

Adjunction, Phase Interpretation, and Condition C

1. Introduction

- There is an adjunct-argument asymmetry wrt. reconstruction and Condition C (Chomsky 2001b; Heycock 1995; Lasnik 2003; Lebeaux 1988; Riemsdijk & Williams 1981; Stepanov 2000, 2001).

(1) [_{wh} Which [[picture [of Bill₁]] [that John₂ liked]]] did he_{*1,2} buy t_{wh}? (Chomsky 2001b, 15)

- The same fact can be observed in Czech (2).

(2) Který obrázek Karla₁, který měl Jirka₂ rád, si pro_{*1,2} koupil?
which picture_{ACC} of Karel which liked Jirka_{NOM} self bought
'Which picture of Karel that Jirka liked did he buy?'

- Major points

1. It is necessary to distinguish between clausal and non-clausal adjuncts wrt. Condition C.
2. Both types of adjuncts are merged cyclically.
3. There is a correlation between the phase structure, tripartite quantificational structure and information structure.
4. Only r-expressions in clausal adjuncts can corefer with the pronoun in the matrix clause. They are embedded in the phase, tripartite quantificational and information structure of the sentence more deeply than the r-expressions in non-clausal adjuncts.
5. The availability of coreference depends on the presuppositional status of the clausal adjunct or the element containing it and on the fact whether the r-expression is spelled out and interpreted in the CP phase of the adjunct.
6. Condition C must be able to wait until the semantic interface (of the highest phase in the sentence) and can see the whole derivation.
7. Phases sent to the interfaces cannot be forgotten.

2. Data

2.1. Non-clausal adnominal adjuncts

- Non-clausal adnominal adjuncts pattern with arguments; they always exhibit a Condition C effect.

- There is a correlation between bleeding Condition C, wide scope, and the presuppositional interpretation of the appropriate whP (Fox 1999, 2000; Heycock 1995, Witkoś 2003).

No difference here: the locative adjunct in the non-presuppositional whP (3a), presuppositional (3b), or partitive whP (3c).

A Condition C effect in both scope cases (many > decide, decide > many) in (4).

(3) a. *Kolik knížek na Pavlově₁ polici pro₁ přečetl?
how many books on Pavel's shelf read
'How many books from Pavel's shelf did he read?'

- b. *Kterou knížku na Pavlově₁ polici pro₁ přečetl?
 which book on Pavel's shelf read
 'Which book from Pavel's shelf did he read?'
- c. *Kterou z knížek na Pavlově₁ polici pro₁ přečetl?
 which of books on Pavel's shelf read
 'Which of the books from Pavel's shelf did he read?'

- (4) *Kolik lidí z Pavlova₁ města se pro₁ rozhodl najmout?
 how many people from Pavel's city self decided hire
 'How many people from Pavel's city did he decide to hire?'

• The information-structural status of the element containing the adjunct does not play a role. The r-expression in the locative adjunct contained in the topicalized (5a) or scrambled (5b) (i.e. backgrounded) DP always produces a Condition C effect.

- (5) a. *Tu knížku na Pavlově₁ polici pro₁ v pátek přečetl.
 the book_{ACC} on Pavel's shelf on Friday read
 'The book from Pavel's shelf, he read on Friday.'
- b. *V pátek tu knížku na Pavlově₁ polici pro₁/ on₁ přečetl.
 on Friday the book_{ACC} on Pavel's shelf he read
 'On Friday, he read the book from Pavel's shelf.'

• Adjuncts with the r-expression in a position c-commanded by the coindexed pronoun violate Condition C:

- (6) *V pátek pro₁ přečetl tu knížku na Pavlově₁ polici.
 on Friday read the book_{ACC} on Pavel's shelf
 'On Friday, he read the book from Pavel's shelf.'

• Principles A and B also suggest that non-clausal adnominal adjuncts are merged cyclically (7).

