

Chapter 10

Constituent order

Stefan Müller

Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin

1 Introduction

The chapter might strike readers as a bit German-centric. This is probably okay as long as you make it clear at the outset. (And I suppose a discussion of V2 is not just relevant to German or even Germanic.)

This chapter deals with constituent order with a focus on local order variants. English is the language that is treated most thoroughly in theoretical linguistics but it is probably also the most boring language as far as the possibilities of reordering constituents is concerned: the order of subject verb and object is fixed in sentences like (1):

- (1) Kim likes bagels.

Of course there is the possibility to front the object as in (2) but this is a special, non-local construction that is not the topic of this chapter but is treated in Borsley & Crysmann (2018), Chapter 14 of this volume.

- (2) Bagels, Kim likes.

This chapter deals with scrambling (the local reordering of arguments) and with alternative placements of heads (called *head movement* in some theories). Examples of the former are the subordinate clauses in (3) and an example of the latter is given in (4):

- (3) a. [weil] der Mann der Frau das Buch gibt (German)
because the.NOM man the.DAT woman the.ACC book gives



- b. [weil] der Mann das Buch der Frau gibt
because the.NOM man the.ACC book the.DAT woman gives
 - c. [weil] das Buch der Mann der Frau gibt
because the.ACC book the.NOM man the.DAT woman gives
 - d. [weil] das Buch der Frau der Mann gibt
because the.ACC book the.DAT woman the.NOM man gives
 - e. [weil] der Frau der Mann das Buch gibt
because the.DAT woman the.NOM man the.ACC book gives
 - f. [weil] der Frau das Buch der Mann gibt
because the.DAT woman the.ACC book the.NOM man gives
- (4) Gibt der Mann der Frau das Buch? (German)
gives the.NOM man the.DAT woman the.ACC book
'Does the man give the woman the book?'

(3) shows that in addition to the unmarked order in (3a) (see Höhle (1982) on the notion of unmarked order), five other argument orders are possible in sentences with three-place verbs.

(4) shows that the verb is placed in initial position in questions in German. This contrasts with the verb final order in the subordinate clause in (3a). This alternation of verb placement is usually treated as head movement in the transformational literature (Bach 1962; Bierwisch 1963: 34; Reis 1974; Thiersch 1978: Chapter 1). Declarative main clauses in German are V2 clauses and the respective fronting of the preverbal constituent is usually treated as a non-local dependency (see Borsley & Crysmann (2018), Chapter 14 of this volume). Hence, these sentences will not be handled here.

The following sections deal with the theoretical options within the HPSG framework for dealing with these phenomena. I first discuss the separation of grammar rules in the immediate dominance part and a linear precedence component in Section 2 and then flat vs. binary branching structures (Section 3). While flat structures allow verbs to be ordered finally or initially, this is not the case for binary branching structures. Proposals with binary branching structures are usually paired with HPSG's analogue of what is head-movement in transformational theories. These are explained in Section 4. Section 5 introduces an extension to standard HPSG developed by Reape (1994): constituent order domains. Such constituent order domains allow for discontinuous constituents and have been used to account for languages like Warlipri (Donohue & Sag 1999). Section 6

shows how such languages can be analyzed without admitting discontinuous constituents.

2 ID/LP format

HPSG was developed out of GPSG and Categorical Grammar. The ideas concerning linearization of daughters in a local tree were taken over from GPSG (Gazdar, Klein, Pullum & Sag 1985). In GPSG a separation between immediate dominance and linear precedence is assumed. So, while in classical phrase structure grammar a phrase structure rule like (5) states that the NP[nom], NP[dat] and NP[acc] have to appear in exactly this order, this is not the case in GPSG and HPSG:

- (5) $S \rightarrow \text{NP}[\text{nom}] \text{NP}[\text{dat}] \text{NP}[\text{acc}] V$

The HPSG schemata corresponding to the phrase structure rule in (5) do not express information about ordering. Instead there are separate linearization rules. A schema like (5) licenses 24 different orders: the six permutations of the three arguments that were shown in (3) and all possible placements of the verb (to the right of NP[acc], between NP[dat] and NP[acc], between NP[nom] and NP[dat], to the left of NP[nom]). Orders like NP[nom], NP[dat], V, NP[acc] are not attested in German and hence these linearizations have to be filtered out. This is done by linearization rules, which can refer to features or to the function of a daughter in a schema. (6) shows some examples of linearization rules:

- (6) a. $X < V$
 b. $X < V[\text{INI}-]$
 c. $X < \text{Head} [\text{INI}-]$

The first rule says that all constituents have to precede a V in the local tree. The second rule says that all constituents have to precede a V that has the INITIAL value $-$. One option to analyze German would be the one that was suggested by Uszkoreit (1987) within the framework of GPSG: one could allow for two linearization variants of finite verbs. So in addition to the INI $-$ variant there could be a INI $+$ variant and this variant would be linearized initially. The LP rule in (6c) is more general than (6b) in that it does not mention the part of speech but instead refers to the function of the constituent. The rule says that a head that has the INI value $-$ has to be linearized to the right of all other elements in the local tree.

This treatment of constraint on linearization has an advantage that was already pointed out by researchers working in GPSG: it captures the generalizations regarding linearization. For instance the order of verbs and their arguments is the same in embedded sentences in German independent of the finiteness of the verb:

- (7) a. dass er dem Mann das Buch gab
that he the man the book gave
'that he gave the man the book'
b. dass er versucht, [dem Mann das Buch zu geben]
that he tried the man the book to give
'that he tried to give the man the book'

This is also true for the relative order of dative and accusative object in (7). The constraints regarding linearization hold across rules. By factoring these constraints out, the generalizations can be captured.

Furthermore, generalizations about constituent structure can be captured. For example, the two phrase structure rules in (8) would be needed for head-initial and head-final languages, respectively:

- (8) a. $VP \rightarrow V NP NP$
b. $VP \rightarrow NP NP V$

In an ID/LP framework only one rule is needed. The linearization of the head is factored out of the rules. Similarly, HPSG has just one schema for Head-Adjunct structures although languages like English allow adjuncts to precede or follow the head they modify. The schema does not say anything about the order of the daughters. This is taken care of by two LP rules saying that adjuncts marked as pre-modifiers have to precede their head while those that are marked as post-modifiers follow it.

3 Flat and binary branching structures

The previous section discussed LP rules and used flat phrase structure rules for illustration. The corresponding flat structures are also used in HPSG. Schema 1 shows a Head-Complement schema that combines a head with all the complements selected via the COMPS list.¹

¹Ginzburg & Sag (2000: 4) assume a list called DTRS for all daughters including the head daughter. It is useful to be able to refer to specific non-head daughters without having to know a position in a list. For example in head-adjunct structures the adjunct is the selector. So I keep DTRS for a

Schema 1 (Head-Complement Schema)

head-complement-phrase \Rightarrow

$$\left[\begin{array}{ll} \dots | \text{COMPS} & \langle \rangle \\ \text{HEAD-DTR} & \left[\dots | \text{COMPS } \boxed{1} \right] \\ \text{NON-HEAD-DTRS} & \text{synsem2sign}(\boxed{1}) \end{array} \right]$$

synsem2sign is a relational constraint mapping *synsem* objects as they are contained in the *COMPS* list onto objects of type *sign* as they are contained in daughters (see Ginzburg & Sag 2000: 34 for a similar proposal).² How this schema can be used to analyze VPs like the one in (9) is shown in Figure 1.

- (9) Kim gave Sandy a book.

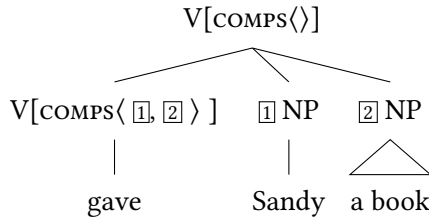


Figure 1: Analysis of the VP *gave Sandy a book* with a flat structure

Researchers working on English usually assume a flat structure but assuming binary branching structures would be possible as well, as is clear from analyses in Categorical Grammar, where binary combinatory rules are assumed (Ajdukiewicz 1935; Steedman 2000). For languages like German it is usually assumed that structures are binary branching (but see Reape 1994: 156 and Bouma & van Noord 1998: 51). The reason for this is that adverbials can be placed anywhere between the arguments as the following example from Uszkoreit (1987: 145) shows:

- (10) *Gestern hatte in der Mittagspause der Vorarbeiter in der*
 yesterday had during the lunch.break the foreman in the

list of ordered daughters and HEAD-DTR and NON-HEAD-DTRS for material that is not necessarily ordered.

²In Sign-Based Construction Grammar the objects in valence lists are of the same type as the daughters. A relational constraint would not be needed in this variant of the HPSG theory. Theories working with a binary branching Head-Complement Schema as Schema 2 on page 187 would not need the relational constraint either since the *synsem* object in the *COMPS* list can be shared with the *SYNSEM* value of the element in the list of non-head daughters directly.

