

HUMBOLDT-UNIVERSITÄT ZU BERLIN



## A local account for German NPs

Antonio Machicao y Priemer  
<https://www.linguistik.hu-berlin.de/staff/amp>

DeMiNeS Lecture Series

June 9, 2021

1 / 39

## Contents

- 1 Introduction
- 2 Data
  - Complexity
  - Case
  - Interpretation
  - Prenominal Datives
- 3 Proposed Analyses
  - poss as D-head
  - PreGen as D-head
  - PreGen as Specifier
- 4 Locality
- 5 Local Analysis
- 6 Conclusion

2 / 39

## Slides & further information

- **Slides:**  
<https://www.linguistik.hu-berlin.de/de/staff/amp/downloads/my2021-locgernp.pdf>
- **Article:**  
 Machicao y Priemer, Antonio & Stefan Müller. 2021. NPs in German: Locality, theta roles, possessives, and genitive arguments. *Glossa: A Journal of General Linguistics* 6(1). 46.1–38. <https://doi.org/10.5334/gjgl.1128>.

3 / 39

- 1 Introduction
- 2 Data
- 3 Proposed Analyses
- 4 Locality
- 5 Local Analysis
- 6 Conclusion

4 / 39

## Introduction

- nominal complexes (NCs  $\approx$  NP/DP) in German
- What are the regularities w.r.t. the **distribution** of arguments within nominal complexes?
- Which **case** is licensed for the arguments of nouns?
- What is the **syntactic position** of a prenominal genitive (PreGen)?
- What does the assumption of **locality** mean for the structure of NCs?
- Are there **other German structures** supporting the local analysis?

- 1 Introduction
- 2 **Data**
- 3 Proposed Analyses
- 4 Locality
- 5 Local Analysis
- 6 Conclusion

## Complexity

NCs in German can be morphosyntactically **simple** (1) or **complex** (2),

- (1) [Luise] war erfolgreich.  
Luise was successful
- (2) [\***(Die) Behandlung**] war erfolgreich.  
the treatment was successful

and also, even more **complex** and **recursive**:

- (3) a. mit [des Vaters Bruders Witwe] (DECOW)  
with the.GEN father.GEN brother.GEN widow.DAT  
'with the father's brother's widow'
- b. Ich wähl [Doris ihrem Mann seine Partei].  
I vote Doris.DAT her.DAT husband.DAT seine.ACC Partei.ACC  
'I am voting for Doris's husband's party.'

(cf. Karnowski & Pafel 2004: 181 and Zifonun 2003: 100)

Q1: account for complex and recursive NCs

In German, the prenominal position can be occupied by an element in the genitive (**PreGen**) – similar to **English** prenominal genitives (4).

- (4) Jacobs Behandlung des Patienten  
Jacob's treatment of.the patient

When the prenominal position is occupied by an element in genitive, the **determiner cannot appear**.

- (5) \* [Jacobs die] Behandlung des Patienten  
Jacob.GEN the treatment of.the patient
- (6) \* [die Jacobs] Behandlung des Patienten  
the Jacob.GEN treatment of.the patient

Their **complementarity** suggests that determiners and prenominal genitives occupy the **same position** or at least "have **something in common**".

Q2: account for complementarity

## Case

The arguments of relational nouns can be realised as **Pre-** or **PostGens**.

- (7) a. Jacobs Freund  
Jacob.GEN friend  
b. der Freund Jacobs  
the friend Jacob.GEN

For **nominalisations** (relational nouns), the arguments bearing **structural case** (NOM or ACC w.r.t. V) are realised in GEN in the **nominal domain**.

- (8) Jacob behandelt den Patienten.  
Jacob.NOM treats the.ACC patient.ACC
- (9) a. Jacobs Behandlung  
Jacob.GEN treatment  
b. die Behandlung Jacobs  
the treatment Jacob.GEN  
c. Jacobs Behandlung des Patienten  
Jacob.GEN treatment the.GEN patient.GEN

But arguments with **lexical case** (e.g. DAT in (10a) (Schumacher et al. 2004: 813)) cannot be realised as GEN.

- (10) a. Kannst [du] [mir] [meinen Wutausbruch] verzeihen?  
can you.NOM me.DAT my.ACC outburst.of.anger.ACC forgive  
'Can you forgive (me) my tantrum?'
- b. die Verzeihung des Königspaars (DECOW)  
the forgiveness the.GEN royal.couple.GEN  
'the royal couple's forgiveness'
- c. die Verzeihung der Sünden (DECOW)  
the forgiveness the.GEN sins.GEN  
'the forgiveness of the sins'
- d. \* die Verzeihung {dem Täter / des Täters}  
the forgiveness the.DAT offender.DAT the.GEN offender.GEN  
Intended: 'the forgiveness of the offender'

Q3: account for case patterns

## Interpretation

How we interpret the genitive phrases (their  $\theta$ -roles) **depends on the head noun**.