- (7) a. Kolik knížek ze své₁ police pro₁ přečetl?
 how many books from self shelf read
 'How many books from his shelf did he read?'
- b. *Kolik knížek z jeho₁ police pro₁ přečetl?
 how many books from his shelf read
 'How many books from his shelf did he read?'

(8)

R-expression in non-clausal adnominal adjuncts	Condition C effect
1. in non-presuppositional whP	√
2. in presuppositional whP	√
3. in topicalized or scrambled DP	√
4. c-commanded by coindexed pronoun	√

2.2. Clausal adnominal adjuncts

- Clausal adnominal adjuncts – in contrast to the non-clausal adjuncts - can obviate a Condition C violation.
- The presuppositional status of the whP containing the relative clause adjunct is an important factor. The clausal adjunct embedded in the non-presuppositional whP violates Condition C (9a). The adjunct in the presuppositional whP (9b) shows an antireconstruction behavior.

- (9) a. *Kolik argumentů, které Pavel₁ přednesl, pro₁ zuřivě bránil?
 how many arguments which Pavel_{NOM} gave furiously defended
 ‘How many arguments that Pavel gave did he defend like a fury?’
- b. (?)Který argument, který Pavel₁ přednesl, pro₁ zuřivě bránil?
 which argument which Pavel_{NOM} gave furiously defended
 ‘Which argument that Pavel gave did he defend like a fury?’

- Information structure of the relative clause itself also plays a role in Condition C. In (10), *Pavel* is focused in the adjunct clause and coreference between *Pavel* and *pro* is not possible (for English, Riemsdijk & Williams 1981). For *Pavel* to be a possible antecedent of *pro*, it must be backgrounded (9b).

- (10) *Který argument, který přednesl Pavel₁, pro₁ zuřivě bránil?
 which argument which gave Pavel_{NOM} furiously defended
 ‘Which argument that Pavel gave did he defend like a fury?’

- The contrast between the backgrounded and focused r-expression can also be found in relatives contained in topicalized PPs (11). (modified examples from Witkoś 2003, 77).

- (11) a. ?Na Mariinu tetu, kterou si Pavel₁ nepamatuje, pro₁ reagoval s hněvem.
 to Marie’s aunt_{ACC} which self Pavel_{NOM} NEGremembers reacted with anger
 ‘To Marie’s aunt that Pavel does not remember he reacted with anger.’
- b. *Na Mariinu tetu, kterou si nepamatuje Pavel₁, pro₁ reagoval s hněvem.
 to Marie’s aunt_{ACC} which self NEGremembers Pavel_{NOM} reacted with anger
 ‘To Marie’s aunt that Pavel does not remember he reacted with anger.’

- But adjuncts overtly c-commanded by the pronoun are bad (12).

- (12) *pro₁ reagoval s hněvem na Mariinu tetu, kterou si Pavel₁ nepamatuje.
 reacted with anger to Marie’s aunt_{ACC} which self Pavel_{NOM} NEGremembers
 ‘He reacted with anger to Marie’s aunt that Pavel does not remember.’

(13)

R-expression in clausal adnominal adjuncts	Condition C effect
1. in non-presuppositional whP	√
2. in presuppositional whP	
2a. backgrounded	
2b. focused	√
3. c-commanded by coindexed pronoun	√

2.3. Non-clausal adverbial adjuncts

• Adverbial adjuncts can or must be merged acyclically (Bošković & Lasnik 1999; Nissenbaum 2000; Ochi 1999; and discussion in Speas 1990; Stepanov 2001).

But non-clausal adverbial adjuncts seem to always reconstruct and violate Condition C.

• Temporal (14) and manner (15) adjuncts produce a Condition C effect independently of the presuppositional status of the wh-word.

(14) *O jakých / kterých Pavlových₁ prázdninách pro₁ líbal Marii?
during what / which Pavel's holidays kissed Marie_{ACC}
'During what / which holidays of Pavel's did he kiss Marie?'

