Available online at www.sciencedirect.com
SCIENCE DIRECT®
Lingua 115 (2005) 691–710
Lingua
www.elsevier.com/locate/lingua

A comment on the topic of topic–comment

Marcel den Dikken

Linguistics Program, CUNY Graduate Center, 365 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10016-4309, USA

Received 17 June 2003; received in revised form 10 November 2003; accepted 10 November 2003
Available online 29 December 2003

Abstract

Topic–comment structures are an important ingredient of the grammars of languages that are not normally thought of as topic-prominent or discourse-configurational. This paper presents an integrated topic–comment approach to a subtype of specificational pseudo-clefts and three constructions generally grouped under the rubric of relative clause constructions: 'subject contact relatives' in dialects of English, 'V2 relatives' in Dutch and German, and extraposed relative clauses. All are argued to have a syntactic structure in which the first clause is the *topic*, occupying the specifier position of a TopP whose head takes the second clause, the *comment*, as its complement. The restrictive or specificational relationship between the second clause and the focus of the first clause, common to all the constructions discussed under the rubric of topic–comment structures in this paper, is shown to be the interpretive reflex of the fact that the second clause is introduced as the complement of the abstract head 'Top^0', and is thereby earmarked as a comment.

Keywords: Topic; Comment; Focus; Specificational pseudo-cleft; 'Subject contact relative'; 'V2 relative'; Extraposed relative clause; Belfast English; Appalachian English; Dutch; German

1. Introduction

It is my aim in this paper to bring together under the rubric of 'topic–comment structures' (cf. Gundel, 1974, 1988, references cited there, and more recent work in their wake) a variety of apparently unrelated biclausal constructions whose first clause plays the role of topic *vis-à-vis* the second clause, which serves as the comment and provides information about a subconstituent of the topic clause: its focus, to be precise. Through this lens, I will be looking, first of all, at a specific subtype of specificational pseudo-cleft

E-mail address: MDen-Dikken@gc.cuny.edu (M. den Dikken).

0024-3841/$ – see front matter
doi:10.1016/j.lingua.2003.11.005

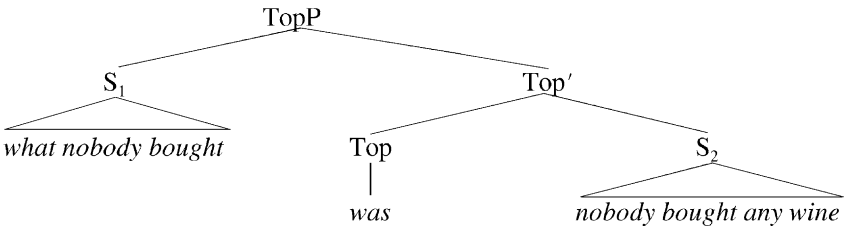
constructions identified in earlier work by den Dikken et al. (2000), to set up the case for a topic–comment structure (Section 2), and subsequently I will extend the analysis to so-called 'subject contact relatives' in varieties of English (Section 3) and 'V2 relatives' in Dutch and German (Section 4), closing the discussion with a brief look at extraposed relative clauses and the question of what distinguishes regular relatives from 'subject contact relatives' and 'V2 relatives' (Section 5). At the macro-syntactic level, I will analyse all constructions under discussion in terms of a TopP–structure whose specifier position is occupied by the topic clause, with the complement of Top^0 being the comment clause; the Top^0–head in between the two major constituents of these topic–comment structures is lexicalised in a subset of the constructions discussed.

2. Specificational pseudo-clefts as topic–comment constructions

Den Dikken et al. (2000) analyse (a subtype of[1]) specificational pseudo-cleft constructions as topic–comment structures in which the *wh*-clause ('S_1'; throughout, I will use the label 'S' to abstract away from the size of the clausal constituents, which is irrelevant for our purposes here) serves as the topic and the 'counterweight' ('S_2') is the comment; the copula, which occurs in between the two major constituents, occupies the head position Top^0 of the TopP.

(1) What nobody bought was (nobody bought) any wine.

(2)



This analysis of specificational pseudo-clefts of the type in (1) has a number of important advantages.

First, it affords us a straightforward account of the 'connectivity effect' involving negative polarity item licensing—concretely, the fact that in (1) the negative polarity item *any* is licensed in the second clause even in the apparent absence of a licenser in a position from which licensing would be able to proceed: in the variant of (1) without the bracketed material, it would seem that the only potential licenser for *any*, the negative quantifier *nobody*, is structurally entirely disconnected from the polarity item, and should hence have a hard time licensing *any*. On an analysis that treats the postcopular constituent of specificational pseudo-clefts as a full-fledged clause subject to ellipsis, licensing *any* in

[1] Specifically, those specificational pseudo-clefts (SPCs) that den Dikken et al. (2000) call 'Type A' SPCs. These are characterised by the fact that the 'counterweight' of the *wh*-clause is a full clause (which, however, is subject to optional ellipsis).

(1) is perfectly simple: it can proceed in terms of garden-variety S–structure c-command between the negative constituent (*nobody*) and the NPI (*any*) within S_2, even in the variant of (1) in which the postcopular constituent would appear to be a mere noun phrase. By taking this tack, we get the polarity item licensed at S–structure, and thereby void the need for mechanisms (such as those proposed by Heycock and Kroch, 1999 and Bošković, 1997) that would take care of the licensing of *any* at some post-Spell–Out point.

Second, an analysis of specificational pseudo-clefts of the type in (1) makes immediate sense of the fact that the postcopular constituent may in fact be a full clause. Though ellipsis is certainly possible and for most speakers by far the preferred option in sentences such as (1), lexicalisation of the entire content of the clause in the complement of Top^0 is possible in a variety of dialects of English (primarily spoken in the United States; see den Dikken et al., 2000: 43, for relevant references).

Thirdly, this approach readily explains the rigid word order of specificational pseudo-clefts of this type: the *wh*-clause must precede the copula, which in turn must precede the 'counterweight'. On an antisymmetry-based approach to word order (Kayne, 1994), this follows directly from the fact that the *wh*-clause is the topic, sitting in SpecTopP, and the 'counterweight' is the comment, in Top^0's complement, with Top^0 lexicalised by the copula.

And with the copula sitting in this position, the analysis also captures without any ado the fact that in specificational pseudo-clefts featuring fully clausal 'counterweights', the copular element mediating the relationship between the two major constituents must be a simple form (**What nobody bought might be nobody bought any wine*). Since the copular element occupies the head position of TopP, there simply is no space in the structure for anything more than a simple form of the copula.[2]

Let us therefore take specificational pseudo-clefts of the type in (1) to show that topic–comment structures like (2) exist in English—in *all* varieties of English, in fact: for even though the fully spelled out variant of (1) may not be universally liked in the English-speaking world,[3] all speakers of English, to my knowledge, allow negative polarity items to be licensed as or inside the postcopular constituent of a specificational pseudo-cleft.