- (11a): Agent and Patient
- (11b): Experiencer

- (11) a. [Jacobs]<sub>AG</sub> Behandlung [des Patienten]<sub>PAT</sub>  
Jacob.GEN treatment the.GEN patient.GEN  
'Jacob's treatment of the patient'
- b. [Jacobs]<sub>EXP</sub> Begeisterung  
Jacob.GEN exaltation  
'Jacob's exaltation'

**Both** (structural) arguments of a noun can be realised either as **PreGen** (12b) or as **PostGen** (12c).

- (12) a. [Jacobs]<sub>AG</sub> Behandlung [des Patienten]<sub>PAT</sub>  
Jacob.GEN treatment the.GEN patient.GEN
- b. {[Jacobs]<sub>AG</sub> / [des Patienten]<sub>PAT</sub>} Behandlung  
Jacob.GEN the.GEN patient.GEN treatment
- c. die Behandlung {[Jacobs]<sub>AG</sub> / [des Patienten]<sub>PAT</sub>}  
the treatment Jacob.GEN the.GEN patient.GEN

**Asymmetry:** It is not possible to interpret the **PreGen** as **patient** and the **PostGen** as **agent** ((13) vs. (12a)).

- (13) \* [des Patienten]<sub>PAT</sub> Behandlung [Jacobs]<sub>AG</sub>  
the.GEN patient.GEN treatment Jacob.GEN  
Intended: 'Jacob's treatment of the patient'

Q4: account for asymmetry

## Prenominal Datives

In some German varieties (e.g. Alemannic and Swabian):

a **DAT NC** can precede a **possessive determiner** and its N head (14).

- (14) Das ist [**dem** Fischer **seine** Frau]. (Sternefeld 2015: 221)  
 this is the.DAT fisher.DAT his.NOM wife.NOM  
 ‘This is the fisher’s wife.’

The DAT NC **cannot follow** the N head,  
 it can only precede the possessive determiner.

- (15) \* Das ist [**seine** Frau **dem** Fischer].  
 this is his.NOM wife.NOM the.DAT fisher.DAT  
 Intended: ‘This is the fisher’s wife.’

The possessive determiner agrees with N in **case**, **number**, and **gender** (14).

(cf. Tappe 1989: 2–3; Demske 2001: Sec. 4.3.4; Zifonun 2003: 102; Karnowski & Pafel 2004: 181–184; Sternefeld 2015: 220–221)

NC with PreDat can appear in the **preverbal position** in declarative sentences (16) and **cannot be divided** (17), i.e. it behaves as one **constituent**.

(cf. Karnowski & Pafel 2004: 181; Machicao y Priemer 2018a)

- (16) [**Klaus sein Händler**] **hat** auch noch ein paar. (DECOW)  
 Klaus.DAT his.NOM dealer.NOM has too still a pair  
 ‘Klaus’ dealer also has some.’
- (17) a. \* **Klaus hat sein Händler** auch noch ein paar.  
 Klaus.DAT has his.NOM dealer.NOM too still a pair  
 b. \* **Sein Händler hat Klaus** auch noch ein paar.  
 his.NOM dealer.NOM has Klaus.DAT too still a pair

Q6: account for PreDats

- 1 Introduction
- 2 Data
- 3 **Proposed Analyses**
- 4 Locality
- 5 Local Analysis
- 6 Conclusion

## Proposed Analyses

- DP analyses
  - -s as D-head
  - PreGen as D-head
  - PreGen as specifier of D-head

## poss as D-head

Olsen (1991) – building on Abney’s (1987) analysis for English – proposes a parallel treatment for German PreGen.

**D position** occupied by poss *-s* creates a **possessive relation** between specifier and complement.

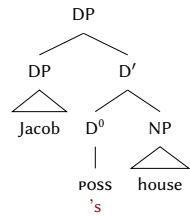


Figure 1: DP in English

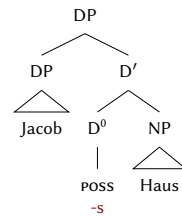


Figure 2: DP in German

This analysis builds on the **parallel** between DPs and IPs. (Discussion: Salzmann 2020)

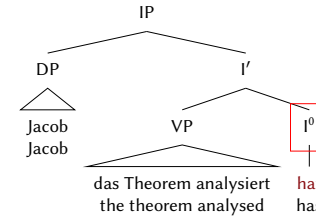


Figure 3: IP

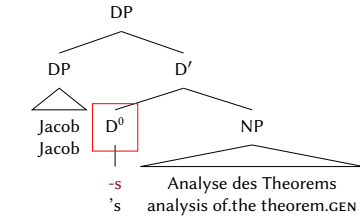


Figure 4: DP

**Explains:**

- complementarity between PreGen and determiner
- local solution for modifier PreGens, but not for argumental PreGens
- in line with the assumption of a parallelism of DPs and IPs

**But:**

- What is the case of *Jacob*? (cf. Chomsky 1981: 49)
- How does it get a  $\theta$ -role?
- German and English show some differences w.r.t. their PreGens.