(15) *Jakým / Kterým Pavlovým₁ způsobem pro₁ líbal Marii?
what / which Pavel's way kissed Marie_{ACC}
'In what / which way of Pavel's did he kiss Marie?'

• The same results are obtained with topicalized adverbial adjuncts (16), (17).

(16) *O Pavlových₁ prázdninách pro₁ líbal Marii.
during Pavel's holidays kissed Marie_{ACC}
'During holidays of Pavel's, he kissed Marie.'

(17) *Pavlovým₁ způsobem pro₁ líbal Marii.
Pavel's way kissed Marie_{ACC}
'In Pavel's way, he kissed Marie.'

• Adjuncts c-commanded by the pronoun produce a Condition C effect:

(18) *pro₁ líbal Marii o Pavlových₁ prázdninách.
kissed Marie_{ACC} during Pavel's holidays
'He kissed Marie during holidays of Pavel's.'

(19) *pro₁ líbal Marii Pavlovým₁ způsobem.
kissed Marie_{ACC} Pavel's way
'He kissed Marie in Pavel's way.'

• Principles A and B suggest that non-clausal adverbial adjuncts are merged cyclically in a position c-commanded by the subject:

(20) a. O svých₁ prázdninách Pavel₁ líbal Marii.
during self holidays Pavel_{NOM} kissed Marie_{ACC}
'During his holidays, Pavel kissed Marie.'

b. *O jeho₁ prázdninách Pavel₁ líbal Marii.
during his holidays Pavel_{NOM} kissed Marie_{ACC}
'During his holidays, Pavel kissed Marie.'

(21) a. Tím svým₁ způsobem Pavel₁ líbal Marii.
the self way Pavel_{NOM} kissed Marie_{ACC}
'In his own way, Pavel kissed Marie.'

- b. *Tím jeho₁ způsobem Pavel₁ líbal Marii.
 the his way Pavel_{NOM} kissed Marie_{ACC}
 ‘In his own way, Pavel kissed Marie.’

(22)

R-expression in non-clausal adverbial adjuncts	Condition C effect
1. in non-presuppositional whP	√
2. in presuppositional whP	√
3. in topicalized DP	√
4. c-commanded by coindexed pronoun	√

2.4. Clausal adverbial adjuncts

- An r-expression in a clausal adverbial adjunct can be coreferent with the pronoun in the matrix clause.
- Only when the adjunct clause is backgrounded (preposed) (23b). The question-answer correlation (23) helps to determine information structure; Büring (1997), Drubig (2003), Engdahl (2001), Erteschik-Shir (1997), Meinunger (2000), Sgall, Hajičová & Buráňová (1980).

(23) a. Co se stalo, než Pavel odjel? (What happened before Pavel left?)

- b. Než Pavel₁ odjel, pro₁ políbil Marii.
 before Pavel_{NOM} left kissed Marie_{ACC}
 ‘Before Pavel left, he kissed Marie.’

- Coreference is not possible when the adjunct clause is spelled out in a position c-commanded by the pronoun (24).

(24) *pro₁ políbil Marii, než Pavel₁ odjel.
 kissed Marie_{ACC} before Pavel_{NOM} left
 ‘He kissed Marie before Pavel left.’

- The availability of coreference also depends on the information-structural status of the r-expression; it may not be focused in the adjunct clause (25).

(25) *Než odjel Pavel₁, pro₁ políbil Marii.
 before left Pavel_{NOM} kissed Marie_{ACC}
 ‘Before Pavel left, he kissed Marie.’

- It also holds if the r-expression is not the subject of the adjunct clause. The object *Pavel* is backgrounded in (26a) and focused in (26b).

(26) a. Poté, co Pavla₁ vyhodili z práce, pro₁ začal pít.
 after that Pavel_{ACC} fired from job began drink
 ‘After Pavel was fired from his job, he began to drink.’