Werkzeugkammer dem Lehrling aus Boshaftigkeit langsam zehn
 tool.shop the apprentice maliciously slowly ten
 schmierige Gußeisenscheiben unbemerkt in die Hosentasche gesteckt.
 greasy cast.iron.disks unnoticed in the pocket put
 ‘Yesterday during lunch break, the foreman maliciously and unnoticed,
 put ten greasy cast iron disks slowly into the apprentice’s pocket.’

A straightforward analysis of adjunct placement in German and Dutch is to assume that adjuncts can attach to any verbal projection. For example, Figure 2 shows the analysis of (11):

- (11) weil deshalb jemand gestern der Frau schnell das Buch gab
 because therefore somebody yesterday the woman quickly the book gave
 ‘because somebody quickly gave the woman the book yesterday’

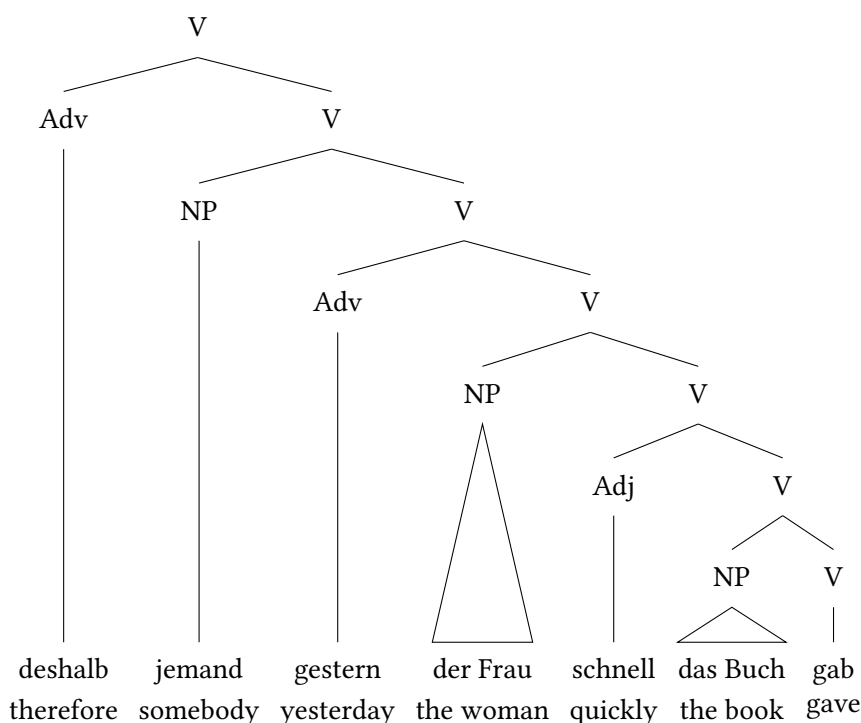


Figure 2: Analysis of [weil] *deshalb jemand gestern der Frau schnell das Buch gab* ‘because somebody quickly gave the woman the book yesterday’ with binary branching structures

The adverbials *deshalb* ‘therefore’, *gestern* ‘yesterday’ and *schnell* ‘quickly’ may attach to any verbal projection. For example, *gestern* could also be placed at the other adjunct positions in the clause.

Binary branching structures with attachment of adjuncts to any verbal projection also account for recursion and hence the fact that arbitrarily many adjuncts can attach to a verbal projection. Of course it is possible to formulate analyses with flat structures that involve arbitrarily many adjuncts (Kasper 1994; van Noord & Bouma 1994; Bouma et al. 2001), but these analyses involve relational constraints in schemata or in lexical items. In Kasper’s analysis the relational constraints walk through lists of daughters of unbounded length in order to compute the semantics. In the other two analyses adjuncts are treated as valents, which may be problematic because of scope issues. This cannot be dealt with in detail here but see Levine & Hukari (2006) and Chaves (2009) for discussion.

The following schema licenses binary branching head-complement phrases:

Schema 2 (Head-Complement Schema (binary branching))

head-complement-phrase \Rightarrow

$$\left[\begin{array}{ll} \text{COMPS} & \boxed{1} \oplus \boxed{2} \\ \text{HEAD-DTR} & \left[\text{COMPS } \boxed{1} \oplus \langle \boxed{3} \rangle \oplus \boxed{2} \right] \\ \text{NON-HEAD-DTRS} & \left\langle \left[\text{SYNSEM } \boxed{3} \right] \right\rangle \end{array} \right]$$

\oplus (append) is a relational constraint that concatenates two lists. The COMPS list of the head daughter is split into three lists: a beginning ($\boxed{1}$), a list containing $\boxed{3}$ and a rest ($\boxed{2}$). $\boxed{3}$ is identified with the SYNSEM value of the non-head daughter. All other elements of the COMPS list of the head daughter are concatenated and the result of this concatenation ($\boxed{1} \oplus \boxed{2}$) is the COMPS list of the mother node. This schema is very general. It works for languages that allow for scrambling since it allows an arbitrary element to be taken out of the COMPS list of the head daughter and realize it in a local tree. The schema can also be “parametrized” to account for languages with fixed word order. For head final languages with fixed order $\boxed{2}$ would be the empty list (= combination with the last element in the list) and for head-initial languages with fixed order (e.g., English) $\boxed{1}$ would be the empty list (= combination with the first element in the list).

The alternative to using relational constraints as in Schema 2 is to use sets rather than lists for the representation of valence information (Gunji 1986; Hinrichs & Nakazawa 1989; Pollard 1996; Engelkamp, Erbach & Uszkoreit 1992). The Head-Complement Schema would combine the head with one of its comple-

ments. Since the elements of a set are not ordered, any complement can be taken and hence all permutations of complements are accounted for.

The disadvantage of set-based approaches is that sets do not impose an order on their members but an order is needed for various subtheories of HPSG (see Przepiórkowski (2018), Chapter 7 of this volume on case assignment, and Branco (2018), Chapter 21 of this volume on Binding Theory). In the approach proposed above and in Müller (2003b; 2015a,b), the valence lists are ordered but the schema allows for combination with any element of the list. For valence representation and the order of elements in valence lists see Wechsler, Koenig & Davis (2018), Chapter 9 of this volume.

4 Head movement vs. constructional approaches assuming flat structures

The Germanic languages signal the clause type by verb position. All Germanic languages with the exception of English are V2 languages: the finite verb is in second position in declarative main clauses. The same holds for questions with *wh* phrases. Yes/no questions are formed by putting the verb in initial position. English is a so-called *residual V2 language*, that is, there are some constructions that are parallel to what is known from V2 languages. For example, while declarative clauses are in base order (SVO), questions follow the pattern that is known from other Germanic languages.

(12) What_{*i*} did Kim read _{*i*}?

Analyses assuming flat structures (or flat linearization domains, see Section 5) usually treat alternative orders of verbs in Germanic languages as linearization variants (Reape 1994; Kathol 2001; Müller 1995; 2003b; Bjerre 2006), but this is not necessarily so as Bouma and van Noord's analysis of Dutch clauses show (Bouma & van Noord 1998: 62, 71). The alternative to verb placement as linearization is something that is similar to verb movement in Government & Binding: an empty element takes the position of the verb in its canonical position and the verb is realized in initial or – in case something is realized before the finite verb – in second position. The following subsection deals with such approaches in more detail. Subsection 4.2 deals with a constructional approach.

4.1 Head movement approaches

Building on work by Jacobson (1987) in the framework of Categorical Grammar, Borsley (1989) showed that in addition to the analysis of auxiliary inversion in English that was suggested in GPSG (Gazdar et al. 1985) an analysis that is similar to the movement-based analysis in GB is possible in HPSG as well. The technique that is used in the analysis is basically the same that was developed by Gazdar (1981) for the treatment of nonlocal dependencies in GPSG. An empty category is assumed and the information about the missing element is passed up the tree until it is bound off at an appropriate place (that is by the fronted verb). Note that the heading of this section contains the term *head movement* and I talk about traces, but it is not the case that something is actually moved. There is no underlying structure with a verb that is transformed into one with the verb fronted and a remaining trace in the original position of the verb. Instead, the empty element is a normal element in the lexicon and can function as the verb in the respective position. The analysis of (13) is shown in Figure 3.

(13) Did Kim get the job?