German prenominal genitive case is **morphological** case marking:

- English *'s* marks a **phrase**,

(18) [the queen of England]*'s hat* (Haider 1988: 36)

(19) \* [die Königin von England]*-s Hut*

- In German, **every element** in the PreGen phrase must be **case marked**.

(20) [*des Kaisers*] *neue Kleider* (Haider 1988: 37)  
 the.GEN emperor.GEN new clothes

- PreGens in German correspond to the word forms in the **paradigm** for genitives. (cf. Vater 1991)

(21) [*des Biograph-en*] *Hinweis* (Vater 1991: 23)  
 the.GEN biographer-GEN hint

**German does not work like English.**

(Discussion on *'s* as syntactic head: Zwicky 1987; Anderson 2008)

## PreGen as D-head

Hartmann & Zimmermann (2003) assume that the **PreGen** is the **D-head**.

(See also: Karnowski & Pafel 2004: 181–184)

In most cases, what occupies the prenominal position in German is only a **proper name**, i.e. (possibly) only a **head**.

Morpheme *-s* combines with proper name to create a **determiner**. (cf. Partee 1997)

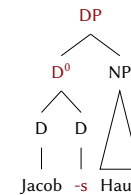


Figure 5: PreGen in German

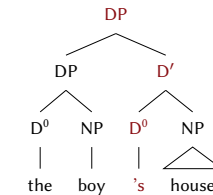


Figure 6: PreGen in English

They capture the **complementarity** between PreGens and determiners.  
 They capture the **difference** between **German** and **English**.

The morpheme *-s* acts as a semantic **functor** (22) providing the (abstract) **relation** between proper name and N-head. (cf. Olsen 1991; Partee 1997)

They capture the necessity to include an **operator/quantifier** for the noun.

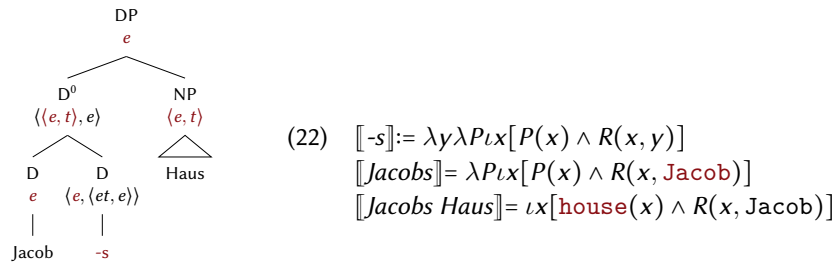


Figure 7: Genitive as functor

*-s* is therefore not genitive, but a “semantic genitive”.

(cf. Van Eynde 2006, 2019, 2020 for an analysis with a syntactic functor)

Hartmann & Zimmermann (2003) do not assume that PreGens can be complex, but if they are, they assume them to be **reanalysed** as a kind of proper noun.

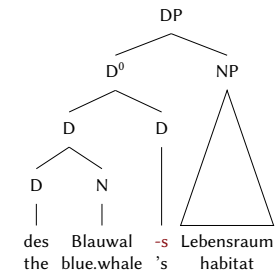


Figure 8: Complex PreGen

**Explains:**

- complementarity between PreGen and determiner
- local solution for modifier PreGens, but not for argumental PreGens
- account for determination of N-head ( $\iota$ ) and for vague relation
- difference between German and English

**But:**

- PreGen and PostGen are different (cf. paradigm)
- What licenses the combination of *des* with *Blauwal*?
- Complex and recursive PreGens are not possible.

PreGen as Specifier

Sternefeld (2015: 209–213, 2009: 587–589) proposes an analysis with a silent D.

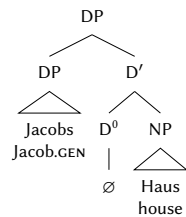


Figure 9: Possessive PreGen

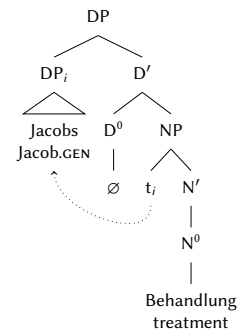


Figure 10: Argumental PreGen

**Possessives:** PreGen is base generated as the specifier of DP (9)      **Argument:** PreGen moves to the specifier of DP (10).

(Cf. German: Haider 1988, Georgi & Salzmann 2011; English: Adger 2004; Hungarian: Szabolcsi 1994)

**Explains:**

- $\theta$ -role for arguments is locally assigned by N-head.
- $\theta$ -role for modifiers is locally assigned by D-head.
- Case is licensed in both cases by D-head (similar to I-head).
- It allows complex and recursive structures (phrasal position).