- b. *Poté, co vyhodili z práce Pavla₁, pro₁ začal pít.
 after that fired from job Pavel_{ACC} began drink
 ‘After Pavel was fired from his job, he began to drink.’

- It also holds for non-subject pronouns in the matrix clause (27).

- (27) a. Poté, co Pavla₁ vyhodili z práce, táta ho₁ začal bít.
 after that Pavel_{ACC} fired from job father_{NOM} him began maltreat
 ‘After Pavel was fired from his job, his father began to maltreat him.’
- b. *Poté, co vyhodili z práce Pavla₁, táta ho₁ začal bít.
 after that fired from job Pavel_{ACC} father_{NOM} him began maltreat
 ‘After Pavel was fired from his job, his father began to maltreat him.’

(28)

R-expression in clausal adverbial adjuncts	Condition C effect
1. that is preposed	
1a. backgrounded	
1b. focused	√
2. c-commanded by coindexed pronoun	√

2.5. Interim summary

- Non-clausal adjuncts always produce Condition C effects.
- Clausal adjuncts containing the r-expression spelled out in a position c-commanded by the coindexed pronoun also produce a Condition C effect.
- Clausal adjuncts can obviate a Condition C violation under certain conditions: the presuppositional status (inherently presuppositional whPs or backgrounded elements) of the clausal adjunct or the element containing it and the backgrounded information-structural status of the r-expression.

3. Approaches to adjunction and Condition C

3.1. There are three basic approaches

- The late merger approach (e.g. Lebeaux 1988; Nissenbaum 2000; Stepanov 2000, 2001; Fitzpatrick & Groat 2005) is based on the different timing of adjunct merger and argument merger.
- The cyclic merger analysis (Chomsky 2001b, Rubin 2003) is based on the special status of adjunction merger (a pair-merge operation) and the operation Simpl that makes adjuncts ‘c-command visible’ where they are spelled out.
- The embedding approach (discussion in Riemsdijk & Williams 1981; Huang 1993; Speas 1990; Müller 1995). Condition C effects do not arise if the r-expression is ‘sufficiently’ embedded in the syntactic structure.

3.2. Empirical problems

3.2.1. The late merger approach

- This approach (with derivational c-command (Fitzpatrick & Groat’s 2005) or not) predicts that adjuncts can obviate a Principle C violation.
 But non-clausal adjuncts never obviate Condition C and clausal adjuncts only under certain (regular) conditions.
- Stepanov’s proposal (2000, 2001) - adjunction follows all non-adjunct mergers - has problems with the fact that adjunction feeds other types of movement, section 2.3. (Johnson 2002).

3.2.2. The cyclic merger approach

- All adjuncts are always merged by the pair merger making them c-command-invisible until spellout.

This cannot differentiate between the behavior of clausal and non-clausal adjuncts.

- Simpl making adjuncts c-command-visible applies where the adjunct is spelled out. This predicts that copies of the moved adjunct do not induce a Principle C effect.

But see non-clausal adjuncts and clausal adjuncts within non-presuppositional whPs.

- Adjuncts are always spelled out where their hosts are (Chomsky 2001b).

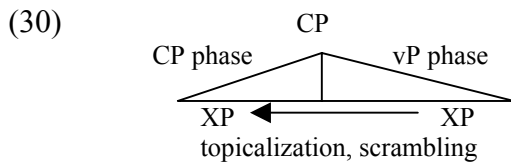
But there are discontinuous DPs in Slavic languages, Latin, German etc. (29); Bošković (to appear), Fanselow & Ćavar (2002).

(29) [Z Pavlovy police]₁ pro přečetl dvě knihy t₁.
 from Pavel's shelf read two books_{ACC}
 'He read two books from Pavel's shelf.'

4. The proposal

- Phrases moved to the CP phase (scrambled or topicalized) are backgrounded and get a specific (epistemic, partitive or generic) interpretation (Biskup 2005, 2006).