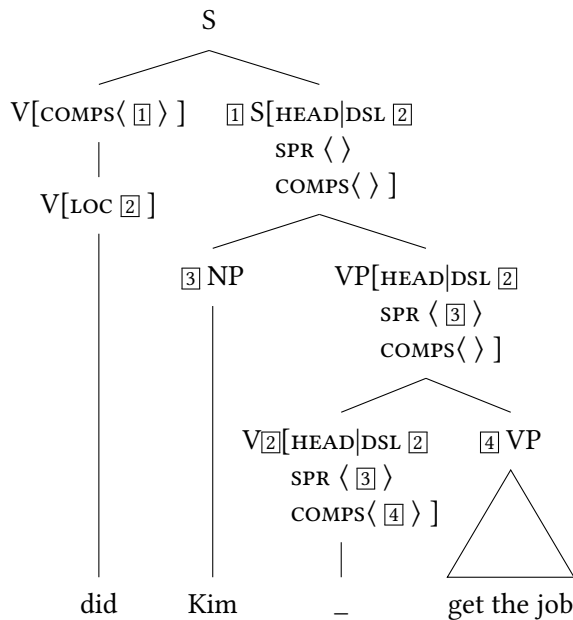


Figure 3: Analysis of English auxiliary constructions as head-movement following (Borsley 1989)

A special variant of the auxiliary selects a full clause in which an auxiliary is missing. The fact that the auxiliary is missing is represented as the value of DSL. The value of DSL is a *local* object, that is something that contains syntactic and semantic information ([2] in Figure 3). DSL is a head feature and hence available everywhere along a projection path (see Borsley & Abeillé (2018), Chapter 1 of this volume for the Head Feature Principle). The empty element for head movement is rather simple:

(14) empty element for head movement:

$$\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{word} \\ \text{PHON} \quad \langle \rangle \\ \text{SYNSEM|LOC [1] [CAT|HEAD|DSL [1]]} \end{array} \right]$$

It states that there is an empty element that has the local requirements that correspond to its DSL value. For cases of verb movement it says: I am a verb that is missing itself. The fronted auxiliary is licensed by a lexical rule that maps a non-fronted auxiliary onto one that selects a complete clause from which the input auxiliary is missing.

Such head-movement analyses are assumed by most researchers working on German (Kiss & Wesche 1991: Section 4.7; Oliva 1992; Netter 1992; Kiss 1993; Frank 1994; Kiss 1995; Feldhaus 1997; Meurers 2000; Müller 2005a; 2017) and also by (Bouma & van Noord 1998: 62, 71) in their work on Dutch, by Müller & Ørsnes (2015) in their grammar of Danish and by Müller (2018) for Germanic in general.

4.2 Constructional approaches

The alternative to head-movement-based approaches is a flat analysis with an alternative serialization of the verb. This was already discussed with respect to German, but I want to discuss English auxiliary constructions here, since the figured prominently in linguistic discussions. In the analysis of (15) shown in Figure 4, the auxiliary *did* selects for the subject *Kim* and a VP *get the job*.

(15) Did Kim get the job?

The tree in Figure 4 is licensed by a schema combining a head with its subject ([1]) and its VP complement ([2]) in one go.³ As is common in HPSG since 1995 (Sag 1997) phrasal schemata are organized in type hierarchies and the general

³An alternative is to assume a separate valence feature for the subject (SUBJ) and assume a schema that combines the head with the element in the SUBJ list and the elements in the COMPS list (GSag2001a-u).

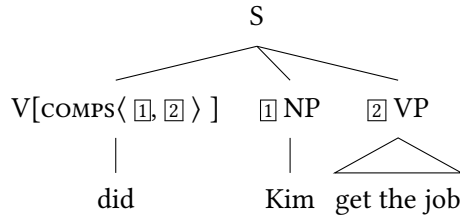


Figure 4: Analysis of English auxiliary constructions according to (Sag et al. 2018)

schema for auxiliary initial constructions has the type *aux-initial-cxt*. Fillmore (1999) and Sag et al. (2018) argue that there are various usages of auxiliary-initial constructions and assign the respective usages to subconstructions of the general auxiliary-initial construction. Technically this amounts to stating subtypes of *aux-initial-cxt*. For example, Sag et al. (2018) posit a subtype *polar-int-cl* for polar interrogatives like (16a) and another subtype *auxinitial-excl-cl* for exclamatives like (16b).

- (16) a. Are they crazy?
b. Are they crazy!

Chomsky (2010) compared the various clause types used in HPSG with the – according to him – much simpler Merge-based analysis in Minimalism. Minimalism assumes just one very general schema for combination (External Merge is basically equivalent to our Schema 2 above, see Müller (2013)), so this rule for combining linguistic objects is very simple, but this does not help in any way when considering the facts: there are at least five different meanings associated with auxiliary initial clauses (polar interrogative, blessings/curses, negative imperative, exclamatives, conditionals) and these have to be captured somewhere in a grammar. One way is to state them in a type hierarchy as is done in some HPSG analyses and in SBCG, another way is to use implicational constraints that assign meaning with respect to actual configurations (see Section 4.3) and a third way is to do everything lexically. The only option for Minimalism is the lexical one. This means that Minimalism has to either assume as many lexical items for auxiliaries as there are types in HPSG or to assume empty heads that contribute the meaning that is contributed by the phrasal schemata in HPSG (Borsley 2006: Section 5; Borsley & Müller 2018). The latter proposal is generally assumed in Cartographic approaches (Rizzi 1997). Since there is a fixed configuration of functional projections that contribute semantics, one could term these

Rizzi-style analyses *Crypto-Constructional*.

4.3 Mixed approaches

The situation with respect to clause types is similar in German. Verb first sentences can be yes/no questions (17a), imperatives (17b), conditional clauses (17c), and declarative sentences with topic drop (17d).

- (17) a. Kommt Peter? (German)
comes Peter
'Does Peter come?'
- b. Komm!
come
- c. Kommt Peter, komme ich nicht.
comes Peter come I not
'If Peter comes, I won't come.'
- d. Kommt. (Was ist mit Peter?)
comes what is with Peter
'What about Peter?' 'He comes.'

Verb second sentences can be questions (18a), declarative sentences (18b), or imperatives (18c).

- (18) a. Wer kommt?
who comes
- b. Peter kommt. (German)
Peter comes
- c. Jetzt komm!
now come
'Come now!'

While one could try and capture this situation by assuming surface order-related clause types, such approaches are rarely assumed (but see Kathol (2001) and Wetta (2011). See Section 5.4.2 on why such approaches are doomed to failure). Rather researchers assumed binary branching head-complement structures together with verb movement (I assumed linearization domains (see Section 5) for ten years and then switched to the head-movement approach (Müller 2005a,b; 2017)).

As was explained above, the head movement approaches are based on lexical rules or unary projections. These license new linguistic objects that could contribute the respective semantics. In analogy to what Borsley (2006) has discussed with respect to extraction structures, this would mean that one needs seven versions of fronted verbs to handle the seven cases in (17 and (18), which would correspond to the seven phrasal types that would have to be stipulated in phrasal approaches. But there is a way out of this: one can assume one lexical item with underspecified semantics. HPSG makes it possible to use implicational constraints referring to a structure in which an item occurs. Depending on the context the semantics contributed by a specific item can be further specified. Figure 5 shows the construction-based and the lexical rule-based analysis for comparison. In the construction-based analysis the daughters contribute x and y as

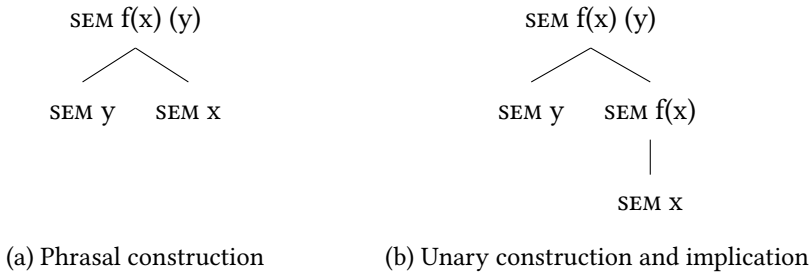


Figure 5: Construction-based, phrasal approach and approach with implicational constraint

semantic values and the whole construction adds the construction meaning f . In the lexical rule- or unary projection-based analysis, the lexical rule/unary projection adds the f and the output of the rule is combined compositionally with the other daughter. Now, implicational constraints can be used to determine the exact contribution of the lexical item (Müller 2016). This is shown with the example of a question in Figure 6. The implication says: when the configuration

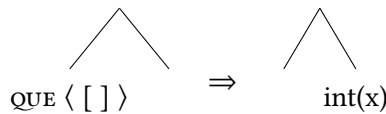


Figure 6: Implication for interrogative sentences

has the form that there is a question pronoun in the left daughter, the output of the lexical rule gets question semantics. Since HPSG represents all linguistic

information in the same AVM, such implicational constraints can refer to intonation as well and hence, implications for establishing the right semantics for V1 questions (17a) vs. V1 conditionals (17c) can be formulated.

Note that in Constructional HPSG as layed out by Sag (1997) implicational constraints can refer to the structure of a complete utterance. Hence items with a complex internal structure can be seen as contributing a certain meaning. This is ruled out by design in Sign-Based Construction Grammar, where linguistic objects of type *phrase* do not have daughters.