**But:**

- It needs two different empty D-heads, one for arguments and one for modifiers.
- It is not clear how the higher argument can be realised as a PostGen.
- locality problems w.r.t. to selection of NC

- 1 Introduction
- 2 Data
- 3 Proposed Analyses
- 4 **Locality**
- 5 Local Analysis
- 6 Conclusion

## Locality

**Locality:** Restriction on dependency relations in between structures (e.g. subcategorisation)

Local relations are restricted to a specific domain.

(cf. Muysken 1982: 64)

In (11):  $X^0$  is in a local relation with its arguments  $Y^P$  and  $Z^P$ , and can have access to their properties. But neither has  $X^0$  direct access to the properties of  $Y^P$ 's or  $Z^P$ 's constituents ( $\alpha$  or  $\beta$ ) nor  $Z^0$  to the properties of  $Y^P$ .

(cf. Pollard & Sag 1987: 73, 143–145; 1994: 23; Sag 2007: 403 a.o.)

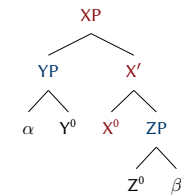


Figure 11: Locality

With respect to NCs:

- internal structure (relation between  $N^0$  and its arguments)
- selection of NCs

Verbs select **properties of the noun** (number, s-selectional properties, etc.), but they do not select for **particular determiners** (e.g. indef., def., or poss.).

(cf. Baltin 1989: 3–4; Chomsky 2007; Bruening 2009: 28–29; Sportiche 2005: 41; Chomsky et al. 2019: 22)

(23) Jacob **ate** { **a / the / my** } steak.

(24) a. er [...] **versammelte** [**seine** Mönche] um sich (DECOW)  
 he gathered his.PL monks.PL around him  
 'He gathered his monks around himself.'

b. \* Er [...] **versammelte** [**seinen** Mönch] um sich.  
 he gathered his.SC monk.SC around himself

c. [...] er [**die** Familie] **versammelt** (DECOW)  
 he the.SC family.SC gathered  
 'He gathered the family.'

*versammeln* requires a complement denoting a plurality, either morphosyntactically realised (24a) or not (24c).

That is different w.r.t. CPs. The **properties of C** are selected by a verb, but not the **properties of D**.

(cf. Bruening 2009, 2020)

- (25) a. John declared [<sub>CP</sub> **that** Sally was insane]. (Baltin 1989: 3)  
 b. \* John declared [<sub>CP</sub> **for** Sally to be insane].  
 c. \* John was waiting [<sub>CP</sub> **that** Sally left].  
 d. John was waiting [<sub>CP</sub> **for** Sally to leave].

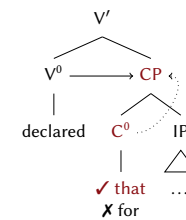


Figure 12: Selection of CP

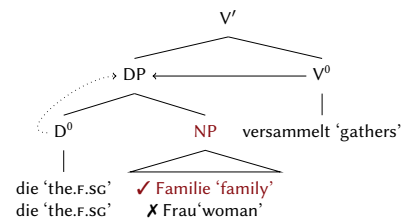


Figure 13: Selection of DP

(Di Sciullo & Williams 1988; Grimshaw 1991; van Riemsdijk 1998; Sportiche 2005)

For purposes of category selection (subcategorization), case assignment, (non-anaphoric) agreement, and semantic role assignment, a lexical head has access only to the signs it selects via some feature (e.g. ARG-ST [...]), i.e. the elements that it is connected to via a grammatical relation [...]

(Sag 2012: 149)

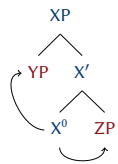


Figure 14: Selectional Localism

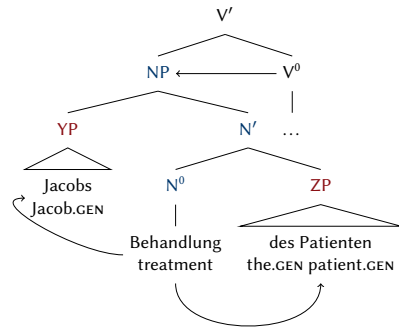


Figure 15: Local NP

- 1 Introduction
- 2 Data
- 3 Proposed Analyses
- 4 Locality
- 5 Local Analysis
- 6 Conclusion

## Local Analysis

### HPSG:

(cf. Pollard & Sag 1987, 1994; Müller & Machicao y Priemer 2019)

- deeply formalised constraint-based framework
- declarative, i.e. non-derivational (no movement)
- lexicalist approach: Constraints on affixes, words, phrases are stored in an organised lexicon.
- organisation of lexicon: Inheritance hierarchy

### Constraint on **Count nouns**:

- Count nouns select for a DET in its Specifier.
- *-ung* nominalisations are a subtype of count nouns.

- (26) a. \* *Behandlung*  
 b. \* *Behandlung* [*Jacobs*]<sub>AG</sub>  
 c. \* *Behandlung* [*des Patienten*]<sub>PAT</sub>

Against: Verbs selecting NCs do not select NPs but DPs (27).