3. 'Subject contact relatives' as topic–comment constructions

For what Doherty (1993) dubbed 'subject contact relatives' (cf. Jespersen's 1961: 81, vol. III, 132ff. 'contact-clauses'), Henry (1995) presents a topic–comment analysis very

[2] A reviewer asks how this approach to the copula in Type A specificational pseudo-clefts takes care of the tense and agreement features of the copula. Den Dikken et al. (2000: 65–66) discuss the tense restrictions on these constructions in some detail, pointing out that the copula must agree in tense with the *wh*-clause (cf. *What John doesn't have* {*is*/**was*} *any pictures of himself* vs. *What John didn't have* {*was*/**is*} *any pictures of himself*). They take this to be a reflex of the Spec–Head relationship between S_1, in SpecTopP, and the copula in Top^0. The copula's person and number features, in Type A specificational pseudo-clefts, are invariant: third person singular. This may also be viewed as a reflex of Spec–Head agreement (if clauses are specified for number and person at all, they will be third person singular), or alternatively as a case of default phi-feature specification.

[3] For reasons that I will not investigate here, not thereby suggesting that this is an unimportant topic.

similar to the one den Dikken et al. (2000) assign to specificational pseudo-clefts of the type in (1).[4]

(3) a. There's one woman in our street went to Spain last year.
b. It's always me pays the gas bill.
c. I have one student can speak five languages.
d. He's the one stole the money.

Of the examples in (3), Jespersen (1961: 1444, vol. III) attributes (3a, b) to the standard speech of his day, while classifying (3c,d) as 'a vulgarism or as an archaism in poets'; though none of (3a–d) are part of present-day standard English, these sentences are perfectly grammatical in many varieties of English, both in the Old World (cf., e.g. Belfast English; Doherty, 1993; Henry, 1995) and in the United States (e.g. Appalachian English). All examples in (3) alternate with standard cases in which there is a relative pronoun or complementiser to the left of the second finite verb in these sentences (cf. (4)).

(4) a. There's one woman in our street who/that went to Spain last year.
b. It's always me who/that pays the gas bill.
c. I have one student who/that can speak five languages.
d. He's the one who/that stole the money.

3.1. A false start

Jespersen (1961: 145, vol. III) claims, with reference to sentences such as (5), that 'in this position the feeling that a pronoun belongs to the following verb (as subject) ... protects it from being put in the objective case'. Thus, Jespersen contemplates an analysis that treats *he* as the physical subject of *brought*. Such a relationship is readily established if we extend to (5) the analysis that Belvin and den Dikken (1997) suggest for sentences of the type in (3a).

(5) It was he brought back George. (Thackeray)

Belvin and den Dikken (1997: 175) suggest in passing that an analysis of *there*-sentences according to which *there* is underlyingly a small clause predicate (cf. Moro, 1997; Hoekstra and Mulder, 1990) could accommodate sentences of the type in (3a) in terms of a structure in which *there* is predicated of a finite IP (cf. (6a)). The point of Belvin and den Dikken' s paper is not so much to present an analysis of (3a) as to draw a systematic parallel between *there*-sentences and *have*-constructions, deriving the latter from a structure in which *have* is the result of the incorporation into *be* of a (null) dative preposition heading the predicate

[4] A reviewer points out that in Northern Italian dialects, the only context of 'complementiser deletion' is precisely the one in (3b). An approach along the lines of the text analysis of the Belfast English cases may be viable for these Italian dialects as well.

of *be*' s small clause complement. From this perspective, the analysis in (6a) for sentences of the type in (3a) has the additional advantage of carrying over straightforwardly to 'subject contact relatives' in *have* sentences of the type in (3c) (cf. also Jespersen, 1961: 147, vol. III). Such sentences will then once again feature a finite IP as the subject of predication, this time with a dative PP (rather than *there*) serving as the underlying predicate (cf. (6b)). Extending this account of (3a,c) to (5) and its ilk is entirely straightforward once we adopt Moro's (1997) approach to *it* as a small clause predicate (cf. (6c)).

(6) a. *be* [$_{SC}$ [$_{S}$ *one woman in our street went to Spain last year*] [$_{Pred}$ *there*]]
b. *be* [$_{SC}$ [$_{S}$ *one student can speak five languages*] [$_{Pred}$ $P_{\varnothing}$ *I*]]
c. *be* [$_{SC}$ [$_{S}$ *he brought back George*] [$_{Pred}$ *it*]]

An analysis of these types of 'subject contact relatives' along the lines of (6) would of course make the non-appearance of a relative pronoun or complementiser in front of the second finite verb perfectly plain: there is no relative clause in the structure; the noun phrase preceding the second finite verb is physically the subject of the subject–S. But while such an analysis may perhaps be available for some individual examples of these types, it seems impossible to declare it the *sole* underlier of such sentences. Several observations speak against an attempt at analysing all 'subject contact relatives' in terms of structures such as those in (6).

One thing that is striking about the examples of the type in (6) collected by Jespersen is that, even though contraction of the copula onto *it* is rife in the writings of many of the authors cited, there is not a single instance of the type in (6) in which the *second* finite verb contracts onto the noun phrase preceding it. Thus, we find (7a) and we also find plenty of tokens of *it's* in the matrix clause, there is no such thing as (7b). If indeed such contractions are never found, that strongly suggests that the noun phrase preceding the second finite verb does not function as the physical subject of that verb.

(7) a. It is your heart is on fire, not your shop. (Lyly)
b. *It is/It's your heart's on fire.

Further trouble for the approach in (6) comes from the examples in (8) and (9). Thus, in examples such as (8a), *a boy* and the 'subject contact relative' that restricts it are separated by a prepositional phrase which is not (necessarily) parsed as a constituent of the noun phrase headed by *boy*, being analysed most naturally as the predicate of the *there*-clause instead. And in (8b,c), the extraction of the noun phrase following *it is/was* would incur major trace-licensing problems on an analysis based on (6c), which would turn (8b, c) into cases of A′–extraction of a left-branch constituent (the subject) out of a larger left-branch constituent (the S in SC–subject position). No less problematic for an account along the lines of (6) is the fact that in *there* constructions of this type, the copula can agree with a plural noun phrase following it (cf. (9)) despite the fact that that noun phrase is projected as the subject of a finite clause embedded in the copula's complement.

(8) a. There isn't a boy in your stables would give me up like that. (Shaw)
b. See who it is lives in the most magnificent buildings. (Fielding)
c. I wonder who it was defined man as a rational animal. (Wilde)

(9) a. There are very surprising things happen in this world. (Fielding)
b. There are very few would credit what I have done. (Sheridan)
c. There are lots of vulgar people live in Grosvenor Square. (Wilde)

And finally, though Jespersen (1961: 145, vol. III) apparently believed that a pronoun in the position following *it is* in (5) would have to be nominative, it is clear from Belfast English (3b) that this is by no means true for contemporary varieties of English—and clearly, the accusative case on *me* in (3b) would be hard to reconcile with a treatment of the pronoun as the physical subject of the clause of which *pays the gas bill* is the predicate (especially since Belfast English does not otherwise allow *me* as the pronominal subject of its finite clauses—barring cases of conjoined pronominal subjects, clearly irrelevant here).