Bob: Can't you do everything with constructions in SBCG that you could do with phrases in standard HPSG? I think you need to say more if you want to make this point.

5 Constituent order domains

There is an interesting extension to standard HPSG that opens up possibilities for analyses that are quite different from what is done otherwise in theoretical linguistics:

Bob: Dowty?

Mike Reape (1991; 1992; 1994) working on German suggested formal tools that allow for the modeling of discontinuous constituents. His original motivation was to account for scrambling of arguments in verbal complexes but this analysis was superseded by Hinrichs and Nakazawa's analysis (Hinrichs & Nakazawa 1989; 1994) since purely linearization-based approaches are unable to account for agreement and the so-called remote passive (Kathol 1998: Section 5.1, Section 5.2; Müller 1999: Chapter 21.1). Nevertheless, his work was taken up by others and was used for analyzing German (Kathol & Pollard 1995; Kathol 2000; Müller 1995; 1996; 2004; Wetta 2011; Wetta 2014). As will be discussed below, there were reasons for dropping analyses of German assuming discontinuous constituents (Müller 2005b; 2017) but constituent order domains still play a major role in analyzing ellipsis (Nykiel & Kim 2018, Chapter 20 of this volume) and coordination (Abeillé & Chaves 2018, Chapter 17 of this volume).

5.1 A special representational layer for constituent order

The technique that is used to model discontinuous constituents in frameworks like HPSG goes back to Mike Reape's work on German (1991; 1992; 1994). Reape uses a list called `DOMAIN` to represent the daughters of a sign in the order in which

they appear at the surface of an utterance. (19) shows an example in which the DOM value of a headed-phrase is computed from the DOM value of the head and the list of non-head daughters.

$$(19) \text{ headed-phrase} \Rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{HEAD-DTR} | \text{DOM} \quad \boxed{1} \\ \text{NON-HEAD-DTRS} \quad \boxed{2} \\ \text{DOM} \quad \boxed{1} \bigcirc \boxed{2} \end{array} \right]$$

The symbol ‘ \bigcirc ’ stands for the *shuffle* relation. *shuffle* relates three lists A, B and C iff C contains all elements from A and B and the order of the elements in A and the order of the elements of B is preserved in C. (20) shows the combination of two sets with two elements each:

$$(20) \quad \langle a, b \rangle \bigcirc \langle c, d \rangle = \langle a, b, c, d \rangle \vee \\ \langle a, c, b, d \rangle \vee \\ \langle a, c, d, b \rangle \vee \\ \langle c, a, b, d \rangle \vee \\ \langle c, a, d, b \rangle \vee \\ \langle c, d, a, b \rangle$$

The result is a disjunction of six lists. *a* is ordered before *b* and *c* before *d* in all of these lists, since this is also the case in the two lists $\langle a, b \rangle$ and $\langle c, d \rangle$ that have been combined. But apart from this, *b* can be placed before, between or after *c* and *d*.

Every word comes with a domain value that is a list that contains the word itself:

(21) Domain contribution of single words, here *gibt* ‘gives’:

$$\boxed{1} \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{PHON} \quad \langle \textit{gibt} \rangle \\ \text{SYNSEM} \quad \dots \\ \text{DOM} \quad \langle \boxed{1} \rangle \end{array} \right]$$

The description in (21) may seem strange at first glance, since it is cyclic, but it can be understood as a statement saying that *gibt* contributes itself to the items that occur in linearization domains.

The constraint in (22) is responsible for the determination of the PHON values of phrases:

$$(22) \text{ phrase} \Rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \text{PHON } [1 \oplus \dots \oplus n] \\ \text{DOM } \left\langle \begin{bmatrix} \text{sign} \\ \text{PHON } [1] \end{bmatrix}, \dots, \begin{bmatrix} \text{sign} \\ \text{PHON } [n] \end{bmatrix} \right\rangle \end{bmatrix}$$

It states that the PHON value of a sign is the concatenation of the PHON values of its DOMAIN elements. Since the order of the DOMAIN elements corresponds to their surface order, this is the obvious way to determine the PHON value of the whole linguistic object.

Figure 7 shows how this machinery can be used to license binary branching structures with discontinuous constituents. Words or word sequences that are

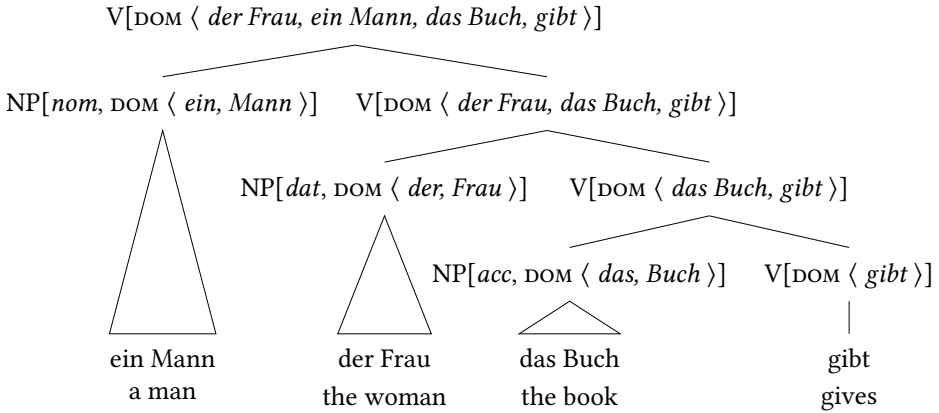


Figure 7: Analysis of *dass der Frau ein Mann das Buch gibt* ‘that a man gives the woman the book’ with binary branching structures and discontinuous constituents

separated by commas stand for separate domain objects, that is, < das, Buch > contains the two objects *das* and *Buch* and < das Buch, gibt > contains the two objects *das Buch* and *gibt*. The important point to note here is that the arguments are combined with the head in the order accusative, dative, nominative, although the elements in the constituent order domain are realized in the order dative, nominative, accusative rather than nominative, dative, accusative, as one would expect. This is possible since the formulation of the computation of the DOM value using the shuffle operator allows for discontinuous constituents. The node for *der Frau das Buch gibt* ‘the woman the book gives’ is discontinuous: *ein Mann* ‘a man’ is inserted into the domain between *der Frau* ‘the woman’ and *das Buch*

‘the book’. This is more obvious in Figure 8, which has a serialization of NPs that corresponds to their order.

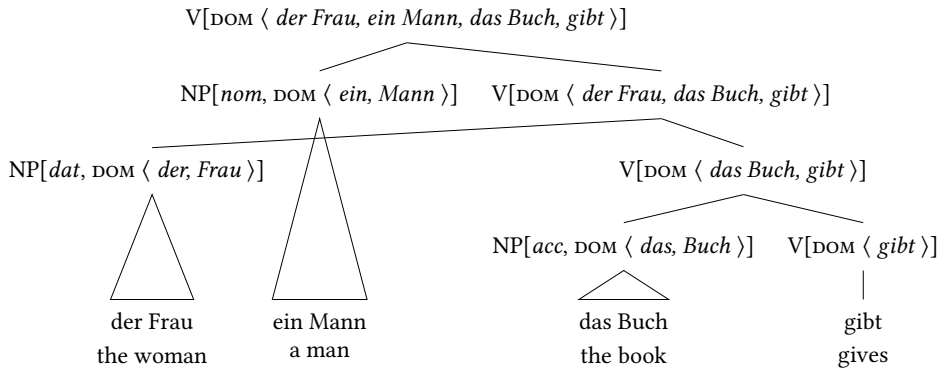


Figure 8: Analysis of *dass der Frau ein Mann das Buch gibt* ‘that a man gives the woman the book’ with binary branching structures and discontinuous constituents showing the discontinuity

5.2 Absolutely free

While German is more exciting than English in terms of constituent order it is still boring in comparison to languages like Warlpiri which have much freer constituent order. In Warlpiri the auxiliary has to be in first or in second position (Donohue & Sag 1999: 8) and apart from this even parts of what are noun phrases in German and English can appear separated from each other. For example, the two parts of the NP *Kurdu-jarra-rlu wita-jarra-rlu* ‘child small’ may appear discontinuously since they are marked with the same case:

- (23) *Kurdu-jarra-rlu ka-pala maliki wajili.pi-nyi wita-jarra-rlu.*
 child-DU-ERG PRES-3DU.SUBJ dog.ABS chase-NPAST small-DU-ERG
 (Warlpiri)

‘Two small children are chasing the dog.’ or
 ‘Two children are chasing the dog and they are small.’