(cf. Longobardi 1994: 612–613; Chierchia 1998: 342; Adger 2004: 253; a.o.)

- (27) a. \* I bought [<sub>NP</sub> car].  
 b. I bought [<sub>DP</sub> the [<sub>NP</sub> car]].



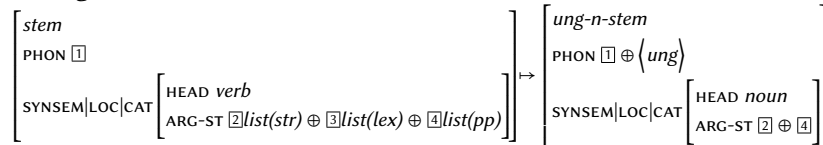
**Case Principle** → no special case possessive or semantic genitive

(28) Case Principle (simplified) (Przepiórkowski 1999; Meurers 1999)

- In the **verbal domain**, the first element with structural case in the ARG-ST list receives nominative, all further elements in the list with structural case receive accusative.
- In the **nominal domain**, elements with structural case in the ARG-ST list receive genitive.

Case → **no datives**

(29) LR: *-ung* nominalisation



Constraint applying to nominalisations → **asymmetry** between agent and patient

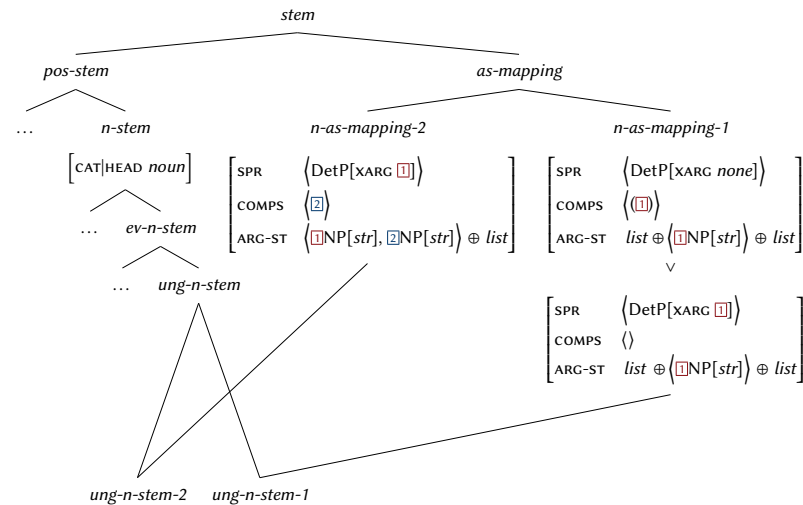


Figure 16: Mapping ARG-ST to valency

**Complementarity** between determiners and PreGens by means of XARG

(cf. Sag & Pollard 1991; Sag 2007)

Account for **complex** and **recursive** structures and parallel to **PossDat**

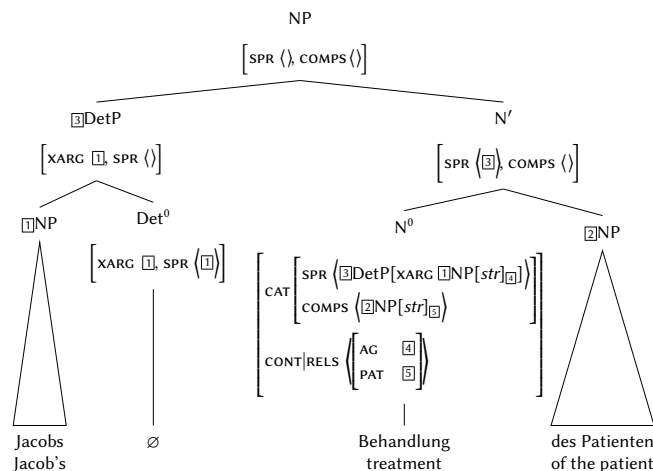


Figure 17: NP analysis

**Recursive structures:**

- (30) a. **Ihres Vaters Vaters Schwester Mann** (DECOW)  
your father.GEN father.GEN sister.GEN man  
'your father's father's sister's husband'
- b. **Einschüsse auf [Peters Bruders Harley]** (TAUTOO)  
bullet.holes on Peter.GEN brother.GEN Harley  
'bullet holes on Peter's brother's Harley'
- c. **mit [des Vaters Bruders Witwe]** (DECOW)  
with the.GEN father.GEN brother.GEN widow.DAT  
'with the father's brother's widow'
- d. **Maria ist [des Sohnes Gottes Mutter].** (DECOW)  
Maria is the.GEN son.GEN God.GEN mother  
'Maria is god's son's mother.'
- e. **Ich wähl [Doris ihrem Mann seine Partei].**  
I vote Doris.DAT her.DAT husband.DAT seine.ACC Partei.ACC  
'I am voting for Doris's husband's party.'