While this should suffice to cast significant doubt on an approach to (3a–c) along the lines of (6), it should be clear, more generally, that such an approach could never serve as a mold in which to cast the entire set of 'subject contact relative' constructions: there is no obvious way of extending (6) to (3d), or, for that matter, to cases in which the verb of the first clause is fully lexical (such as (10), from Henry, 1995: 125).

(10) a. I met a man can speak five languages.
b. I know a boy has never worked.
c. They've invented a drug can help jet lag.

So even though (6) may well be accurate for a small subset of examples featuring 'subject contact relatives' (especially those in which the verb of the first clause is copular—*be* or *have*—and the pronoun following it is explicitly nominative, such as Thackeray's (5)), it is a false start as an attempt at providing an integrated account of 'subject contact relative' constructions across the board. The search is open for an analysis that will cover to all of the examples discussed.

3.2. Another failed attempt

I already pointed out immediately after introducing the Belfast English examples in (3) that these systematically alternate with sentences featuring a relative pronoun or complementiser to the left of the second finite verb. So could this mean that we are dealing here with a case of relative clauses with optional relative pronouns or complementisers?

The answer is negative, for at least three reasons. I will bring two of them up in this subsection, relegating the third to Section 3.3. First, as Henry (1995: 126) points out, '[i]n all those cases where subject contact relatives are possible, there is an alternative with an

overt pronoun', but in full-fledged relative clauses with a relative pronoun or the complementiser *that*, this is impossible:[5]

(11) a. There's one woman in our street *she* went to Spain last year.
a′. *There's one woman in our street who/that *she* went to Spain last year.
b. I met a man *he* can speak five languages.
b′. *I met a man who/that *he* can speak five languages.

It is important to stress that the examples in (11a,b) are not equivalent to the sequences in (12). This is particularly clear in the case of the a–examples. While (12a) can only be felicitously uttered in a situation in which there is precisely one woman living in the street in question, (11a) makes no such claim about the population of this street.

(12) a. There's one woman in our street. She went to Spain last year.
b. I met a man. He can speak five languages.

It thus appears that, semantically, 'subject contact relatives' do indeed pattern like garden-variety subject relatives. But syntactically, they clearly do not: one would be hard pressed defending a relativisation approach to (11), given that varieties of English in which (3) is grammatical do not use personal pronouns as relative operators.

Our second indication that an assimilation of (3) to (4) in syntax would be wrong comes from the fact that there are a number of restrictions on the type of clause that the head noun phrase can appear in—restrictions which would be entirely unexpected if sentences of the type in (3) involved garden-variety relativisation. Henry (1995: 126) points out that, though it is 'very difficult to characterise syntactically the class of contexts in which subject contact relative clauses are possible', it is clearly not the case that their distribution matches that of regular relatives. While, as we have seen, all 'subject contact relatives' have an alternative rendition including a relative pronoun or complementiser (cf. (3)–(4)), it is not true that, conversely, all regular subject relatives featuring a relative pronoun or complementiser double as 'subject contact relatives'. Thus, in sentences such as the ones in (13), dropping the relative pronoun or complementiser results in an ungrammatical result even in varieties of English which otherwise allow 'subject contact relatives'.

(13) a. The students won the prize *(who/that) had the highest mark.
b. I fed the dog *(which/that) bit the postman.
c. They went with friends *(who/that) were studying French.

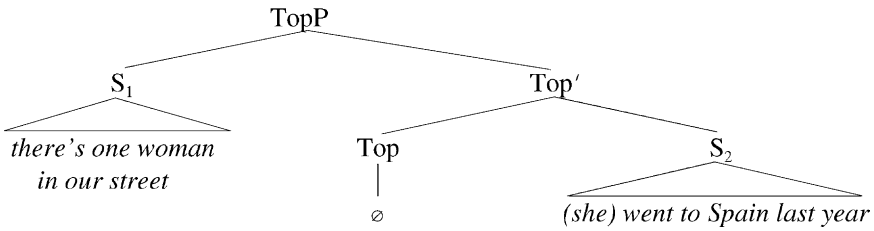
[5] The ungrammaticality of the primed examples shows that the pronouns in (11a, b) cannot possibly be treated as resumptive pronouns. As Henry (1995: 127) points out, Belfast English *never* allows resumptive pronouns in regular relative clauses (**I'm looking for the book (that/which) you recommended it*). But even if it did, it still would not allow them in the context at hand. For we know from languages that rely heavily on resumption in relative clause constructions, such as the Celtic and Semitic languages, that relatives with resumptive pronouns are subject to an anti-locality condition that radically prevents the highest subject position from being lexicalised as a resumptive pronoun (cf. McCloskey, 1979 for the original observation, based on Irish Gaelic facts; cf. Borer, 1984; Sells, 1984; Shlonsky, 1992 on Hebrew). This key difference between familiar relatives with resumptives and the examples in (11a, b) further confirms the text conclusion that these are not garden-variety relatives.

What distinguishes grammatical 'subject contact relatives' such as those in (10) from ungrammatical cases like the ones in (13), according to Henry (1995: 126), is that in the former 'the matrix clause introduces a new individual into the discourse, and the following clause states something about that individual'. Put differently, the matrix clause of the examples in (10) is a *presentational* sentence, and the second clause (the 'subject contact relative') serves to make a *comment* about the focus of the first clause; the fact that in (13) the first clause is not presentational seems to be responsible for the ill-formedness of these latter sentences without a relative pronoun or complementiser.

3.3. A topic–comment structure

Basing herself on this key observation, Henry goes on to present an analysis of 'subject contact relatives' in which the matrix clause serves as the topic of a topic–comment structure, with the apparent relative clause being the comment (cf. (14)).[6] At the macro-syntactic level, the first clause of a 'subject contact relative' construction is the topic. Its function is to set up a focus which will serve as the anchor for the comment clause, with the latter supplying additional information about the anchor. Thus, the anchor (i.e. the individual introduced in the first clause about which supplementary information is provided by the second clause) functions as a focus within a topic clause whose function is precisely to set up a focus for the comment clause to specify or restrict. The subject of the comment clause is overt in the examples in (11a, b) (which receive the same topic–comment structure), but in (3) it is dropped, in line with a general tendency in Belfast English to drop the subject in topic–comment structures.[7]

(14)



[6] The structure in (14) is parallel to that in (2) but differs from the one presented in Henry (1995: 135), which has TopP (dominating the matrix clause, here *there's one woman in our street*) sitting in a position adjoined to the matrix CP. Note that both the topic and the comment may be larger than a 'bare' IP: Henry shows that yes/no-questions can serve as the topic clause, and imperatives and sundry inversion constructions (questions, negative inversion cases) are legitimate as the comment in Belfast English topic–comment structures. A reviewer points out, correctly, that the latter shows that the Top–head can take a variety of categories as its dependents, and that Top^0 can be introduced high up in the left periphery (above CP). In both respects, this Top–head matches the Top–head that introduces hanging topics (*As for John*, [$_{IP}$ *Mary*. . .] vs. *As for John*, [$_{CP}$ *what should we*. . .]). I will continue to abstract away from (irrelevant) questions concerning the size of the topic and comment clauses, employing the shorthand 'S' for both.

