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► **To cite this version:**

Pierre Pica. Some theoretical Implications of the Study of NP-Movement in Some Scandinavian Languages. Tapir. Papers from the Sixth Scandinavian Conference of Linguistics, Tapir, pp.107-116, 1982. halshs-00353753

HAL Id: halshs-00353753

<https://shs.hal.science/halshs-00353753v1>

Submitted on 28 Jan 2009

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SOME THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY OF NP-MOVEMENT IN
SOME SCANDINAVIAN LANGUAGES
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The purpose of this paper is to discuss the statute of NP-movement and in particular to analyse the passive structure of some Scandinavian and non-Scandinavian languages within the framework of the so-called "Extended Standard Theory" of generative grammar.

We particularly want to argue that, contrary to Wasow (1980), there exist two kinds of passive structures, a) one generated in the base and b) the other transformationally derived by the structure-preserving rule of move-NP as formulated, for English, in Wasow (1977).

Assuming a case theory along the lines of Chomsky (1978), we want to argue a) that oblique cases are assigned in the base (contrary to Den Besten (1979)); b) that the rule of move-NP can move a case assigned in the base, as first stipulated in Chomsky (op. cit.) and denied by Kayne (1979) and Lightfoot (1980); c) that a strong version of Chomsky (1981) following which NP-movement must occur from a non case-marked position is wrong as noted by Borer (1981) and Aoun (1981) and that there is no case-conflict device contrary to the hypothesis of Chomsky (1978) and d) that movement should not be defined in terms of case but in terms of government and that the Empty Category Principle of Chomsky (1981) should be extended to phonetically realized NPS.

1. The interpretation of aspect in some passive sentences in French and Danish.

Assuming wasow's theory of (1977) we can account for the dynamic interpretation of French sentences of type (1) (illustrated by the entailment (b) by a transformational derivation and can account for the stative interpretation of the same sentence (illustrated by the entailment (a)) by a base-derivation :

- (1) La porte était fermée
(The door was closed)
- a. = La porte avait été fermée
(The door had been closed)
- b. = La porte était fermée (par quelqu'un)
(The door was being closed (by somebody))

We can account for the fact that the same entailments are not valid when the same passive structures contain a durative verb, as illustrated in (2) by the general principle (3) which applies as a rule at the level of semantic interpretation :

- (2) La gare était surveillée
(The station was watched)
- a. ≠ La gare avait été surveillée
(The station had been watched)
- b. = La gare était surveillée (par quelqu'un)
(The station was being watched (by somebody))

- (3) A durative event cannot be considered as brought to an end if no 'sur-composed' tense is used and in particular, if present tense is used

We do indeed not want to say that sentences like (2) cannot be base-generated since we find such examples as (4) :

- (4) C'est un homme très surveillé + admiré
(He is a very watched + admired man)

The effect of the application of our principle (3) is that the stative reading of a base-generated passive structure whose past-participle is derived from a durative verb is not interpreted as in (1) but as a kind of non finite state (process). The same analysis which is a reminiscence of the observations of Wilson (1960) leads us to the hypothesis that the danish structures (5) and (6) that correspond to (1) and (2) are base-generated since they do not have a dynamic interpretation :

- (5) Døren er lukket
(The door has been closed)
- (6) Byen er beboet
(The city is inhabited)

We account for the non stative reading of (6) by the application of principle (3) at the level of semantic interpretation.

It is interesting to note that, while the stative reading of sentences like (1) and (2) generally disappears with the presence of an agent in french, as illustrated by (7), the stative reading is still the only possible interpretation of Danish sentences like (8) :

- (7) La porte etait fermée par la police
(The door was being closed by the police)
- (8) Døren er lukket af politiet
(The door had been closed by the police)

We want to argue that French sentences like (7) are transformationally derived while apparently equivalent Danish sentences like (8) are derived in the base.