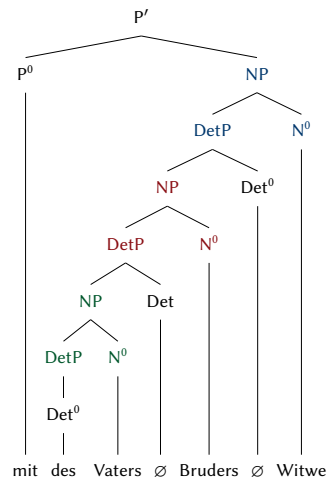


Figure 18: Recursive structure

- 1 Introduction
- 2 Data
- 3 Proposed Analyses
- 4 Locality
- 5 Local Analysis
- 6 Conclusion

## Conclusion

This approach gives a local account for:

- complex and recursive PreGens
- the complementarity between PreGens and determiners
- the case patterns shown, w.r.t. structural vs. lexical case
- the  $\theta$ -role asymmetry
- possessors as arguments
- prenominal datives with possessive determiner

## Sources I

- Corpus: DECOW: German Web Corpus.  
<http://corporafromtheweb.org/decow16> [Access: 30/06/2020]
- Link: Slides: A local account for German NPs.  
<https://www.linguistik.hu-berlin.de/de/staff/amp/downloads/my2021-1ocgernp.pdf> [Access: 08/06/2021]
- Link: Article: NPs in German: Locality, theta roles, possessives, and genitive arguments.  
<https://doi.org/10.5334/gjgl.1128> [Access: 03/06/2021]
- Webpage: TAUTOO: Sentence with recursive example.  
<http://www.tautoo.de/galerie.html> [Access: 15/04/2020]

## Literature I

- Abney, Steven P. 1987. *The English noun phrase in its sentential aspect*: Massachusetts Institute of Technology PhD thesis. <http://www.vinartus.net/spa/publications.html>.
- Adger, David. 2004. *Core syntax: A minimalist approach*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Alexiadou, Artemis. 2010a. Nominalizations: A probe into the architecture of grammar. Part I: The nominalization puzzle. *Language and Linguistics Compass* 4(7). 496–511.
- Alexiadou, Artemis. 2010b. Nominalizations: A probe into the architecture of grammar. Part II: The aspectual properties of nominalizations, and the lexicon vs. syntax debate. *Language and Linguistics Compass* 4(7). 512–523.
- Alexiadou, Artemis, Liliane Haegeman & Melita Stavrou. 2007. *Noun phrase in the generative perspective* (Studies in Generative Grammar 71). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. doi:10.1515/9783110207491.
- Anderson, Stephen R. 2008. The English “group genitive” is a special clitic. *English Linguistics* 25(1). 1–20. doi:10.9793/eljs1984.25.1.
- Baltin, Mark R. 1989. Heads and projections. In Mark R. Baltin & Anthony S. Kroch (eds.), *Alternative conceptions of phrase structure*, 1–16. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Bruening, Benjamin. 2009. Selectional asymmetries between CP and DP suggest that the DP hypothesis is wrong. In Laurel MacKenzie (ed.), *Proceedings of the 32nd annual Penn Linguistics Colloquium* (Penn Working Papers in Linguistics 15.1), 26–35. Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania. <http://repository.upenn.edu/pwpl/vol15/iss1/5>.
- Bruening, Benjamin. 2020. The head of the nominal is N, not D: N-to-D movement, hybrid agreement, and conventionalized expressions. *Glossa: A Journal of General Linguistics* 5(1). 1–19. doi:10.5334/gjgl.1031.
- Chierchia, Gennaro. 1998. Reference to kinds across languages. *Natural Language Semantics* 6(4). 339–405. doi:10.1023/A:1008324218506.
- Chomsky, Noam. 1981. *Lectures on Government and Binding: The Pisa lectures*. Dordrecht: Foris Publications. doi:10.1515/9783110884166.