[7] Thus, consider examples such as: *See my sister, (she) always wants anything going*. Henry (1995: 134) calls the null subjects of 'subject contact relatives' and other topic–comment constructions (such as the one just mentioned) 'root null subjects', referring to Rizzi (1991), and arguing explicitly against a treatment of the null subject as *pro*. The precise nature of 'root null subjects' is an issue I will skirt here; it is orthogonal to my concerns in this paper, and does not impinge on any of the conclusions reached herein.

It is important to note that this structural representation of 'subject contact relative' constructions makes the explicit claim that S_2 does not form a constituent with the phrase denoting the anchor. It is predicted, therefore, that there should be minimal contrasts between regular relative clause constructions and 'subject contact relative' cases when it comes to the behaviour of movement operations pied-piping the restrictor of the anchor. And indeed, such minimal contrasts do manifest themselves robustly.[8]

(15) a. I met a man (who/that) can speak five languages. (cf. (10a))
b. A man *(who/that) can speak five languages, I met (the other day).

(16) a. John's the one (who/that) stole the money. (cf. (3d))
b. The one *(who/that) stole the money is John.

(17) a. John is the person (who/that) could help you with that.
b. The person *(who/that) could help you with that is John.

The b-examples in (15)–(17) not only confirm our earlier conclusion that 'subject contact relatives' are not regular subject relatives with a phonologically null relative pronoun or complementiser, but they also support the topic–comment approach to the syntax of 'subject contact relative' constructions, according to which the 'relative' serves as the complement of a Top-head that takes the *entire* first clause (and not just the constituent denoting the anchor) as its specifier. And notice that this approach is confirmed even for cases such as (3d) (or (16a)), for which one might perhaps be most inclined to assume an analysis in which the 'subject contact relative' forms a constituent with what immediately precedes it (here, *the one*). So even for constructions such as these we are led to postulate a structure in which the 'subject contact relative' functions as a comment on an anchor introduced in the first clause, which serves as a topic at the macro-syntactic level:

(18) $[_{\text{TopP}}\ [_{\text{S1}}\ \textit{he's the one}]\ [_{\text{Top}'}\ \text{Top} = \varnothing\ [_{\text{S2}}\ \textit{ec stole the money}]]]$

With this structure in place, we can reconcile the apparently troublesome case in (3d) with the generalisation that the anchor of 'subject contact relatives' is systematically a focus introduced in the first clause. If we were to have found that 'subject contact relatives' are anchored to the very same constituents that regular relative clauses are anchored to, (3d) would have spelled doom for that generalisation: a regular relative clause in this construction would be anchored to the predicate nominal *the one*, which obviously is not a focus of any kind; the focus of (3d) is the subject, *he*.[9] But given the structure in (18), examples of the type in (3d) readily fall into place, with the anchor of S_2, the comment clause, being the focus of S_1, *i.c.*, *he*.

[8] Many thanks to Alison Henry for confirming that the b–examples in (15)–(17) are ungrammatical with *who/that* omitted.

[9] (3d) behaves like a pseudo-cleft in this respect, despite the lack of a *wh*-constituent: the predicate nominal *the one* is performing the same role as the *wh*-element does; cf. the alternation between *what* and *the (one) thing* in (i) and the discussion thereof in den Dikken et al. (2000: Section 4.3).

(i) {What/The (one) thing} *he* isn't is angry with *himself/*him/*John*.

3.4. Not all 'subject contact relatives' are topic–comment constructions: Appalachian English

One final note before we leave the subject of 'subject contact relatives' behind. By treating them as topic–comment structures in which the clause following the head noun phrase is not in fact a relative clause in the sense of featuring operator movement, the analysis of 'subject contact relatives' outlined in the previous subsection eliminates these as a threat to the generalisation that English highest-subject relative clauses must always feature an overt relative pronoun or complementiser. But unfortunately, that does not mean that nothing will now endanger this generalisation anymore. For the Appalachian English examples in (19) are not amenable, it seems, to an analysis in terms of a topic–comment structure.[10]

(19) a. At first, you wouldn't believe the characters come knocked on my door.
b. But he tied the company up some way to get a royalty off the timber was cut for the mines.

Unlike in the 'subject contact relatives' and 'V2 relatives' discussed in the foregoing, the examples in (19) do not involve *presentational* matrix clauses—*the characters* in (19a) and *the timber* in (19b) are not being introduced as new players on the scene of the discourse. While the topic–comment approach taken by Henry (1995) and adopted in these pages thus goes some way towards reconfirming the requirement that highest subject relatives in English must always be introduced by something overt in the C–domain, the Appalachian English facts in (19) should give us cause to rethink that generalisation after all.[11]

4. 'V2 relatives' as topic–comment constructions

Another case of what looks *prima facie* like a relative clause but behaves quite unlike garden-variety relative clauses is the so-called 'V2 relative' of Dutch and German (cf. Gärtner, 2001 and Zwart, 2003 for recent discussion). For reasons of space, I will confine exemplification here to Dutch.

(20) a. Er waren twee jongens op het strand die geen zwembroek aan hadden. [regular relatives]
there were two boys on the beach that no swim-trunks on had
'There were two boys on the beach that had no swim-trunks on.'

[10] The data in (19) come from recordings of interviews with Brenda Brock and Clyde Carter as part of the Dante Oral History Project, housed in the Archives of Appalachia at the Center for Appalachian Studies and Services (East Tennessee State University, Johnson City, TN). Christina Tortora kindly made (19) available to me, and first pointed out the discrepancy between (19) and the Belfast English data presented in Henry (1995). For discussion of these cases in relation to Henry' s data, see Tortora (to appear).

[11] A discussion of (19) is beyond this paper' s scope. Potentially significant here is that Appalachian English pronominal subjects fail to agree with the verb in the past tense (*they was*/**were* . . .), suggesting that they are not in the highest subject position.

b. Apeldoorn heeft veel huizen die leeg staan.
Apeldoorn has many houses that empty stand
'Apeldoorn has many houses that are empty'.