The interface requirement: backgrounded specific elements are to be linearized and interpreted in the CP phase (the left part of sentences) in scrambling languages like Czech.

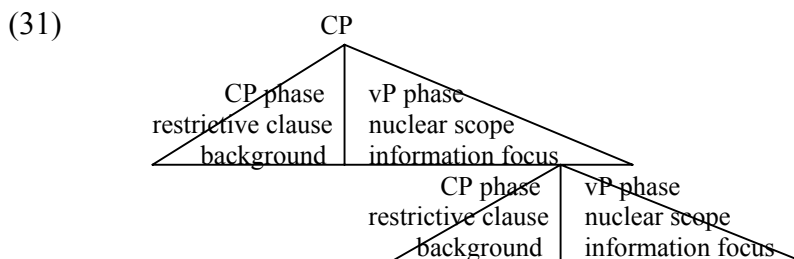


- There is a correlation between the phase structure, tripartite quantificational structure and information structure (Chomsky 2000, 2001a,b, 2005; Diesing 1992; Partee 1992).

At the semantic interface, the vP phase is interpreted as the nuclear scope of the quantificational structure and the information focus.

The CP phase is interpreted as the restrictive clause and the background.

- This structure can be recursive (Partee 1992, Krifka 1992, Meinunger 2000, Neeleman & Szendrői 2004, Ishihara 2004a,b):



4.1. Non-clausal adjuncts

Given the data in 2.1. and 2.3., there is no reason to assume that non-clausal adjuncts are merged acyclically.

4.2. Adjuncts overtly c-commanded by the pronoun

Adjuncts (clausal (12), (24) or non-clausal (6)) following the pronoun (overtly c-commanded by the pronoun) violate Condition C because they are merged and spelled out within the c-command domain of the pronoun.

4.3. Clausal adjuncts

4.3.1. The backgrounded or presuppositional status of clausal adjuncts

(or elements containing them) helps them not to reconstruct and not to violate Condition C.

4.3.1.1. (Non-)presuppositional whPs and cyclic merger

- The r-expression in the clausal adjunct merged into the non-presuppositional whP produces a Condition C effect (9a).

The restriction of the wh-phrase reconstructs, it feeds Condition C (Heycock 1995).

- This supports the cyclic analysis of clausal adjuncts.

Another support for the cyclic merger analysis: the quantifier bound pronoun in (32).

- (32) Kolik argumentů, které pro₁ považoval za dobré, každý₁ přednesl?
how many arguments which considered good everybody_{NOM} gave
'How many arguments that he considered to be good did everybody give?'

4.3.1.2. The place of spellout

- The place of spellout of elements is narrowly associated with their interpretation and information-structural status (30) and (31).

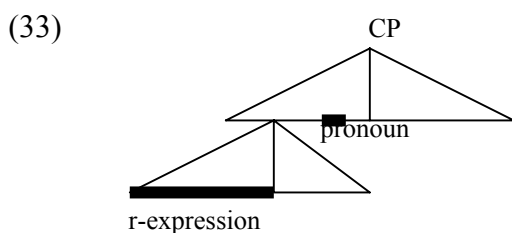
In the grammatical examples in 2.2. and 2.4., the adjuncts or the elements containing them are backgrounded (topicalized or merged within the CP phase). Backgrounding implies presuppositionality; the r-expression does not reconstruct and does not induce a Condition C effect.

- So, Condition C is sensitive to the interpretation and must be able to wait until the semantic interface of the highest phase in the sentence.

4.3.2. Background Adjunct Coreference Principle

- Presuppositionality of the adjunct is not the only factor.

The r-expression must be backgrounded in the clausal adjunct, i.e. spelled out and interpreted in the CP phase (33).