## Literature II

- Chomsky, Noam. 2007. Approaching UG from below. In Uli Sauerland & Hans-Martin Gärtner (eds.), *Interfaces + recursion = language?: Chomsky's Minimalism and the view from syntax-semantics* (Studies in Generative Grammar 89), 1–30. Berlin: De Gruyter. doi:10.1515/9783110207552.
- Chomsky, Noam, Ángel J. Gallego & Dennis Ott. 2019. Generative grammar and the faculty of language: Insights, questions, and challenges. Manuscript. To appear in *Catalan Journal of Linguistics*. <https://ling.auf.net/lingbuzz/003507>.
- Demske, Ulrike. 2001. *Merkmale und Relationen: Diachrone Studien zur Nominalphrase des Deutschen* (Studia Linguistica Germanica 56). Berlin: Walter de Gruyter. doi:10.1515/9783110811353.
- Di Sciullo, Anna Maria & Edwin Williams. 1988. *On the definition of word*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Fries, Norbert & Antonio Machicao y Priemer. 2016. X-Bar-Theorie. In Helmut Glück & Michael Rödel (eds.), *Metzler Lexikon Sprache*, 779–780. Stuttgart: Metzler 5th edn.
- Georgi, Doreen & Martin Salzmann. 2011. DP-internal double agreement is not double Agree: Consequences of Agree-based case assignment within DP. *Lingua* 121(14). 2069–2088.
- Grimshaw, Jane. 1991. Extended projection. Ms. Brandeis University.
- Haider, Hubert. 1988. Die Struktur der deutschen Nominalphrase. *Zeitschrift für Sprachwissenschaft* 7(1). 32–59. doi:10.1515/ZFSW.1988.7.1.32.
- Hartmann, Katharina & Malte Zimmermann. 2003. Syntactic and semantic adnominal genitive. In Claudia Maienborn (ed.), *(A-)symmetrien – (A-)symmetries: Beiträge zu Ehren von Ewald Lang* (Stauffenburg Linguistik 29), 171–202. Tübingen: Stauffenburg.
- Karnowski, Paweł & Jürgen Pafel. 2004. A topological schema for noun phrases in German. In Gereon Müller, Lutz Gunkel & Gisela Zifonun (eds.), *Explorations in nominal inflection*, 161–188. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. doi:10.1515/9783110197501.161.
- Keenan, Edward & Bernard Comrie. 1977. Noun phrase accessibility and Universal Grammar. *Linguistic Inquiry* 8(1). 63–99.

## Literature III

- Longobardi, Giuseppe. 1994. Reference and proper names: A theory of N-movement in syntax and logical form. *Linguistic Inquiry* 25(4). 609–665.
- Machicao y Priemer, Antonio. 2017. *NP-arguments in NPs: An analysis of German and Spanish noun phrases in Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar*. Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Philosophische Fakultät II PhD thesis. doi:10.18452/20109. <https://doi.org/10.18452/20109>.
- Machicao y Priemer, Antonio. 2018a. Konstituententest. In Stefan Schierholz & Pál Uzonyi (eds.), *Grammatik: Syntax* (Wörterbücher zur Sprach- und Kommunikationswissenschaft (Online) 1.2), Berlin: De Gruyter. [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/325046937\\_Konstituententest\\_Pre-Print](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/325046937_Konstituententest_Pre-Print).
- Machicao y Priemer, Antonio. 2018b. Kopf. In Stefan Schierholz & Pál Uzonyi (eds.), *Grammatik: Syntax* (Wörterbücher zur Sprach- und Kommunikationswissenschaft (Online) 1.2), Berlin: De Gruyter. [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/325046855\\_Kopf\\_Pre-Print](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/325046855_Kopf_Pre-Print).
- Machicao y Priemer, Antonio. 2019a. Argumentstruktur. In Stefan Schierholz & Pál Uzonyi (eds.), *Grammatik: Syntax* (Wörterbücher zur Sprach- und Kommunikationswissenschaft (Online) 1.2), Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Machicao y Priemer, Antonio. 2019b. Syntax und Semantik von NPn – Theorienvergleich. Class given at DeMiNeS Summer School 2019 – 1st International Summer School on “Language Comparison and Typology: German and the Mediterranean languages”, Aristotle University Thessaloniki – 28.–30.08.2019. <https://www.linguistik.hu-berlin.de/de/staff/amyp/downloads/my2019-npdp-theorienvergleich-ho-end.pdf>.
- Machicao y Priemer, Antonio. 2020. Phrase. In Stefan Schierholz & Pál Uzonyi (eds.), *Grammatik: Syntax* (Wörterbücher zur Sprach- und Kommunikationswissenschaft (Online) 1.2), Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Machicao y Priemer, Antonio & Stefan Müller. 2019. Prenominal genitives: Locality, theta-roles, and quantifiers: The difficulty of being a man's friend in German. Paper presented at the AG 16: “New horizons in the study of nominal phrases” in the 41. Jahrestagung der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Sprachwissenschaft (DGfS) – Universität Bremen.