(21) a. Er waren twee jongens op het strand die hadden geen zwembroek aan. ['V2 relatives']
there were two boys on the beach that had no swim-trunks on
'There were two boys on the beach that had no swim-trunks on'.

b. Apeldoorn heeft veel huizen die staan leeg.
Apeldoorn has many houses that empty stand
'Apeldoorn has many houses that are empty'.

Regular relative clauses in Dutch and German behave, as expected, like embedded/non-root clauses, having the finite verb show up at the end of the clause. What makes the 'V2 relatives' in (21) different from garden-variety relatives in their internal syntax is precisely the placement of the finite verb: the finite verb surfaces in Verb Second (V2) position in these examples.

Like the 'subject contact relatives' of Section 3, the 'V2 relatives' of Dutch and German have the semantic profile of relative clauses proper, serving to restrict the reference of the anchor. Thus, like the regular relative in (20a), the sentence in (21a) makes no claim to the effect that the total number of boys was two (while the simple sentence *Er waren twee jongens op het strand* does) but instead asserts that the number of boys on the beach for whom the restriction in the *die*-clause holds true is two. Similarly, in (21b), as in (20b), there is no claim that the absolute number of houses in Apeldoorn is large. In this respect, then, an assimilation of 'V2 relatives' to regular relatives would seem appropriate.

But their word order shows that 'V2 relatives' cannot be analysed syntactically as relative clauses: they must be *root* clauses instead (given that in Dutch V2 is strictly confined to root contexts). That they are indeed genuine root clauses—and not, instead, some peculiar species of relative clause 'dressed up' like a root clause—is particularly evident from the fact that, unlike regular relatives, 'V2 relatives' cannot be stacked:[12] no sentence can have a multiplicity of roots. Thus, while it is perfectly possible to add an additional relative clause to (20b) (cf. (22a)), recursion of 'V2 relatives' in (21b) crashes miserably, as shown in (22b).

(22) a. Apeldoorn heeft veel huizen die leeg staan die geen hond wil kopen.
Apeldoorn has many houses that empty stand that no dog wants buy
'Apeldoorn has many houses that are empty that not a soul wants to buy'.

b. *Apeldoorn heeft veel huizen die staan leeg die wil geen hond kopen.
Apeldoorn has many houses that stand empty that wants no dog buy

That 'V2 relatives' are root clauses is also shown by the fact that they must be sentence-final and do not form a constituent with the noun phrase they restrict (as noted in Gärtner,

[12] I thank Anikó Lipták (p.c.) for raising this point.

2001: 99ff.). Thus, (23a, b) are both ungrammatical, while their counterparts with regular, verb-final relatives are of course perfectly well formed.

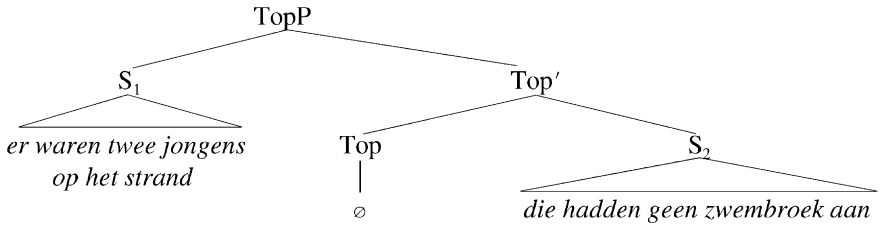
(23) a. *Er waren twee jongens die hadden geen zwembroek aan op het strand.
There were two boys that had no swim-trunks on the beach
b. *Veel huizen die staan leeg heeft Apeldoorn niet.
many houses that stand empty has Apeldoorn not

That 'V2 relatives' are not regular relatives in syntax is also revealed by the fact that, as in 'subject contact relatives' in Belfast English, their matrix clause has to be *presentational* (cf. Brandt, 1990: 49; Zwart, 2003: 6), with 'V2 relatives' working optimally in *there*-sentences (cf. (21a)). Particularly interesting in this context are some observations made by Zwart (2003: 6) with reference to the facts in (24). Of these examples, (24a) figured in a 19th century dialect questionnaire, being presented as the first sentence of a story, its function being to introduce the father. What is interesting is that the respondents to the questionnaire commonly rendered the sentence in (24a) as a presentational *er*-expletive construction, with the 'have' predication being accommodated either in a 'V2 relative' of the type we are already familiar with (cf. (24b)) or in a second conjunct introduced by a *d*-word (as in (24c)).[13]

(24) a. Iemand had twee zonen.
somebody had two sons
b. Er was iemand die had twee zonen.
there was someone that had two sons
c. Er was iemand en die had twee zonen.
there was someone and that had two sons

The interpretive parallel between 'V2 relatives' and 'subject contact relatives' prompts an assimilation of the two constructions at the macro-syntactic level, in terms of a topic–comment structure of the type in (14). For the 'V2 relative' in (21a), this leads to a structure as in (25).

(25)



[13] A *d*-word is a demonstrative element introduced by a *d* (*die*and *dat*, in particular) that serves as the initial element of a relative clause or the root of a left-dislocation construction (cf. *Die man, die had twee zonen*'that man that(=*d*-word) had two sons').

Notice that the fact that, for many of the respondents to the dialect questionnaire which Zwart (2003) reports on, (24b) and (24c) are both semantically equivalent to (24a), and hence are equivalent to each other as well.[14] But this parallel breaks down under embedding: while (26a) with *en* is ambiguous, (26b) with *en* is unambiguously a regular coordination construction, lacking a restrictive interpretation (and hence implying that the total number of boys on the beach is two). Concomitantly, omission of *en* is ungrammatical in (26b): 'V2 relatives' are unembeddable. Both the non-ambiguity of (26b) with *en* included and the ungrammaticality of its *en*-less counterpart follow from the TopP analysis in (25): this TopP a *high* TopP (which also introduces hanging topics; recall fn. 6), and is unembeddable (cf. **It is unfortunate that, as for syntax, many students find it too difficult a topic to pursue for their dissertation*).

(26) a. Er waren twee jongens op het strand (en) die hadden geen zwembroek aan.
There were two boys on the beach and D-WORD had no swim-trunks on.

b. Ik zag dat er twee jongens op het strand waren (*en) die hadden geen zwembroek aan.
I saw that there two boys on the beach were and D-WORD had no swim-trunks on.

Thus, both interpretively and *qua* syntactic distribution, there is a parallel between 'V2 relatives' like (24b) and coordination constructions of the type in (24c), where two Verb Second clauses are being conjoined. Both Gärtner (2001) and Zwart (2003) in fact advocate an analysis of 'V2 relatives' that treats them as parataxis or coordination constructions, Gärtner (2001: 105) proposing a structure of the type in (26), in which the matrix clause (S_1) occupies the specifier position of what he calls a 'πP' (with 'π' standing for 'paratactic'), and the 'V2 relative clause' (S_2) is the complement of the null head π.

