternefeld & Theo Vennemann (eds.), *Syntax: An International Handbook of Contemporary Research*, vol.1, 506-569. [reprinted as ch.1 of Chomsky, 1995].

Cinque, Guglielmo: 1998, *Adverbs and functional heads: A crosslinguistic perspective*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Contreras, Heles: 1984, „A note on parasitic gaps," *Linguistic Inquiry* **15**, 698-701.

Doherty, Monika: 1985, *Epistemische Bedeutung*, Akademie-Verlag, Berlin.

Emonds, Joseph: 1969, *Root and Structure-Preserving Transformations*, Ph.D. dissertation, MIT Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Erteschik-Shir, Nomi: 1997, *The Dynamics of Focus Structure*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Felix, Sascha: 1985, „Parasitic gaps in German," in Werner Abraham (ed.), *Erklärende Syntax des Deutschen*, Narr, Tübingen. 173-200.

Grewendorf, Günther: 1988, *Aspekte der deutschen Syntax*, Narr, Tübingen.

Haiman, John: 1978, „Conditionals are topics," *Language* **54**, 564-589.

Hasegawa, Kei: 1999, *Exklamativsätze im Deutschen und im Japanischen*. MA thesis. Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena.

Heycock, Caroline: 2000, „Embedded root phenomena," *SynCom*, case #035, University of Utrecht.

Hoekstra, Eric: 1993, „Dialectal variation inside CP as parametric variation," in Werner Abraham & Josef Bayer (eds.), *Dialektsyntax*. Westdeutscher Verlag, Opladen, 161-179.

Hooper, Joan B. & Sandra A. Thompson: 1973, „On the applicability of root transformations," *Linguistic Inquiry* **4**, 465-497.

Hornstein, Norbert: 1995, *Logical Form: From GB to Minimalism*, Blackwell, Oxford.

Huybregts, Riny & Henk van Riemsdijk: 1985, „Parasitic gaps and ATB," *Tilburg Working Papers in Language and Literature* **76**.

Kayne, Richard: 1994, *The Antisymmetry of Syntax*, MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

König, Ekkehardt & Johan van der Auwera: 1986, „Clause integration in German and Dutch conditionals, concessive conditionals and concessives," in John Haiman & Sandra A. Thompson (eds*.), Clause Combining in Discourse and Grammar*, John Benjamins, Amsterdam. 101-133.

Lasnik, Howard & Timothy Stowell: 1991, „Weakest crossover," *Linguistic Inquiry* **22**, 687-720.

Lutz, Ulrich: 1997, „Parasitic gaps und Vorfeldstruktur," in Franz-Josef d'Avis & Ulrich Lutz (eds.), Zur Satzstruktur des Deutschen, *Arbeitspapiere des Sonderforschungsbereichs 340*, **90**, 55-80.

Müller, Gereon: 1997, *Incomplete Category Fronting*, Kluwer, Dordrecht.

Rizzi, Luigi: 1990, *Relativized Minimality*, MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Rizzi, Luigi: 1991, „Residual verb second and the Wh-criterion," *Technical Reports in Formal and Computational Linguistics* **2**, University of Geneva.

Rizzi, Luigi: 1997, „The fine structure of the left periphery," in: Liliane Haegeman (ed.)*, Elements of Grammar*, Kluwer, Dordrecht, 281-337.

Ross, John R.: 1967, *Constraints on Variables in Syntax*, Ph.D. dissertation, MIT Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Stechow, Arnim von and Wolfgang Sternefeld: 1988, *Bausteine syntaktischen Wissens. Ein Lehrbuch der generativen Grammatik*, Westdeutscher Verlag, Opladen.

Weiß, Helmut: 1998, *Syntax des Bairischen: Studien zur Grammatik einer natürlichen Sprache*, Niemeyer, Tübingen.

Weiß, Helmut: to appear, „On two types of natural languages: Some linguistic consequences," *Theoretical Linguistics*.

Williams, Edwin: 1978, „Across-the-board rule application," *Linguistic Inquiry* **9**, 31-55.

Acknowledgments