(34) Background Adjunct Coreference Principle

Coreference between an r-expression within an adjunct clause and a pronoun in the matrix clause is possible only if the r-expression is backgrounded in the adjunct clause

Discourse has a tendency to keep referential continuity (Reinhart, to appear).

Only 'old', 'known' (backgrounded) elements are possible antecedents of pronouns.

- Complements do not work the same way.

The r-expression is backgrounded in the proposed complement (35) but coreference is not possible.

- (35) *Že Pavel₁ políbil Marii, pro₁ nám říkal včera.
 that Pavel_{NOM} kissed Marie_{ACC} us told yesterday
 ‘He told us yesterday that Pavel had kissed Marie.’

4.4. The derivation cannot forget the preceding phases

- Since the appropriate pronoun gets a value at the semantic interface of the CP phase in the matrix clause (from a discourse storage, Everaert 2005, Partee 2004, Reuland 2001, Reinhart 2000, to appear) and the derivation is sent to the interfaces phase by phase, the derivation cannot forget the preceding phases.

Information about the r-expression (whether it is interpreted as backgrounded in the adjunct clause) must be accessible in the course of the derivation.

- The preceding phases cannot be forgotten and the application of Condition C must be able to see the whole derivation (36) (Boeckx & Grohmann to appear; Cecchetto 2004; Marušić 2005; von Stechow 2005).

- (36) *pro₁ myslel, že Pavel říkal, že Honza četl knížku z Petrovy₁ police.
 thought that Pavel_{NOM} said that Honza_{NOM} read book_{ACC} from Petr’s shelf
 ‘He thought that Pavel said that Honza read a book from Petr’s shelf.’

4.5. The difference between clausal and non-clausal adjuncts and embedding

- In clausal adjuncts, in contrast to non-clausal ones, the r-expression is one level deeper embedded in the phase, quantificational and information structure of the sentence than the coindexed pronoun (33).

It is well-established in the discourse storage at the semantic interface and accessible as an antecedent.

The r-expression within non-clausal adjuncts is on the same level, it is too local to the pronoun, not established enough at the semantic interface to serve as an antecedent.

- It is not just a problem of syntactic embedding (modified (3b)):

- (37) *Kterou knížku na polici u stolu vedle Pavlovy₁ postele pro₁ přečetl?
 which book_{ACC} on shelf near table next to Pavel’s bed read
 ‘Which book from the shelf near the table next to Pavel’s bed did he read?’

- It is not phasehood (vP):

- (38) *Jeho₁ matka přečetla včera knížku z Pavlovy₁ knihovny.
 his mother_{NOM} read yesterday book_{ACC} from Pavel’s bookcase
 ‘His mother read a book from Pavel’s bookcase yesterday.’

- Given the grammatical English examples like (39) and the fact that presuppositionality plays a role in the case of clausal adjuncts in Czech, cases like (39) or e.g. (3b,c) are bad in Czech because of violating the (anti)locality requirements on coreference and not Condition C itself.

- (39) Which pictures near John₁ does he₁ like most t? (Huang 1993, 106)

5. Conclusion

- It is necessary to introduce the distinction between clausal and non-clausal adjuncts wrt. Condition C.
- It is not the time of adjunction (e.g. Lebeaux 1988) or the type of merger (e.g. Chomsky 2001b) that is relevant wrt. coreference and Condition C in adjunction - both types of adjuncts are merged cyclically - but the degree and type of embedding of the r-expression in the phase, quantificational and information structure of the sentence.
- The degree of embedding in the structure of the sentence is crucial in the distinction between clausal and non-clausal adjuncts.
- The type of embedding (Background Adjunct Coreference Principle) is crucial in the distinction between focused and backgrounded r-expressions in the clausal adjunct.
- Condition C effects are induced either by the violation of Condition C itself or by the violation of the Background Adjunct Coreference Principle or by the too local r-expression.
- Condition C applies at the semantic interface and can see the whole derivation.