(27) $[_{\pi P}\ S_1\ [_{\pi'}\ \pi\ S_2]]$

The structure in (27) is configurationally identical with the one in (25)—and so is the structure of coordination constructions in general, on an asymmetrical approach to coordination (cf. Kayne, 1994; Johannessen, 1998, etc.; for an overview of the various approaches to the syntax of coordination, see Progovac, 2003). So there appears to be a relationship of sorts between 'V2 relative' constructions and coordination constructions when it comes to their syntactic hierarchitecture. On the other hand, there are clear interpretive parallels between 'V2 relatives' and garden-variety restrictive relatives, as

[14] For those speakers of Dutch (including myself) for whom (24b) and (24c) support the same restrictive interpretation for the second clause, the text discussion leads one to assume that the conjunction *en* can lexicalise Top^0. For German *und*, this is apparently impossible (judging from Gärtner, 2001). A reviewer points out that Old Italian (a V2 language like Dutch and German) 'also shows cases in which the conjunction particle signals the continuation of the same Topic', which may suggest that in Old Italian, too, the conjunction may lexicalise Top^0. The question of what is responsible for the variation within and across languages when it comes to the lexicalisability of the Top–head by the conjunction is one that, for lack of insight, I have to leave for a future occasion.

pointed out before—parallels which carry over to the relationship between 'subject contact relatives' in English dialects and regular relative clauses.

These observations prompt two major questions: *(i)* one about the relationship between regular relatives on the one hand, and 'subject contact relatives' and 'V2 relatives' on the other; and *(ii)* one about the relationship between 'V2 relatives' and coordination. I take these questions up in the next section.

5. Two questions

5.1. Topic–comment structure and extraposed relative clauses

For all the constructions discussed in this paper, the generalisation holds that the second clause (S_2) makes a comment about a subconstituent of the topic clause (S_1)—more specifically, that subconstituent of the topic clause that is introduced as the *focus* of that clause. This is what sets 'subject contact relative' and 'V2 relative' constructions apart from garden-variety relative clause constructions, where there is no general requirement that the 'head' of the relative clause be a focus. But interestingly, there is a subspecies of regular relative clauses that do seem to obey the focus rule: *extraposed* relative clauses.

As Guéron (1980), in her seminal study of extraposition (focusing mostly on PP extraposition but carrying over her core conclusions to relative clause extraposition), has pointed out, extraposition is generally restricted to cases in which the anchor is a focus. Guéron (1980: 651) generalises that what characterises the semantics of PP and relative clause extraposition is the requirement in (28):

(28) Mark the PP (or relative clause) to the right of S 'complement of Focus NP'.

This helps us explain the contrast in (29). While (29a) is a presentational sentence, with *a man* as the presentational focus (cf. *There appeared a man*), (29b) is not so interpretable, whence the fact that 'most people would reject [(28b)]' (Guéron, 1980: 652).

(29) a. A man appeared {[$_{PP}$ from India]/[$_{RC}$ who came from India]}.
b. *A man died {[$_{PP}$ from India]/[$_{RC}$ who came from India]}.

In extraposition constructions in which the anchor is not a subject, focus plays a key role as well. Thus, in (30b) we get a grammatical result if the extraposed PP is construed with the direct object (the focus of a double object construction), but not if its anchor is taken to be the indirect object (*a man*), which is not in focus (cf. Guéron, 1980: 654–655). The effects carry over to relative clause extraposition. So like 'subject contact relatives' and 'V2 relatives', *extraposed* relative clauses must be anchored to a focus.

(30) a. I saw a book yesterday [$_{PP}$ by Chomsky].
b. I sent a man a book yesterday [$_{PP}$ from India].

This parallel between 'subject contact relatives', 'V2 relatives' and extraposed relatives is interesting in the light of Koster's (2000) approach to extraposition,[15] on which the extraposed relative clause is base generated as the complement of an abstract functional head '**:**', with the constituent containing the 'head' of the relative clause occupying the specifier position of this abstract head' s projection. Thus, consider (31):

(31) a. There's one woman in our street who/that went to Spain last year. (=(4a))

b. [$_{:P}$ [$_{TP}$ *there's a woman in our street*]
[**:** [$_{RC}$ *who/that went to Spain last year*]]]

As far as the syntactic configuration in which they occur is concerned, the extraposed relative clause in (4a) (=(31a)) and the 'subject contact relative' in (3a) are each other's spitting image: both are introduced as the complement of an abstract functional head that takes the clause harbouring the anchor of the complement clause as its specifier.

We can—and should—actually go further than this. The discussion in the preceding sections in conjunction with Guéron's (1980) demonstration of the fact that the anchor of an extraposed relative clause must be a focus tells us that we should rechristen Koster's '**:**P' as 'TopP' (cf. (32)[16]), and thereby accomplish a full structural assimilation of the macro-syntactic configurations introducing 'subject contact relatives', 'V2 relatives' and extraposed relatives.

(32) [$_{TopP}$ [$_{TP}$ *there's a woman in our street*]
[Top = ∅ [$_{RC}$ *who/that went to Spain last year*]]]

Now the fact that the extraposed relative clause in (29) demands a focus as its anchor follows from the fact that it is introduced as the complement of the functional head 'Top'

[15] Koster's (2000) analysis goes back to Koster (1978) and Kaan (1992); the latter argues succinctly (cf. pp. 31–35) that Guéron' s (1980) arguments for a movement approach to extraposition, to the extent that they hold water, can be subsumed instead under her focus requirement in (28). Thus, Guéron' s observation that (i), where the extraposed relative clause takes a split antecedent, is ungrammatical turns out not to carry over to relative clause extraposition in general: precisely when the members of the split antecedent are all, independently, in focus, an extraposed relative *can* successfully take a split antecedent (cf. (ii), from Perlmutter and Ross, 1970).

(i) **A man* met *a woman* yesterday *who were quite similar*.
(ii) *A man* entered the room and *a woman* went out *who were quite similar*.

[16] One might ask whether the comment in (32) should be the relative clause itself or instead a null-headed noun phrase harbouring the relative clause. Absent any positive indication that the latter, more abstract structure is called for, I will adopt (32).

and hence serves as a *comment* clause seeking out a focus inside the topic clause about which to provide additional information.[17,18]

The rechristening of '**:**P' as 'TopP' also makes perfect sense for the other constructions Koster discusses under the rubric of his '**:**P', including 'equatives' (cf. (33)), where the right-peripheral constituent once again serves as a comment on the focus embedded in the topic clause.

(33) He saw something beautiful the other day**:** a golden igloo.

And requiring of the complement of Top^0 that it be associated with the focus of the clause in SpecTopP seems to be largely sufficient to capture the restrictions on extraposition and 'equatives'. In particular, it straightforwardly accommodates Ross's (1967) Right Roof Constraint, which prohibits extraposition across a CP–boundary, or, in our terms, association of a comment to a focus embedded within a CP inside the topic clause (cf. (34)): the focus inside that embedded CP is not the focus of the topic clause (S_1) itself, hence not an eligible anchor for the comment in the complement of Top^0.