We want to claim that danish sentences like (8) represent a marked phenomenon since it seems generally to be the case that the presence of a "by phrase" is associated with a dynamic reading, itself associated with a transformational derivation as illustrated by the Icelandic sentence (45) bellow and the following English examples from Kayne (1981.b) :

- (9) The enemy's destruction of the city
- (10) The city's destruction by the enemy
- (11) This book is readable t by a ten-year old
- (12) *Mary is reliable on t by a ten-year old
- (13) *Mary is reliable t by a ten-year old
- (14) Mary is reliable
- (15) *Mary's reference to t by the lecturer shocked everyone

Note that the presence of a "by phrase" seems to imply a transformational derivation as illustrated by the contrast between (12), (13) and (14) where (12) is excluded by the Empty Category Principle which also applies to (15), (13) lacks the preposition "on" associated with the verb "rely on" and is ungrammatical as opposite to (14) which is base-generated and associated with a lexical redundancy rule which deletes the preposition;

We could interpret the relation between the "by phrase" and a transformational derivation as a reflection of a semantic principle associating the presence of an agent with a dynamic interpretation but this move would be dubious since we do find some "by phrase"

in passive sentences which do not undergo movement as illustrated in (16) :

- (16) Il fait manger la pomme par Paul
(He has the apple eaten by Paul)

Sentences like (16) clearly indicate that it is not to the movement that the "by phrase" is related but rather, as suggested in Kayne (op. cit.) that the presence of the "by phrase" strengthens the requirement for an object to be represented (in logical form ?) as 'N (of) NP' (see Kayne's analysis of "The Iranian bombardment by Russia").

We see, as expected, that the object may be represented by a trace as in (7), (10) or (11) or, phonetically realized as in (16).

Our analysis of danish sentences like (8) as marked can also be supported by the following paradigm pointed out to us by Jan Katlev :

- (17) ?? Bilen er købt af Jensen
(The car has been bought by Jensen)
- (18) ?? Bilen er hentet af politiet
(The car has been taken up by the police)
- (19) ?? Bilen er repareret af Roed-Sørensen
(the car has been repaired by Roed-Sørensen)
- (20) ? Bilen er sprøjtakeret af A/S Painter
(The car has been painted by A/S Painter)
- (21) Bilen er bygget af Ford
(The car has been constructed by Ford)
- (22) Bilen er designet af Issigonis
(The car has been designed by Issigonis)

Katlev (personal communication) suggests that our analysis of danish sentences like (8) is wrong and that danish sentences like the ones illustrated in (17)-(22) show that their grammatical statute is unclear but this is exactly what is predicted by our analysis of this kind of sentences as marked.

The unclear statute of (17)-(19) is also predicted by our analysis following which they are derived in the base and can then be subject to lexical restrictions.

Note at last that the fact that sentences (17)-(20) are not accepted by a certain amount of people is also predicted by our principle of interpretation (3) following which basic passive sentences must be interpreted as stative or, if they contain a past-participle derived from a durative verb, as a non finite state (process), since this last interpretation seems to be more natural if an agent is expressed as illustrated by the contrast between (17)-(18) and (21)-(22)...

2. Some arguments against a transformation of auxiliary deletion in Danish and some other germanic languages

Danish grammarians (cf. for instance Diderichsen (1946) give a totally different analysis of these phenomena since they consider that sentences like (8) derive from sentence like (23) by the deletion of the auxiliary "blevet" :

- (23) Døren er blevet lukket af politiet
(The door is become closed by the police)

The same type of analysis is proposed, within the framework of

transformational grammar, by Den Besten (op. cit.) to account for Dutch and German sentences as, for German, (24) where the auxiliary "worden" can be omitted :

- (24) De Tür ist geschlossen (worden)
(The door is closed (become))

It is nevertheless worth noting that the presence of an agent in the passive construction blocks the deletion of the auxiliary in Dutch and German as illustrated, for German, by (25) which we would like to contrast with the Danish sentence (23) :

- (25) Die Tür ist von der Polizei geschlossen *(worden)
(The door is by the police closed)

Unfortunately, the arguments given by Den Besten for his analysis of Dutch sentences equivalent to (8) as being derived by auxiliary deletion (based on verb raising before the auxiliary and some preposition stranding phenomena) cannot be applied to German or Danish.

It is clear however, that this operation could not be a transformation since this rule cannot apply to passive sentences containing a past participle derived from a durative verb, as illustrated by Danish sentences (26) and (27) which are semantically very different :

- (26) Byen er blevet beboet af drenge
(The city is been inhabited by boys)
- (27) Byen er beboet af drenge
(The city is inhabited by boys)

We believe that we can account for the difference of interpretation between (26) and (27) by our principle (3) which can apply to (27) if (27) is a passive structure derived in the base.