Donohue & Sag (1999) developed an analysis for this that simply liberates domain elements and inserts them into the next higher domain. (24) shows how this is formalized:

Mistake in
glossing.
Should
pi-nyi be
pi.nyi?

$$(24) \text{ liberating-phrase} \Rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{DOM} \quad \delta_0 \circ \delta_1 \circ \dots \circ \delta_n \\ \text{HEAD-DTR} \quad \left[\text{DOM} \quad \delta_0 \right] \\ \text{NON-HEAD-DTRS} \quad \left\langle \left[\text{DOM} \quad \delta_1 \right], \dots, \left[\text{DOM} \quad \delta_n \right] \right\rangle \end{array} \right]$$

Rather than inserting the complete daughters into the domain of the mother as in (19), the DOM values of the daughters are shuffled into the domain of the mothers. So instead of having the NPs in the same domain as the verb as in the German example in the previous section one has all the parts of NPs in the next higher domain. Hence, a single nominal element being placed in front of the auxiliary in second position is explained without problems. Figure 9 shows the analysis of Donohue & Sag (1999). *child* and *small* form an NP. They contribute

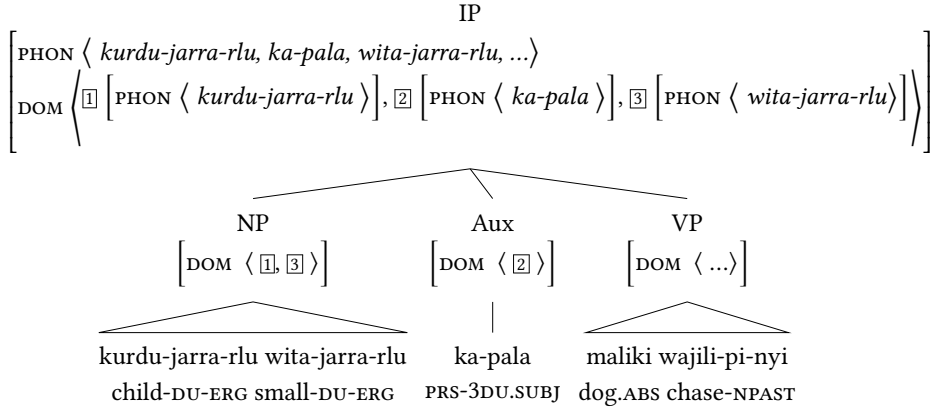


Figure 9: Analysis of free constituent order in Warlpiri according to Donohue & Sag (1999)

two independent domain objects ($\boxed{1}$ and $\boxed{3}$) to the domain of the mother. The second element in this domain has to be the auxiliary ($\boxed{2}$), $\boxed{1}$ is realized initially and $\boxed{3}$ follows the auxiliary.

We have seen so far an analysis that inserts complete objects into the domain of the mother, an analysis that inserts all domain objects of objects into the domain of the mother and in the next subsection I want to look at an intermediate case, so-called *partial compaction*.

Bob: explain compaction. You also don't explain liberation, which is probably necessary.

5.3 Partial compaction (extraposition)

Kathol & Pollard (1995) developed an analysis of extraposition that is a mix of the strategies discussed in the two subsections: most of one NP object is inserted into the domain of the mother as a single object, only those parts that are extraposed are liberated and inserted as individual domain objects into the domain of the mother.⁴ Kathol & Pollard's analysis of (25) is given in Figure 10.

- (25) einen Hund füttern, der Hunger hat (German)
 a dog feed that hunger has
 'feed a dog that is hungry'

einen Hund, der Hunger hat 'a dog who is hungry' consists of three domain objects: *einen* 'a', *Hund* 'dog', and *der Hunger hat* 'who hungry is'. The two initial ones are inserted as one object (the NP *ein Hund* 'a dog') into the higher domain and the relative clause is liberated. While the formation of the new domain at the mother node is relatively straight-forward in the cases discussed so far, a complex relational constraint is needed to split the relative clause ([3]) from the other domain objects and construct a new domain object that has the determiner and the noun as constituents ([2]). Kathol and Pollard have a relational constraint called *compaction* that builds new domain objects for insertion into higher domains. *partial compaction* takes an initial part of a domain and forms a new domain object from this returning the remaining domain objects for separate insertion into the higher domain. Due to space limitations, this constraint will not be discussed here but see Müller (1999: 244) for a refined version of Kathol and Pollard's constraint. The effect of partial compaction in Figure 10 is that there is a new object [2] and a list containing the remaining objects, in the example ⟨ [3] ⟩. A list containing the new object ⟨ [2] ⟩, a list containing the remaining objects ⟨ [3] ⟩ are shuffled with the domain list of the head [4]. Since the relative clause is in the same domain as the verb, it can be serialized to the right of the verb.

⁴This analysis of extraposition is not the only option available in HPSG. I explain it here since it shows the flexibility of the domain approach. The more common analysis of extraposition is one that is parallel to the SLASH-based approach to extraction that is explained in Borsley & Cysmann (2018), Chapter 14 of this volume. Since constraints regarding locality differ for fronting to the left and extraposition to the right a different feature is used (EXTRA). See Keller (1995) and Müller (1999) for discussion. More recent approaches assume the projection of semantic indices (Kiss 2005) to be able to solve puzzles like Link's (1984) hydra sentences and even more recent proposals mix index projection and EXTRA projection (Cysmann 2013).



p-compaction($[1]$, $[2]$, $\langle [3] \rangle$)

$[5] = \langle [2] \rangle \circ \langle [3] \rangle \circ [4]$

Figure 10: Analysis of extraposition via partial compaction of domain objects according to Kathol & Pollard (1995)

5.4 Problems with order domains

Constituent order domains may seem rather straight-forward since linearization facts can be handled easily. I assumed constituent order domains and discontinuous constituents for German myself for over a decade (Müller 1995; 2004). However, there are some problems that seem to suggest that a traditional GB-like head-movement approach is the better alternative. In what follows I want to discuss just two problematic aspects of linearization approaches: spurious ambiguities and apparently multiple frontings.

5.4.1 Partial fronting and spurious ambiguities

Kathol (2000) suggests an analysis with binary branching structures in which all arguments are inserted into a linearization domain and can be serialized there in any order provided no LP rule is violated. Normally one would have the elements of the COMPS list in a fixed order, combine the head with one element from the COMPS list after the other, and let the freedom in the DOM list be responsible for the various attested orders. So both sentences in (26) would have analyses in which the verb *erzählt* ‘tells’ is combined with *Geschichten* ‘stories’ first and then *Geschichten erzählt* ‘stories tells’ is combined with *den Wählern* ‘the voters’. Since the verb and all its arguments are in the same linearization domain they can be ordered in any order including the two orders in (26):

- (26) a. weil er den Wählern Geschichten erzählt (German)
 because he the voters stories tells
 ‘because he tells the voters stories’
 b. weil er Geschichten den Wählern erzählt
 because he stories the voters tells

The problem with this approach is that examples like (27) show that grammars have to account for combinations of any of the objects to the exclusion of the other:

- (27) a. Geschichten erzählen sollte man den Wählern nicht. (German)
 stories tell should one the voters not
 ‘One should not tell the voters such stories.’
 b. Den Wählern erzählen sollte man diese Geschichten nicht.
 the voters tell should one these stories not

Kathol (2000: Section 8.9) accounts for examples like (27) by relaxing the order of the objects in the valence list. He uses the shuffle operator in the valence

representation:

$$(28) \quad \langle \text{NP}[\textit{nom}] \rangle \oplus (\langle \text{NP}[\textit{dat}] \rangle \circ \langle \text{NP}[\textit{acc}] \rangle)$$

This solves the problem with examples like (27) but it introduces a new one: sentences like (26) now have two analyses each. One is the analysis we had before and another one is the one in which *den Wählern* ‘the voters’ is combined with *erzählt* ‘tells’ first and the result is then combined with *Geschichten* ‘stories’. Since both objects are inserted into the same linearization domain, both orders can be derived. So we have too much freedom: freedom in linearization and freedom in the order of combination. The proposal that I suggested has just the freedom in the order of combination and hence can account for both (26) and (27) without spurious ambiguities.

5.4.2 Surface order, clause types, fields within fields, and empty elements

Kathol (2001) develops an analysis of German that uses constituent order domains and determines the clause types on the basis of the order of elements in such domains. He suggests the topological fields 1, 2, 3, and 4, which correspond to the traditional topological fields *Vorfeld* ‘prefield’, *linke Satzklammer* ‘left sentence bracket’, *Mittelfeld* ‘middle field’, *rechte Satzklammer* ‘right sentence bracket’. Domain objects may assigned to these fields and they are then ordered by linearization constraints stating that objects assigned to 1 have to precede objects of type 2, type 3, and type 4. Objects of type 2 have to precede type 3, and type 4 and so on. For the *Vorfeld* and the left sentence he stipulates uniqueness constraints saying that at most one constituent may be of this type. This can be stated in a nice way by using the linearization constraints in (29):

$$(29) \quad \begin{array}{ll} \text{a.} & 1 < 1 \\ \text{b.} & 2 < 2 \end{array}$$

This trick was first suggested by Gazdar et al. (1985: 55, Fn. 3) in the framework of GPSG and it works since if there were two objects of type 1 than each one would be required to precede the other one resulting in a violation of the linearization constraint. So in order to avoid such constraint violation there must not be more than one 1.