(34) a. $^*[_{TopP}\ [_{S1}$ *he mentioned* $[_{CP}$ *that he'd seen a movie*] *to Mary*]
[Top $[_{RC}$ *that he abhorred*]]]

b. $^*[_{TopP}\ [_{S1}\ [_{CP}$ *that he'd seen a movie*] *was very unfortunate*]
[Top $[_{RC}$ *that he abhorred*]]]

So what we have seen is that, although there are robust differences between 'subject contact relatives' and 'V2 relatives' on the one hand, and regular *non*-extraposed relative

[17] Non-extraposed relative clauses are not introduced by a Top–head, and hence are not subject to the semantic restrictions on extraposed relative clauses (for a recent overview of which, with special reference to German, see Kiss, 2003). Instead, they are introduced inside the relativised DP, in a way that the extant literature has expounded a variety of different perspectives on. An approach that keeps the status of relative clauses as complements of abstract functional heads constant throughout is the one presented in den Dikken and Singhapreecha (to appear), where non-extraposed relative clauses are introduced as complements of the predication-mediating functional head of a small clause whose subject is the 'head' of the relative clause.

[18] Let me add that, while the text discussion espouses the right-peripheral base-generation approach to extraposed relatives, it does not mean to deny categorically that relative clauses could end up 'extraposed' by being *stranded* in the base position of the 'head' as a result of leftward movement of the 'head' by itself (cf. Kayne, 1994). While the stranding approach to RC–extraposition in general faces major difficulties (see Kaan, 1992 for a succinct summary), it may well be right for Baltin's (1981) example in (ia).

(i) a. John said that he would call people up who are from Boston, and [call people up [who are from Boston]] he will.
b. *John said that he would call people up who are from Boston, and [call people up] he will [who are from Boston].

Note that (ib), which, given its word order, must involve a structure of the type in (32), is ungrammatical because *people* in the outer particle construction is not a focus (stress is on the particle, here *up*). And then of course the fact that the anchor of the relative clause is not a focus also militates against treating (ia) as a case of extraposition *qua* base-generation, as in (32). (Guéron and May, 1984: 13 treat (ia) as extraposition to VP; it seems, however, that with adverbials like *immediately* inserted between *up* and the relative clause, (ia) deteriorates.) An alternative approach to (ia) is available which assumes that the relative clause originates within the projection of the 'head', to the right of the particle (cf. den Dikken, 1995), and is stranded there as a result of movement of the 'head' noun phrase (*people*) into a position to the left of the particle.

clauses on the other, the former two constructions share their macro-syntactic structure and, consequently, many of their interpretive restrictions with *extraposed* relative clauses, which likewise are introduced as the complement of the abstract functional head Top and serve as a comment on their anchor, the focus of the clause in SpecTopP.

5.2. Topic–comment structure and coordination

Koster refers to the constructions to which he assigns his '**:**P' structure as 'asyndetic coordinations', which leads us back immediately to the second question posed at the end of Section 4: the question concerning the relationship between 'V2 relatives' and coordination. That question was prompted, in the discussion in Section 4, by the triplet in (24), repeated here.

(24) a. Iemand had twee zonen.
somebody had two sons
b. Er was iemand die had twee zonen.
there was someone that had two sons
c. Er was iemand en die had twee zonen.
there was someone and that had two sons

Recall that, for many speakers, (24b) and (24c) are semantically equivalent, which suggests a parallel between 'V2 relatives' and coordination, a parallel enhanced by Gärtner's (2001) and Zwart's (2003) analysis of 'V2 relatives' as parataxis or coordination constructions. What exactly does this parallel come down to?

Let me start by inserting a few qualifications regarding the semantic equivalence of (24b) and (24c). First of all, this equivalence does not manifest itself in German (as Gärtner, 2001 points out explicitly). And in the Dutch-speaking community, it actually appears to be a matter of contention. An anonymous reviewer reports a clear contrast between our earlier example in (21a), repeated below as (35a), and its counterpart in (35b), which differs from (35a) solely in the presence of the conjunction *en* to the left of the *d*-word: according to the reviewer, (35b) implies that there were only two boys on the beach (while (35a) does not, as was pointed out in Section 4).

(35) a. Er waren twee jongens op het strand die hadden geen zwembroek aan. (=(21a))
there were two boys on the beach that had no swim-trunks on
b. Er waren twee jongens op het strand en die hadden geen zwembroek aan.
there were two boys on the beach and that had no swim-trunks on

While I certainly agree that (35b) is perfectly compatible with a situation in which there were exactly two boys on the beach, it seems to me (and other speakers for whom (24b) and (24c) are potentially equivalent) that this is not the only situation with which (35b) is compatible: (35b) is ambiguous between a regular coordination reading and one in which

what follows *en* serves to restrict the focus of the first clause. It is this latter reading (which is equivalent to the one paraphrased in the Section 4 for (35a) = (21a)) which I was concerned with in the foregoing discussion. But naturally, the regular coordination reading is readily accommodated by the sentence in (35b) as well.

As I already pointed out in Section 4, the macro-syntactic hierarchitecture of 'V2 relative' constructions and coordination constructions is entirely parallel (on an asymmetrical approach to coordination, as in Kayne, 1994, Johannessen, 1998, etc.), both involving a structure in which the second clause is the complement of a functional head whose maximal projection harbours the first clause in its specifier position. What, then, is the difference between 'V2 relatives' (and other topic–comment constructions) and coordination constructions that accounts for the interpretive contrast between the two?

The key here lies in the nature of the functional head that mediates between the two clauses. In topic–comment constructions, that head was identified as 'Top'. In clausal coordination constructions, by contrast, the head that links the conjoined clauses is *not* the Top–head (but instead a conjunction head variously referred to in the literature as '&', 'Conj' or, as in Munn, 1993, 'B(oolean)'). And this difference in the nature of the mediating head matters when it comes to the role played by the second clause: the Top–head is such that it identifies its complement as a *comment* clause, and a comment clause is such that it comments on, i.e. provides information about, the focus of the clause in SpecTopP (the *topic* clause); but the head that mediates the relationship between two conjuncts in a regular coordination construction does *not* identify the second conjunct as a comment on the first. As a consequence, while in topic–comment constructions the second clause systematically serves to specify or restrict a subconstituent of the first, we find no such specification or restriction relationship in the interpretation of coordination constructions.

So it makes a difference whether the head that intervenes between S_1 and S_2 is a Top–head or not: the label 'Top' is by no means innocuous; the macro-syntactic hierarchitectures of two biclausal, paratactic constructions may be entirely parallel, but it is only when the nature of the head that mediates the relationship between the two clauses is the Top–head that we will be presented with the interpretive properties peculiar to topic–comment structures.