The hypothesis of a lexical rule of auxiliary deletion does not hold either if we consider that Danish passive with "blive" like (26) and their Dutch and German equivalent with "geworden" and "worden" are transformationally derived (cf. Den Besten op. cit. & Pica 1979) since it is generally assumed that no transformations may be followed by lexical rules.

We shall consequently consider that Danish sentences like (8) and (27) are generated in the base contrary to sentences like (23) and (26) and (24) for German which are transformationally derived.

Note that, as pointed out to us by Kjell-Ake Gunnarson, our analysis can be supported by a look at Swedish where sentences equivalent to Danish sentences (8) are grammatical as illustrated in (28) but where the equivalent form with "bliva" is absolutely impossible with the same auxiliary as illustrated in (29): A transformational derivation of (28) from (29) is very implausible in that language since it would involve a variation of auxiliary :

- (28) Stadgan ~~är~~ fastställd av myndigheterna
(The prescription is established by the authorities)
- (29) Stadgan ^{*är}_{har} blivit fastställd av myndigheterna
(The prescription has been established by the authorities)

We feel that our hypothesis, which permits us to predict the semantic interpretation of aspect in the sentences considered, is supported by the analysis of passive sentences with oblique cases which is developed in the next section.

3. Some implications of the analysis of NP-movement in Icelandic

It has generally been assumed that contrary to Chomsky (1978), NP-movement cannot move case and particularly cannot move an oblique case which would have been assigned in the base. That principle is supposed to account for the lack of preposition stranding with NP-movement in a language which has retained an oblique case such as French (as opposed to English) (cf. Lightfoot (op. cit.)).

This phenomenon is illustrated in (30) :

- (30) *Jean (Nom) est parlé de t (Oblique)
(John is talked about)

Lightfoot argues that, since cases cannot be moved by NP-movement, the traces of the moved NP bears the oblique case which has been assigned in the base, in French sentences as (30).

Since traces bearing a case are variables (cf. Chomsky 1981) the trace of the moved NP is a variable in (30) and should thus (cf. (ibid.)) be bound by a quantifier.

That analysis is supposed to account for the ungrammaticality of French sentences as (30) and can be carried over to German since we only find moved NP's bearing an oblique case with impersonal passives as illustrated in (31) and (32) as opposed to (34) :

- (31) Ich (Nom) harre seiner (Gen)
(I wait him)
- (32) Es wird seiner (Gen.) geharrt
(There is him waited)
- (33) Seiner (Gen.) wird geharrt
(He is waited)
- (34) *Er (Nom.) wird geharrt
(he is waited)

It follows from this analysis that German sentences as (33) are not derived by NP-movement from sentences like (31) but rather derive from impersonal passives like (32) by topicalisation (see however Den Besten (1980) for a different analysis).

This kind of analysis cannot, however, be carried over to Icelandic to deal with similar cases in that language (see (35) and (36)) as argued by Andrews (1976) :

- (35) Mér (Dat.) var bjargað
(I was saved)
- (36) Mín (Gen.) var bedið
(I was waited)

We do not indeed find the corresponding impersonal passives (37) and (38) (for some reason that are still unclear to us), although impersonal passives are frequent in Icelandic, as in other Scandinavian languages, as illustrated by (39) :

- (37) *Það var bjargað mér (Dat.)
(There was saved me)
- (38) *Það var bedið mín (Gen.)
(There was waited me)
- (39) Það var lokið við kirkjuna
(There was finished at the church)

We are then forced to consider the hypothesis that the dative and

genitive of (35) and (36) have been moved by NP-movement from object position.

We consider that this analysis can also be supported by the study of aspect in Icelandic passive structures as illustrated by the following paradigm from Benediktsson (1980) where sentences (40) and (42) are interpreted as dynamic while (41) and (43) are interpreted as stative :

- (40) Dyrnum (Dat.) var lokað t
(The doors were closed)
- (41) Dyrnar (Nom.) voru lokaðar
(The doors had been closed)
- (42) Úrinu (Dat.), sem hann seldi mér, var stolið t
(The watch, which he sold me, was stolen)
- (43) Úrið (Nom.), sem hann seldi mér, var stolið
(The watch, which he sold me, had been stolen)

These respective interpretations follow from our analysis of sentences like (40) and (42) as transformationally derived (see the analysis of (35) and (36) above) while we would like to say that (41) and (43) are generated in the base and do not undergo movement of an oblique object moved in that position by NP-movement.