Kathol (2001) assumes the following definition for V2 clauses:

$$(30) \quad V2\text{-clause} \Rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} S[\textit{fin}] \\ \text{DOM} \end{array} \left\langle [1], \left[\begin{array}{c} 2 \\ V[\textit{fin}] \end{array} \right], \dots \right\rangle \right]$$

This says that the constituent order domain starts with one element assigned to field 1 followed by another domain object assigned to field 2. While this is in accordance with general wisdom about German, which is a V2 language, there are problems for entirely surface-based theories: German allows for multiple constituents in front of the finite verb. (31) shows some examples:

- (31) a. [Zum zweiten Mal] [die Weltmeisterschaft] errang Clark 1965 ... ⁵
 to.the second time the world.championship won Clark 1965
 ‘Clark won the world championship for the second time in 1965.’
 b. [Dem Saft] [eine kräftige Farbe] geben Blutorangen.⁶
 the.DAT juice a.ACC strong color give blood.oranges
 ‘Blood oranges give the juice a strong color.’

Müller (2003a) extensively documents this phenomenon. The categories that can appear before the finite verb are almost unrestricted. Even subjects can be fronted together with other material (Bildhauer & Cook 2010: 72; Bildhauer 2011: 371). The empirical side of these apparent multiple frontings was further examined in the Collective Research Center 632, Project A6 and the claim that only constituents depending on the same verb can be fronted together (Fanselow 1993; Hoberg 1997: 1634) was confirmed (Müller 2017: Chapter 3). A further insight is that the linearization properties of the fronted material (NPs, PPs, adverbs, adjectives) correspond to the linearization properties they would have in the *Mittelfeld*. The example in (32) are even more interesting. It shows that there can be a right sentence bracket (the particle *los*) and an extraposed constituent (something following the particle: *damit*) before the finite verb (*geht* ‘goes’):

- (32) *Los damit geht es schon am 15. April.*⁷
 off there.with goes it PRT on 15. April
 4 5 2 3 3 3
 ‘The whole thing starts on the 15th April.’

In Kathol’s system, *los* would be of type 4 and *damit* would have to be of type 5 (an additional type for extraposed items). Without any modification of the general system, we would get a 4 and a 5 ordered before a 2 (a right sentence

⁵(Beneš 1971: 162)

⁶Bildhauer & Cook (2010) found this example in the *Deutsches Referenzkorpus* (DeReKo), hosted at Institut für Deutsche Sprache, Mannheim: <http://www.ids-mannheim.de/kl/projekte/korpora>, 2018-09-13.

⁷taz, 01.03.2002, p. 8.

bracket and a postfield preceding the left sentence bracket), something that is ruled out by Kathol's linearization constraints.

Müller (2002), still working in a domain-based framework, developed an analysis assuming an empty verbal head to explain the fact that the fronted constituents have to depend on the same verb and that there is a separate topological area that is independent of the remaining clause. So, *los* and *damit* are domain objects within a larger domain object placed in the prefield. Wetta (2011) suggests an analysis in which two or more constituents are compacted into one domain object, so *los* and *damit* would form one object that is inserted into the domain containing the finite verb. However, this begs the question what kind of object it is that is formed. Section 5.3 dealt with partial compaction of NPs. Some of the elements from an NP domain were liberated and other elements were fused into a new object that had the same category as the object containing all material, namely NP. But the situation with examples like (31) and (32) is quite different. We have a particle and a pronominal adverb in (32) and various other combinations of categories in the examples collected by Müller (2003a) and Bildhauer (2011). It would not make sense to claim that the fronted object is a particle or a pronominal adverb. Note that it is neither an option to leave the category of the fronted object unspecified since HPSG comes with the assumption that models of linguistic objects are total, that is, maximally specific (King 1999, see also Richter (2018), Chapter 3 of this volume). Leaving the category and valence properties of the item in the prefield unspecified would make such sentences infinitely many times ambiguous. Of course Wetta could state that the newly created object is a verbal projection but this would just be stating the effect of the empty verbal head within a relational constraint, which I consider less principled than stating the empty element.

However, the empty verbal head that I stated as part of a linearization grammar in 2002 comes as a stipulation since its only purpose in the grammar of German was to account for apparent multiple frontings. Müller (2005b; 2017) drops the linearization approach and assumes head-movement instead. The empty head that is used for accounting for the verb position in German can also be used to account for apparent multiple frontings. The analysis is sketched in (33):

- (33) [_{VP} [Zum zweiten Mal] [die Weltmeisterschaft] _{-V}]_i errang_j Clark
 to.the second time the world.championship won Clark
 1965 _{-i} _{-j}.
 1965

The details cannot be explained here but the analysis treats apparent multiple frontings parallel to partial verb phrase frontings. A lexical rule is used for mul-

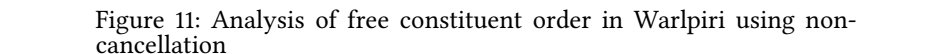
multiple frontings which is a special case of the head-movement rule that was discussed in Section 4. So apparent multiple frontings are analyzed with means that are available to the grammar anyway. This analysis allows us to keep the insight that German is a V2 language and it also gets the same-clause constraint and the linearization of elements right. See Müller (2005a,b; 2017) for details.

The paper so far discussed the tools that have been suggested in HPSG to account for constituent order: flat vs. binary branching structures, linearization domains, head-movement via DSL. I showed that analyses of German relying on discontinuous constituents and constituent order domains are not without problems and that head-movement approaches with binary branching and continuous constituents can account for the data. I also demonstrated in Section 5.2 that languages like Warlpiri that allow for much freer constituent order than German can be accounted for in models allowing for discontinuous constituents. The following section discusses a proposal by Bender (2008) showing that even languages like the Australian free constituent order languages can be handled without discontinuous constituents.

6 Free constituent order languages without order domains

Bender (2008) discusses the Australian language Wambaya and shows how phenomena parallel to those treated by Donohue & Sag (1999) can be handled without discontinuous constituents. Bender assumes that all arguments of a head are projected to higher nodes even when they are combined with the head, that is, arguments are not canceled off from valence lists. See also Meurers (1999); Przepiórkowski (1999) and Müller (2008) for earlier non-cancellation approaches.⁸ The example (23) from Section 5.2 can be recast with continuous constituents as is shown in Figure 11. The figure shows that arguments are not removed from the valence representation after combination with the head. Rather they are marked as satisfied. Since they are still in the representation, schemata may refer to them. Bender suggests a schema that identifies the MOD value of an element that could function as an adjunct in a normal head-adjunct structure with an element in the valence representation. In Figure 11 the MOD value of the second ergative nominal *wita-jarra-rlu* ‘small’ is identified with an argument of the auxiliary verb (□). The adjunct hence has access to the referential index of the argument and it is therefore guaranteed that both parts of the noun phrase refer to the same discourse referent. The NP for *kurdu-jarra-rlu* is combined with the projection of

⁸Higginbotham (1985) and Winkler (1997) make similar suggestions with regard to the representation of theta roles.



This paper discussed general approaches to constituent order in HPSG. On the

the missing head up along the head path. The alternative to head movement is linearization of elements in special linearization domains, allowing for discontinuous constituents. I showed that there are reasons for assuming head-movement for German and how even languages with extremely free constituent order can be analyzed without assuming discontinuous constituents.

Acknowledgements

I thank Bob Borsley and Doug Ball for very detailed and very useful comments.

References

- Ajdukiewicz, Kazimierz. 1935. Die syntaktische Konnexität. *Studia Philosophica* 1. 1–27.
- Bach, Emmon. 1962. The order of elements in a Transformational Grammar of German. *Language* 8(3). 263–269.
- Bender, Emily M. 2008. Radical non-configurationality without shuffle operators: An analysis of Wambaya. In Stefan Müller (ed.), *Proceedings of the 15th International Conference on Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar*, 6–24. Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications. <http://csli-publications.stanford.edu/HPSG/2008/>, accessed 2018-2-25.
- Beneš, Eduard. 1971. Die Besetzung der ersten Position im deutschen Aussagesatz. In Hugo Moser (ed.), *Fragen der strukturellen Syntax und der kontrastiven Grammatik* (Sprache der Gegenwart – Schriften des IdS Mannheim 17), 160–182. Düsseldorf: Pädagogischer Verlag Schwann.
- Bierwisch, Manfred. 1963. *Grammatik des deutschen Verbs* (studia grammatica 2). Berlin: Akademie Verlag.
- Bildhauer, Felix. 2011. Mehrfache Vorfeldbesetzung und Informationsstruktur: Eine Bestandsaufnahme. *Deutsche Sprache* 39(4). 362–379.
- Bildhauer, Felix & Philippa Cook. 2010. German multiple fronting and expected topic-hood. In Stefan Müller (ed.), *Proceedings of the 17th International Conference on Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar, Université Paris Diderot*, 68–79. Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications. <http://csli-publications.stanford.edu/HPSG/2010/>, accessed 2018-2-25.
- Bjerre, Tavs. 2006. *Object positions in a topological sentence model for Danish: A linearization-based HPSG approach*. <http://www.hum.au.dk/engelsk/engsv/objectpositions/workshop/Bjerre.pdf>, accessed 2018-2-25. Presentation at Ph.D.-Course at Sandbjerg, Denmark.