References

- Biskup, P. (2005), Scrambling in Czech. *Proceedings of CamLing 2005*. Cambridge, 373-380.
- Biskup, P. (2006), Scrambling in Czech: syntax, semantics and information structure. In: Seok Koon Chin & Atsushi Fujimori (eds.), *Proceedings of the 21st North West Linguistics Conference*. UBC Occasional Papers of Linguistics 1, 1-15.
- Boeckx, C. & Grohmann, K.K. (to appear), Putting Phases in Perspective. *Syntax*.
- Bošković, Ž. & Lasnik, H. (1999), How strict is cycle? *Linguistic Inquiry*, 30, 691-703.
- Bošković, Ž. (to appear), Left branch extraction, structure of NP, and scrambling. In: Sabel, J. & Saito, M. (eds.), *Scrambling*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Büring, D. (1997), *On the Meaning of Topic and Focus*. The 59th Street Bridge Accent. London, New York: Routledge.
- Cecchetto, C. (2004), Explaining the locality conditions of QR: consequences for the theory of phases. *Natural Language Semantics*, 12, 345-397.
- Chomsky, N. (2000), *Minimalist Inquiries: The Framework*. In: Martin, R., Michaels, D., Uriagereka, J. (eds.), *Step by Step: Essays on minimalist syntax in honor of Howard Lasnik*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 89-156.
- Chomsky, N. (2001a), *Derivation by Phase*. In: Kenstowicz, M. (ed.), *Ken Hale: A Life in Language*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1-52.
- Chomsky, N. (2001b), *Beyond Explanatory Adequacy*. MIT Occasional Papers in Linguistics 20. Cambridge, Mass.: MITWPL.
- Chomsky, N. (2005), *On Phases*. Ms. <http://www.phon.ucl.ac.uk/home/hans/mrg/chomskyonphases1204.pdf>
- Diesing, M. (1992), *Indefinites*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Drubig, H.B. (2003), Towards a typology of focus and focus constructions. *Linguistics* 41, 1-50.
- Engdahl, E. (2001), The Role of Syntactic Features in the Analysis of Dialogue. In: Rohrer, Ch., Roßdeutscher, A. & Kamp, H. (eds.), *Linguistic Form and its Computation*. Stanford: CSLI Publications. <http://www.ling.gu.se/~engdahl/>
- Erteschik-Shir, N. (1997), *The dynamics of focus structure*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Everaert, M. (2005), *On Binding Domains*. In: Müller, S. (ed.), *Proceedings of the HPSG05 Conference*. University of Lisbon, CSLI Publications.
- Fanselow, G. & Čavar, D. (2002), *Distributed Deletion*. In: A. Alexiadou (ed.), *Theoretical Approaches to Universals*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 65-87.
- Fitzpatrick, J. & Groat, E. (2005), *The Timing of Syntactic Operations: Phases, C-command, Remerger, and Lebeaux Effects*. Handout from the EC05 Syntax Conference. Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts. <http://www.mit.edu/~jfitzpat/ec05-handout.pdf>
- Fox, D. (1999), *Reconstruction, Binding Theory, and the Interpretation of Chains*. *Linguistic Inquiry*, 30, 157-196.