## Literature IV

- Machicao y Priemer, Antonio & Stefan Müller. 2021. NPs in German: Locality, theta roles, possessives, and genitive arguments. *Glossa: A Journal of General Linguistics* 6(1). 46.1–38. doi:10.5334/gjgl.1128. <https://doi.org/10.5334/gjgl.1128>.
- Meurers, Walt Detmar. 1999. Raising spirits (and assigning them case). *Groninger Arbeiten zur Germanistischen Linguistik (GAGL)* 43. 173–226. <http://irs.ub.rug.nl/dbi/47544439a8e3f>.
- Muysken, Pieter. 1982. Parametrizing the notion ‘head’. *Journal of Linguistic Research* 2(3). 57–75.
- Müller, Stefan & Antonio Machicao y Priemer. 2019. Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar. In András Kertész, Edith Moravcsik & Csilla Rákosi (eds.), *Current approaches to syntax – A comparative handbook* (Comparative Handbooks of Linguistics 3), Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton. doi:10.1515/9783110540253-012. <https://www.degruyter.com/view/product/486143>.
- Olsen, Susan. 1991. Die deutsche Nominalphrase als Determinansphrase. In Susan Olsen & Gisbert Fanselow (eds.), *DET, COMP und INFL: Zur Syntax funktionaler Kategorien und grammatischer Funktionen*, 35–56. Tübingen: Niemeyer. doi:10.1515/9783111353838.
- Partee, Barbara H. 1997. Genitives: A case study. In Johan van Benthem & Alice ter Meulen (eds.), *Handbook of logic and linguistics*, 464–470. Amsterdam: Elsevier. [Appendix to Theo M.V. Janssen, ‘Compositionality’].
- Pollard, Carl J. & Ivan A. Sag. 1987. *Information-based syntax and semantics. Volume 1: Fundamentals*. Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications.
- Pollard, Carl J. & Ivan A. Sag. 1994. *Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Przepiórkowski, Adam. 1999. *Case assignment and the complement/adjunct dichotomy: A non-configurational constraint-based approach*. Eberhard-Karls-Universität Tübingen PhD thesis.
- van Riemsdijk, Henk. 1998. Categorical feature magnetism: The endocentricity and distribution of projections. *Journal of Comparative Germanic Linguistics* 2(1). 1–48. doi:10.1023/A:1009763305416.

## Literature V

- Sag, Ivan A. 2007. Remarks on locality. In Stefan Müller (ed.), *The 14<sup>th</sup> International Conference on Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar, Stanford Department of Linguistics and CSLI's LinGO Lab*, 394–414. Stanford University: CSLI Publications. <http://csli-publications.stanford.edu/HPSG/2007>.
- Sag, Ivan A. 2012. Sign-Based Construction Grammar: An informal synopsis. In Hans C. Boas & Ivan Sag (eds.), *Sign-Based Construction Grammar* (CSLI Lecture Notes 193), 69–202. Stanford: CSLI Publications.
- Sag, Ivan A. & Carl J. Pollard. 1991. An integrated theory of complement control. *Language* 67(1). 63–113. doi:10.2307/415539.
- Salzmann, Martin. 2020. The NP vs. DP debate: Why previous arguments are inconclusive and what a good argument could look like: Evidence from agreement with hybrid nouns. *Glossa: A Journal of General Linguistics* 5(1). 83. 1–46. doi:10.5334/gjgl.1123.
- Schumacher, Helmut, Jacqueline Kubczak, Renate Schmidt & Vera de Ruiter. 2004. *VALBU – Valenzwörterbuch deutscher Verben* (Studien zur Deutschen Sprache 31). Tübingen: Gunter Narr.
- Sportiche, Dominique. 2005. Division of labor between merge and move: Strict locality of selection and apparent reconstruction paradoxes. Ms. <https://ling.auf.net/lingbuzz/000163>.
- Sternefeld, Wolfgang. 2009. *Syntax: Eine morphologisch motivierte generative Beschreibung des Deutschen*, vol. 2. Tübingen: Stauffenburg 3rd edn.
- Sternefeld, Wolfgang. 2015. *Syntax: Eine morphologisch motivierte generative Beschreibung des Deutschen*, vol. 1. Tübingen: Stauffenburg 4th edn.
- Szabolcsi, Anna. 1994. The noun phrase. In Ferenc Kiefer & Katalin É. Kiss (eds.), *The syntactic structure of Hungarian*, 179–274. San Diego: Academic Press.
- Tappe, Hans Thilo. 1989. The position of prenominal genitives in German. Manuscript.
- Van Eynde, Frank. 2006. NP-internal agreement and the structure of the noun phrase. *Journal of Linguistics* 42(1). 139–186. doi:10.1017/S0022226705003713.

## Literature VI

- Van Eynde, Frank. 2019. Nominal structures. 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].
- Van Eynde, Frank. 2020. Agreement, disagreement and the NP vs. DP debate. *Glossa: A Journal of General Linguistics* 5(1). 65. 1–23. doi:10.5334/gjgl.1119.
- Vater, Heinz. 1991. Determinantien in der DP [Determiners in the DP]. In Susan Olsen & Gisbert Fanselow (eds.), *DET, COMP und INFL: Zur Syntax funktionaler Kategorien und grammatischer Funktionen*, 15–34. Berlin: de Gruyter. doi:10.1515/9783111353838.15.
- Zifonun, Gisela. 2003. *Dem Vater sein Hut: Der Charme des Substandards und wie wir ihm gerecht werden* [*The father his hat: The charm of the substandard and how we live up to it*]. *Deutsche Sprache* 31(2). 97–126. doi:10.37307/j.1868-775X.2003.02.02.
- Zwicky, Arnold M. 1987. Suppressing the Zs. *Journal of Linguistics* 23(1). 133–148. doi:10.1017/S0022226700011063.