- Borsley, Robert D. 1989. Phrase-Structure Grammar and the Barriers conception of clause structure. *Linguistics* 27(5). 843–863.
- Borsley, Robert D. 2006. *Syntactic and lexical approaches to unbounded dependencies*. Essex Research Reports in Linguistics 49. University of Essex. 31–57. <http://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/4187949.pdf#page=35>, accessed 2018-2-25.
- Borsley, Robert D. & Stefan Müller. 2018. Minimalism. In Stefan Müller, Anne Abeillé, Robert D. Borsley & Jean-Pierre Koenig (eds.), *Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar: The handbook* (Empirically Oriented Theoretical Morphology and Syntax). Berlin: Language Science Press. To appear.
- Bouma, Gosse, Robert Malouf & Ivan A. Sag. 2001. Satisfying constraints on extraction and adjunction. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 19(1). 1–65.
- Bouma, Gosse & Gertjan van Noord. 1998. Word order constraints on verb clusters in German and Dutch. In Erhard W. Hinrichs, Andreas Kathol & Tsuneko Nakazawa (eds.), *Complex predicates in nonderivational syntax* (Syntax and Semantics 30), 43–72. San Diego: Academic Press.
- Chaves, Rui P. 2009. Construction-based cumulation and adjunct extraction. In Stefan Müller (ed.), *Proceedings of the 16th International Conference on Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar, University of Göttingen, Germany*, 47–67. Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications. <http://csli-publications.stanford.edu/HPSG/2009/>, accessed 2018-2-25.
- Chomsky, Noam. 2010. *Restricting stipulations: consequences and challenges*. Talk given in Stuttgart.
- Crysmann, Berthold. 2013. On the locality of complement clause and relative clause extraposition. In Gert Webelhuth, Manfred Sailer & Heike Walker (eds.), *Rightward movement in a comparative perspective* (Linguistik Aktuell/Linguistics Today 200), 369–396. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Co.
- Donohue, Cathryn & Ivan A. Sag. 1999. Domains in Warlpiri. In *Sixth International Conference on HPSG—Abstracts. 04–06 August 1999*, 101–106. Edinburgh.
- Engelkamp, Judith, Gregor Erbach & Hans Uszkoreit. 1992. Handling linear precedence constraints by unification. In Henry S. Thomson (ed.), *30th Annual Meeting of the Association for Computational Linguistics. Proceedings of the conference*, 201–208. Newark, DE: Association for Computational Linguistics. auch als CLAUS-Report, Nr. 19, Universität des Saarlandes erschienen.
- Fanselow, Gisbert. 1993. Die Rückkehr der Basisgenerierer. *Groninger Arbeiten zur Germanistischen Linguistik* 36. 1–74.
- Feldhaus, Anke. 1997. *Eine HPSG-Analyse ausgewählter Phänomene des deutschen w-Fragesatzes*. Working Papers of the Institute for Logic and Linguistics 27. IBM Scientific Center Heidelberg: Institute for Logic & Linguistics.

- Fillmore, Charles J. 1999. Inversion and Constructional inheritance. In Gert Webelhuth, Jean-Pierre Koenig & Andreas Kathol (eds.), *Lexical and Constructional aspects of linguistic explanation* (Studies in Constraint-Based Lexicalism 1), 113–128. Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications.
- Frank, Anette. 1994. *Verb second by lexical rule or by underspecification*. Arbeitspapiere des SFB 340 No. 43. Heidelberg: IBM Deutschland GmbH. <ftp://ftp.ims.uni-stuttgart.de/pub/papers/anette/v2-usp.ps.gz>, accessed 2018-3-20.
- Gazdar, Gerald. 1981. Unbounded dependencies and coordinate structure. *Linguistic Inquiry* 12. 155–184.
- Gazdar, Gerald, Ewan Klein, Geoffrey K. Pullum & Ivan A. Sag. 1985. *Generalized Phrase Structure Grammar*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Ginzburg, Jonathan & Ivan A. Sag. 2000. *Interrogative investigations: The form, meaning, and use of English interrogatives* (CSLI Lecture Notes 123). Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications.
- Gunji, Takao. 1986. Subcategorization and word order. In William J. Poser (ed.), *Papers from the Second International Workshop on Japanese Syntax*, 1–21. Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications.
- Higginbotham, James. 1985. On semantics. *Linguistic Inquiry* 16(4). 547–593.
- Hinrichs, Erhard W. & Tsuneko Nakazawa. 1989. Subcategorization and VP structure in German. In *Aspects of German VP structure* (SfS-Report-01-93). Tübingen: Eberhard-Karls-Universität Tübingen.
- Hinrichs, Erhard W. & Tsuneko Nakazawa. 1994. Linearizing AUXs in German verbal complexes. In John Nerbonne, Klaus Netter & Carl J. Pollard (eds.), *German in Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar* (CSLI Lecture Notes 46), 11–38. Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications.
- Hoberg, Ursula. 1997. Die Linearstruktur des Satzes. In Hans-Werner Eroms, Gerhard Stickel & Gisela Zifonun (eds.), *Grammatik der deutschen Sprache*, vol. 7.2 (Schriften des Instituts für deutsche Sprache), 1495–1680. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Höhle, Tilman N. 1982. Explikationen für „normale Betonung“ und „normale Wortstellung“. In Werner Abraham (ed.), *Satzglieder im Deutschen – Vorschläge zur syntaktischen, semantischen und pragmatischen Fundierung* (Studien zur deutschen Grammatik 15), 75–153. Tübingen: originally Gunter Narr Verlag now Stauffenburg Verlag. Republished as Höhle (2018).
- Höhle, Tilman N. 2018. Explikationen für „normale Betonung“ und „normale Wortstellung“. In Stefan Müller, Marga Reis & Frank Richter (eds.), *Beiträge zur Grammatik des Deutschen: Gesammelte Schriften von Tilman N.*

- Höhle (Classics in Linguistics 5), 107–191. Berlin: Language Science Press.
DOI:10.5281/zenodo.1145680
- Jacobson, Pauline. 1987. Phrase structure, grammatical relations, and discontinuous constituents. In Geoffrey J. Huck & Almerindo E. Ojeda (eds.), *Discontinuous constituency* (Syntax and Semantics 20), 27–69. New York: Academic Press.
- Kasper, Robert T. 1994. Adjuncts in the Mittelfeld. In John Nerbonne, Klaus Netter & Carl J. Pollard (eds.), *German in Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar* (CSLI Lecture Notes 46), 39–70. Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications.
- Kathol, Andreas. 1998. Constituency and linearization of verbal complexes. In Erhard W. Hinrichs, Andreas Kathol & Tsuneko Nakazawa (eds.), *Complex predicates in nonderivational syntax* (Syntax and Semantics 30), 221–270. San Diego: Academic Press.
- Kathol, Andreas. 2000. *Linear syntax*. New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kathol, Andreas. 2001. Positional effects in a monostratal grammar of German. *Journal of Linguistics* 37(1). 35–66.
- Kathol, Andreas & Carl J. Pollard. 1995. Extraposition via complex domain formation. In Hans Uszkoreit (ed.), *33rd Annual Meeting of the Association for Computational Linguistics. Proceedings of the conference*, 174–180. Cambridge, MA: Association for Computational Linguistics.
- Keller, Frank. 1995. Towards an account of extraposition in HPSG. In Steven P. Abney & Erhard W. Hinrichs (eds.), *Proceedings of the Seventh Conference of the European Chapter of the Association for Computational Linguistics*, 301–306. Dublin: Association for Computational Linguistics.
- King, Paul. 1999. Towards truth in Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar. In Valia Kordoni (ed.), *Tübingen studies in Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar* (Arbeitsberichte des SFB 340 No.132), 301–352. Tübingen: Universität Tübingen. <http://www.sfs.uni-tuebingen.de/sfb/reports/berichte/132/132abs.html>, accessed 2018-2-25.
- Kiss, Tibor. 1993. *Infinite Komplementation – Neue Studien zum deutschen Verbum infinitum*. Arbeiten des SFB 282 No. 42. Bergische Universität Gesamthochschule Wuppertal.
- Kiss, Tibor. 1995. *Infinite Komplementation: Neue Studien zum deutschen Verbum infinitum* (Linguistische Arbeiten 333). Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag.
- Kiss, Tibor. 2005. Semantic constraints on relative clause extraposition. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 23(2). 281–334.