6. Concluding remarks

By exploiting the TopP structure assigned in den Dikken et al. (2000) to specificational pseudo-clefts in which the 'counterweight' is a full-fledged (though potentially elliptical) clause, this paper has brought forth an integrated approach to such pseudo-clefts and three constructions generally grouped under the rubric of relative clause constructions: the 'subject contact relatives' of English dialects, the 'V2 relatives' of Dutch and German, and extraposed relative clauses. All were shown to have a syntactic structure in which the first clause is the *topic*, occupying the specifier position of a TopP whose head takes the second clause, the *comment*, as its complement.

Of these three constructions, only one involves a genuine relative clause in the sense of featuring movement of a (null) operator to SpecCP: 'subject contact relatives' and 'V2

relatives' do not seem to involve operator movement at all. Calling them 'subject contact relatives' and 'V2 relatives' thus makes sense only if *relative* is understood to refer to the restrictive relationship with the anchor inside the topic clause—in which case 'equatives' (cf. (33)) could also be called relatives, and so could adjectival modifiers, for that matter. Since standard practice does not use the term 'relative' in this fashion, it would, if the discussion in this paper is on the right track, be advisable to no longer use the label 'relative' with reference to so-called 'subject contact relatives' and 'V2 relatives'.

We have seen in the discussion in these pages that topic–comment structures are an important ingredient of the grammars of languages that are not normally thought of as topic-prominent or discourse-configurational—while Belfast English is well known in the sociolinguistic literature (cf., e.g. Finlay, 1988) as having a strong tendency to use topic–comment structures, standard English is not. Yet, while standard English does not employ the topic–comment structure as pervasively as do many of its dialects, all varieties of English (and presumably all languages of the world) exploit this structure for at least some constructions—pseudo-cleft and relative clause 'extraposition' constructions being cases in point.

What all the constructions discussed under the rubric of topic–comment structures in this paper have in common is the *restrictive* or *specificational* relationship between the second clause and a subconstituent (specifically, the *focus*) of the first clause. The term 'specificational pseudo-cleft' of course derives specifically from this specificational relationship. For 'subject contact relatives', 'V2 relatives' and extraposed relative clauses, we found the same relationship to manifest itself. Systematically, this relationship is the interpretive reflex of the fact that the second clause is introduced as the complement of the abstract head 'Top^0', and is thereby earmarked as a comment.

References

Baltin, M., 1981. Strict bounding. In: Baker, C.L., McCarthy, J. (Eds.), The Logical Problem of Language Acquisition. MIT Press, Cambridge, MA.

Belvin, R., den Dikken, M., 1997. *There*, happens, *to*, *be*, *have*. Lingua 101, 151–183.

Borer, H., 1984. Parametric Syntax. Foris, Dordrecht.

Bošković, Ž., 1997. Pseudoclefts. Studia Linguistica 51, 235–277.

Brandt, M., 1990. Weiterführende Nebensätze: Zu ihrer Syntax, Semantik und Pragmatik. Almqvist & Wiksell, Stockholm.

den Dikken, M., 1995. Particles. On the Syntax of Verb–Particle, Triadic and Causative Constructions. Oxford University Press, Oxford/New York.

den Dikken, M., Singhapreecha, P., to appear. Complex noun phrases and linkers. Syntax.

den Dikken, M., Meinunger, A., Wilder, C., 2000. Pseudoclefts and ellipsis. Studia Linguistica 54, 41–89.

Doherty, C., 1993. The syntax of subject contact relatives. Ms., University of California at Santa Cruz.

Finlay, C., 1988. Syntactic variation in the speech of Belfast English schoolchildren. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Ulster at Jordanstown.

Gärtner, H.-M., 2001. Are there V2 relative clauses in German? Journal of Comparative Germanic Linguistics 3, 97–141.

Guéron, J., 1980. The syntax and semantics of PP–extraposition. Linguistic Inquiry 11, 637–678.

Guéron, J., May, R., 1984. Extraposition and logical form. Linguistic Inquiry 15, 1–31.

Gundel, J., 1974. The role of topic and comment in linguistic theory. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Texas at Austin.

Gundel, J., 1988. Universals of topic–comment structure. In: Hammond, M., Moravcsik, E., Worth, J. (Eds.), Studies in Syntactic Typology. John Benjamins, Amsterdam, pp. 209–239.
Henry, A., 1995. Belfast English and Standard English. Dialect Variation and Parameter Setting. Oxford University Press, Oxford/New York.
Heycock, C., Kroch, A., 1999. Pseudocleft connectedness: implications for the LF interface level. Linguistic Inquiry 30, 365–397.
Hoekstra, T., Mulder, R., 1990. Unergatives as copular verbs: locational and existential predication. The Linguistic Review 7, 1–79.
Jespersen, O., 1961. A Modern English Grammar on Historical Principles. George Allen & Unwin, London; Ejnar Munksgaard, Copenhagen.
Johannessen, J.B., 1998. Coordination. Oxford University Press, Oxford/New York.
Kaan, E., 1992. A minimalist approach to extraposition. MA thesis, University of Groningen.
Kayne, R., 1994. The Antisymmetry of Syntax. MIT Press, Cambridge, MA.
Kiss, T., 2003. Semantic constraints on relative clause extraposition. Ms., Ruhr-Universität Bochum.
Koster, J., 1978. Locality Principles in Syntax. Foris, Dordrecht.
Koster, J., 2000. Extraposition as parallel construal. Ms., University of Groningen.
McCloskey, J., 1979. Transformational Syntax and Model Theoretic Semantics: A Case Study in Modern Irish. Reidel, Dordrecht.
Moro, A., 1997. The Raising of Predicates. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
Munn, A., 1993. Topics in the syntax and semantics of coordinate structures. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Maryland, College Park.
Perlmutter, D., Ross, J.R., 1970. Relative clauses with split antecedents. Linguistic Inquiry 1, 350.
Progovac, L., 2003. Structure for coordination. In: Cheng, L., Sybesma, R. (Eds.), The Second GLOT International State-of-the-Article Book. Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin, pp. 241–287.
Rizzi, L., 1991. Residual Verb Second and the *Wh*-criterion. Technical Reports in Formal and Computational Linguistics 2. University of Geneva.
Ross, J.R., 1967. Constraints on variables in syntax. Ph.D. dissertation, MIT.
Sells, P., 1984. Syntax and semantics of resumptive pronouns. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Massachusetts at Amherst.
Shlonsky, U., 1992. Resumptive pronouns as a last resort. Linguistic Inquiry 23, 443–468.
Tortora, C., to appear. La variazione sintattica e i dialetti appalachiani. In: Marcato, G. (Ed.), I dialetti e la montagna. Unipress, Padova.
Zwart, J.-W., 2003. Iets over zgn. V2-relatieven in het Nederlands. Ms., University of Groningen.