It is interesting to note that the strong tendency noted above for French and English not to use a "by phrase" if an object is not represented (in logical form) is borne out in Icelandic as illustrated by the following sentences confirmed to us by Thráinsson

- (44) Budini (Dat.) er lokað t af lögreglunni
(The shop is closed by the police)
- (45) Budin (Nom.) er lokað (* af lögreglunni)
(The shop is closed by the police)

Our analysis of (40) and ((42) as being transformationally derived but (41) and (43) as being base-generated can be supported by the following paradigm from Benediktsson (op. cit.).

These sentences show that no dative subject can be found in sentences like (47), that we would like to consider as generated in the base since they contain an adjectival element "ólokað" (unclosed) which we wish to relate to a verbal element in the lexicon in the lines of Wasow (1977) :

- (46) * Dyrnum (Dat.) var ólokað
(The doors were unclosed)
- (47) Dyrnar (Nom.) voru ólokaðar
(The doors were unclosed)

Note that the contrast between (46) and (47) militates also against Lightfoot's hypothesis in Lightfoot (1980) following which all past participles are adjectives if we adopt an analysis following which it is the past participle that assigns the oblique case to the NP in object position in sentences like (40) and (42).

Adjectives cannot generally assign case as illustrated, for Icelandic by (46) and, for French, by the following paradigm if an analysis in the lines of Pollock (1981) is right :

- (48) Il est embrassé un grand nombre de filles à la partie
(There is kissed a great number of girls at the party)
- (49) *Il est insatisfait un grand nombre de filles à la partie
(There is unsatisfied a great number of girls at the party)

Conformably to our analysis following which the oblique cases of (35) and (36) has been moved from object position by NP-movement, we feel that Lightfoot's analysis of french sentences like (30) should be dropped and that this kind of sentences should be analysed in an alternative way as the one proposed in Kayne (1981.a) which makes use of the Empty Category Principle.

4. Some implications for a theory of case

Note that our hypothesis following which the oblique cases of (35) and (36) has been moved by NP-movement and not by Wh-movement (which is supposed to occur from case marked positions and to be able to move case since the "On Binding" framework) is not only supported by our analysis of the paradigm (40)-(47) but also by the fact that these NPs might be replaced by some non phonetically realized pronouns (PRO) in anaphoric control structures as illustrated by the Icelandic sentence (50) parallel to ((35) which we want to contrast with the ungrammatical German sentence (51) :

- (50) Ég vonast til [PRO (Dat.) að verða bjargað]
(I hope to be saved)
- (51) *Ich hoffe [PRO (Dat.) geholfen zu werden]
(I hope to be helped)

Sentences like (50) strongly confirm that the oblique NPs in preverbal positions of (35) and (36) are in arguments positions, that it is that they are in subject position as claimed in Thráinsson (1979) and Andrews (1976) from which we borrow sentence (52) which shows that the anaphora "sin" (which can only be bound by NPs in subject position) can be bound by an oblique case marked NP in subject position :

- (52) Honum_i (Dat.) svipar til fraenda síns_i
(He resembles his cousin)

This analysis leads us to admit that NP-movement as Wh-movement can occur from a case marked position as opposed to the assumption (see Chomsky (1981)) following which NP-movement occurs from a position that is not case-marked (the trace of NP-movement bearing no case and being an anaphora) contrarily to Wh-movement that occurs from a case marked position (and to a non argument position), the trace of Wh-movement bearing a case being interpreted as a variable.

That NP-movement and Wh-movement can occur from a common position can indeed be illustrated by the following examples where (53) is an instance of NP-movement of an NP marked for oblique case to subject position and (54) is an instance of Wh-movement of the Wh-word marked for dative case (hverjum) from object position to the Comp of the matrix sentence through the intermediate Comp (The trace in Comp is governed under conditions that are still unclear to us, probably by the complementizer 'að' (see also Maling & Zaenen (1978)).

- (53) Ég tel [bróður þínum hafa verið hjálpað t
(I believe your brother to have been helped)
- (54) Hverjum [heldur þú [að t [Ólafur hafi hjálpað t
(Who think you that Olaf has helped)

This analysis is a reminiscence of the hypothesis of Borer (1981) cited in Aoun (op. cit.) following which there is at least one construction from which both NP and Wh movements can occur in English as illustrated by (55) and (56) :

(55) A man (Nom.) was t in the room

(56) Who [was there t in the room

The natural conclusion of this analysis is that there exist some NP-movement from case marked position to case marked position and that there is no case-conflict device as opposed to what is claimed in Chomsky (1978).