- Fox, D. (2000), *Economy and semantic interpretation*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press.
- Heycock, C. (1995), Asymmetries in Reconstruction. *Linguistic Inquiry*, 26, 547-570.
- Huang, J. C.-T. (1993), Reconstruction and the Structure of VP: Some Theoretical Consequences. *Linguistic Inquiry*, 24, 103-138.
- Ishihara, S. (2004a), Focus Intonation Inside Another: A Multiple Spell-Out Account. Talk at The 27th GLOW Conference.
- Ishihara, S. (2004b), Prosody by Phase: Evidence from Focus Intonation-Wh-scope Correspondence in Japanese. In: Ishihara, S., Schmitz, M., Schwarz, A. (eds.), *Interdisciplinary Studies on Information Structure 1: Working Papers of SFB632*. Potsdam: University of Potsdam, 77-119.
- Johnson, K. (2002), *Towards an Etiology of Adjunct Islands*. Ms. <http://people.umass.edu/kbj/homepage/Content/Etiology.pdf>
- Krifka, M. (1992), A Compositional Semantics for Multiple Focus Construction. In: Jacobs, J. (ed.), *Informationsstruktur und Grammatik*. Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 17-53.
- Lasnik, H. (2003), *Minimalist Investigations in Linguistic Theory*. Routledge Ltd.
- Lebeaux, D. (1988), *Language Acquisition and the Form of Grammar*. Ph.D. dissertation. University of Massachusetts at Amherst.
- Marušić, F. (2005), *On Non-simultaneous Phases*. Ph.D. dissertation. Stony Brook University. <http://www.linguistics.stonybrook.edu/Users/fmar/thesis/>
- Meinunger, A. (2000), *Syntactic Aspects of Topic and Comment*. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Müller, G. (1995), *Anti-Rekonstruktion*. Ms. Universität Tübingen.
- Neeleman, A. & Szendrői, K. (2004), Superman sentences. *Linguistic Inquiry*, 35, 149-159.
- Nissenbaum, J.W. (2000), *Investigation of covert phrase movement*. Ph.D. dissertation. MIT Working Papers in Linguistics.
- Ochi, M. (1999), Multiple Spell-Out and PF Adjacency. In: Tamanji, P. (ed.), *Proceedings of NELS 29*, 293-306. University of Massachusetts at Amherst.
- Partee, B. H. (1992), Topic, focus, and quantification. In: Moore, S. & Wyner, A. (eds.), *Proceedings of First Annual Conference on Semantics and Linguistic Theory*. Linguistics Working Papers, Cornell University, Ithaca, 159-187.
- Partee, B. H. (2004), Bound variables and other anaphors. In: *Compositionality in Formal Semantics: Selected Papers by Barbara H. Partee*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 110-121. <http://people.umass.edu/partee/docs/Partee78TINLAP.pdf>
- Reinhart, T. (2000), Strategies of anaphora resolution. In: Bennis, H., Everaert M., & Reuland, E. (eds.), *Interface Strategies*. Amsterdam: Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences, 295-324. http://www.let.uu.nl/~Tanya.Reinhart/personal/Papers/Anaph_00.pdf
- Reinhart, T. (to appear), Processing or Pragmatics? – Explaining the Coreference Delay. In: Gibson, T. & Pearlmutter, N. (eds.), *The processing and acquisition of reference*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press. <http://www.let.uu.nl/~Tanya.Reinhart/personal/>
- Reuland, E. (2001), Primitives of Binding. *Linguistic Inquiry* 32, 439-492.
- Riemsdijk, H. van & Williams, E. (1981), NP-structure. *The Linguistic Review* 1, 171-217.
- Rubin, E.J. (2003), Determining Pair-Merge. *Linguistic Inquiry*, 34, 660-668.
- Sgall, P., Hajičová, E. & Buráňová, E. (1980), *Aktuální členění větné v češtině*. Praha: Academia.
- Speas, M. (1990), *Phrase structure in natural languages*. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers.
- von Stechow, A. (2005), LF in einem Phasenmodell: Bemerkungen anhand von Fischers Bindungstheorie. Handout from GGS 31, Tübingen.
- Stepanov, A. (2000), The Timing of Adjunction. In: Hirotani M., Coetzee, A., Hall, N. & Kim, J. (eds.), *Proceedings of NELS 30*, University of Massachusetts at Amherst, 597-611.
- Stepanov, A. (2001), Late Adjunction and Minimalist Phrase Structure. *Syntax*, 4, 94-125.
- Witkoś, J. (2003), *Movement and Reconstruction: Questions and Principle C Effects in English and Polish*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.