- Kiss, Tibor & Birgit Wesche. 1991. Verb order and head movement. In Otthein Herzog & Claus-Rainer Rollinger (eds.), *Text understanding in LILOG* (Lecture Notes in Artificial Intelligence 546), 216–242. Berlin: Springer Verlag.
- Levine, Robert D. & Thomas E. Hukari. 2006. *The unity of unbounded dependency constructions* (CSLI Lecture Notes 166). Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications.
- Link, Godehard. 1984. Hydras: On the logic of relative constructions with multiple heads. In Fred Landmann & Frank Veltman (eds.), *Varieties of formal semantics*, 245–257. Dordrecht: Foris Publications.
- Meurers, Walt Detmar. 1999. Raising spirits (and assigning them case). *Groninger Arbeiten zur Germanistischen Linguistik (GAGL)* 43. 173–226. <http://www.sfs.uni-tuebingen.de/~dm/papers/gagl99.html>, accessed 2018-2-25.
- Meurers, Walt Detmar. 2000. *Lexical generalizations in the syntax of German non-finite constructions*. Arbeitspapiere des SFB 340 No.145. Tübingen: Eberhard-Karls-Universität. <http://www.sfs.uni-tuebingen.de/~dm/papers/diss.html>, accessed 2018-2-25.
- Müller, Stefan. 1995. Scrambling in German – Extraction into the *Mittelfeld*. In Benjamin K. T'sou & Tom Bong Yeung Lai (eds.), *Proceedings of the Tenth Pacific Asia Conference on Language, Information and Computation*, 79–83. City University of Hong Kong.
- Müller, Stefan. 1996. The Babel-System: An HPSG fragment for German, a parser, and a dialogue component. In *Proceedings of the Fourth International Conference on the Practical Application of Prolog*, 263–277. London.
- Müller, Stefan. 1999. *Deutsche Syntax deklarativ: Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar für das Deutsche* (Linguistische Arbeiten 394). Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag.
- Müller, Stefan. 2002. *Complex predicates: Verbal complexes, resultative constructions, and particle verbs in German* (Studies in Constraint-Based Lexicalism 13). Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications.
- Müller, Stefan. 2003a. Mehrfache Vorfeldbesetzung. *Deutsche Sprache* 31(1). 29–62.
- Müller, Stefan. 2003b. Solving the bracketing paradox: An analysis of the morphology of German particle verbs. *Journal of Linguistics* 39(2). 275–325. DOI:10.1017/S0022226703002032
- Müller, Stefan. 2004. Continuous or discontinuous constituents? A comparison between syntactic analyses for constituent order and their processing systems. *Research on Language and Computation, Special Issue on Linguistic Theory and Grammar Implementation* 2(2). 209–257.

- Müller, Stefan. 2005a. Zur Analyse der deutschen Satzstruktur. *Linguistische Berichte* 201. 3–39.
- Müller, Stefan. 2005b. Zur Analyse der scheinbar mehrfachen Vorfeldbesetzung. *Linguistische Berichte* 203. 297–330.
- Müller, Stefan. 2008. Depictive secondary predicates in German and English. In Christoph Schroeder, Gerd Hentschel & Winfried Boeder (eds.), *Secondary predicates in Eastern European languages and beyond* (Studia Slavica Oldenburgensia 16), 255–273. Oldenburg: BIS-Verlag.
- Müller, Stefan. 2013. Unifying everything: Some remarks on Simpler Syntax, Construction Grammar, Minimalism and HPSG. *Language* 89(4). 920–950. DOI:10.1353/lan.2013.0061
- Müller, Stefan. 2015a. HPSG – A synopsis. In Tibor Kiss & Artemis Alexiadou (eds.), *Syntax – Theory and analysis: An international handbook* (Handbooks of Linguistics and Communication Science 42.2), 937–973. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter. DOI:10.1515/9783110363708-004
- Müller, Stefan. 2015b. The CoreGram project: Theoretical linguistics, theory development and verification. *Journal of Language Modelling* 3(1). 21–86. DOI:10.15398/jlm.v3i1.91
- Müller, Stefan. 2016. Satztypen: Lexikalisch oder/und phrasal. In Rita Finkbeiner & Jörg Meibauer (eds.), *Satztypen und Konstruktionen im Deutschen* (Linguistik – Impulse und Tendenzen 65), 72–105. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Müller, Stefan. 2017. *German sentence structure: An analysis with special consideration of so-called multiple fronting* (Empirically Oriented Theoretical Morphology and Syntax). Berlin: Language Science Press. Revise and resubmit.
- Müller, Stefan. 2018. *Germanic syntax*. Ms. Humboldt Universität zu Berlin, to be submitted to Language Science Press. Berlin. <https://hpsg.hu-berlin.de/~stefan/Pub/germanic.html>, accessed 2018-3-20.
- Müller, Stefan & Bjarne Ørnsnes. 2015. *Danish in Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar* (Empirically Oriented Theoretical Morphology and Syntax). Berlin: Language Science Press. In Preparation.
- Netter, Klaus. 1992. On non-head non-movement: An HPSG treatment of finite verb position in German. In Günther Görz (ed.), *Konvens 92. 1. Konferenz „Verarbeitung natürlicher Sprache“*. Nürnberg 7.–9. Oktober 1992 (Informatik aktuell), 218–227. Berlin: Springer Verlag.
- Oliva, Karel. 1992. *Word order constraints in binary branching syntactic structures*. CLAUS-Report 20. Saarbrücken: Universität des Saarlandes.

- Pollard, Carl J. 1996. On head non-movement. In Harry Bunt & Arthur van Horck (eds.), *Discontinuous constituency* (Natural Language Processing 6), 279–305. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. Veröffentlichte Version eines Ms. von 1990.
- Przepiórkowski, Adam. 1999. On case assignment and “adjuncts as complements”. In Gert Webelhuth, Jean-Pierre Koenig & Andreas Kathol (eds.), *Lexical and Constructional aspects of linguistic explanation* (Studies in Constraint-Based Lexicalism 1), 231–245. Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications.
- Reape, Mike. 1991. *Word order variation in Germanic and parsing*. DYANA Report Deliverable R1.1.C. University of Edinburgh.
- Reape, Mike. 1992. *A formal theory of word order: A case study in West Germanic*. University of Edinburgh dissertation.
- Reape, Mike. 1994. Domain union and word order variation in German. In John Nerbonne, Klaus Netter & Carl J. Pollard (eds.), *German in Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar* (CSLI Lecture Notes 46), 151–198. Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications.
- Reis, Marga. 1974. Syntaktische Hauptsatzprivilegien und das Problem der deutschen Wortstellung. *Zeitschrift für Germanistische Linguistik* 2(3). 299–327.
- Rizzi, Luigi. 1997. The fine structure of the left periphery. In Liliane Haegeman (ed.), *Elements of grammar*, 281–337. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers.
- Sag, Ivan A. 1997. English relative clause constructions. *Journal of Linguistics* 33(2). 431–484.
- Sag, Ivan A., Rui Chaves, Anne Abeillé, Bruno Estigarribia, Frank Van Eynde, Dan Flickinger, Paul Kay, Laura A. Michaelis-Cummings, Stefan Müller, Geoffrey K. Pullum & Tom Wasow. 2018. Lessons from the English auxiliary system. *Journal of Linguistics*. To appear.
- Steedman, Mark J. 2000. *The syntactic process* (Language, Speech, and Communication). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Thiersch, Craig L. 1978. *Topics in German syntax*. M.I.T. Dissertation. <http://hdl.handle.net/1721.1/16327>, accessed 2018-2-25.
- Uszkoreit, Hans. 1987. *Word order and constituent structure in German* (CSLI Lecture Notes 8). Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications.
- van Noord, Gertjan & Gosse Bouma. 1994. The scope of adjuncts and the processing of lexical rules. In Makoto Nagao (ed.), *Proceedings of COLING 94*, 250–256. Kyoto, Japan: Association for Computational Linguistics. <http://www.aclweb.org/anthology/C94-1039>, accessed 2018-7-5.
- Wetta, Andrew C. 2011. A Construction-based cross-linguistic analysis of V2 word order. In Stefan Müller (ed.), *Proceedings of the 18th International Con-*

- ference on Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar*, University of Washington, 248–268. Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications. <http://csli-publications.stanford.edu/HPSG/2011/>, accessed 2018-2-25.
- Wetta, Andrew Charles. 2014. *Construction-based approaches to flexible word order*. Buffalo: State University of New York at Buffalo dissertation. <http://gradworks.umi.com/36/83/3683106.html>, accessed 2016-3-11.
- Winkler, Susanne. 1997. *Focus and secondary predication* (Studies in Generative Grammar 43). Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter. 481.