This hypothesis is borne out in Icelandic as illustrated by the following sentences borrowed from Andrews which makes use of them for a different purpose.

We want to argue that the accusative case is assigned by the verb 'telja' (to believe) to the subject of the embedded sentence in (57) through the device of S deletion but that no such case can be assigned to the subject NP in (58) since it already bears the dative case moved from the object position by NP-movement :

(57) Ég tel [strákinn (Acc.) hafa seð troll
(I believe the lad to have seen the troll)

(58) Ég tel [henni (Dat.) hafa verið bjargað t
(I believe her to have been saved)

This analysis strongly suggests that case assignment and government should not be as connected as they are in the actual theory of Chomsky (1981) and that NP-movement should not be defined in terms of case as a movement to a case marked position but in terms of government as a movement to a position that is governed (and to a position that is not marked with a thematic role).

This hypothesis predicts that the embedded sentences of (57) and (58) would not be grammatical if they were fronted in a position where the embedded subject would not be governed by the verb of the matrix sentence.

This hypothesis which permits us to define Wh-movement as a movement to an ungoverned position, is very closely related to our analysis of active constructions with oblique subjects in Icelandic illustrated by the marked sentences (59) and (60) which shows that there exist some "oblique accusatives" in Icelandic as supported by the fact that some prepositions do assign accusative in that languages.

(59) Barninu (Dat.) batnaði veikin (Nom.)
(the child recovered from the disease)

(60) Drengina (Acc.) vantar peninga (Acc.)
(The boys lack money)

We want to argue that the oblique subjects of active sentences like (59) and (60) are moved by NP-movement from a post-verbal position. This analysis is a reminiscence of the analysis of "ergative verbs" by Burzio (1981) following which the subject of verbs that take the auxiliary corresponding to "be" are derived from post-verbal position and moved to the subject position which lacks a thematic role in Italian.

Our hypothesis seems to be supported by the fact that (59) and (60) cannot undergo passive as noted by Andrews (1981), illustrated by (61) and (62) and predicted by our analysis following which the ungrammaticality of (61) and (62) is related to the ungrammaticality of (63) in French if we admit the hypothesis that the morphological process of passive (which absorbs the thematic role of the subject) cannot apply in these languages if there is no thematic role to absorb :

(61) *Veikin var bötnuð
(The disease was recovered-from)

(62) *Peninga er vantað
(Money is lacked)

(63) *Il a été arrivé
(There has been arrived)

The contrast between (63), whose active form lacks a thematic role in subject position if we apply Burzio's analysis to French, and (64) whose active form receives a thematic role in subject position if we follow the same analysis, shows that it is the presence or absence of a thematic role in subject position that determines the realization of the morphological process of passivization and not, as supposed by traditional grammar, the concept of transitivity:

(64) ? Il a été dansé
(There has been danced)

We are now able to derive sentences like (60) from structures like (65) which lacks a thematic role in subject position but which is grammatical in Icelandic (as noted by Einarsson (1945)) in a narrative style because of the possibility to violate the verb second constraint of Maling and Zaenen (1978) in this particular use of Icelandic :

(65) Vantar drengina (Acc.) peninga (Acc.)
(Lack the boys money)

The natural implication of this analysis is that there is an empty category locally controlled by Agreement of Inflexion (see Chomsky (1981)) in the pre-verbal position of (65) just as in (66) from Jolivet (1954) :

(66) Var ákavæðið...
(Has been decided...)

We are now able to formulate the hypothesis that Inflexion governs the oblique subjects of (59) and (60) and in fact these sentences would be ungrammatical if no finite tense would be used but that the element Tense of Inflexion cannot assign a nominative case to these NPs since they already bear an oblique case moved from object position.

If our analysis is right, we can now add the filter (67) to the case filter of Vergnaud cited in Chomsky (1978) which at least remains valid for languages which do have an overt morphological case system :

(67) *NP if not governed

We are now able to express the Empty Category Principle of Chomsky (1981) and our filter (67) by a common principle expressed as in (68) :

(68) The Category Principle :
*NP or its trace if not governed

Note that (68) will apply to NPs or traces whether they are marked for case or not, but not to non phonetically realized pronouns (PRO), and that it is worth to investigate, as suggested to me by Kayne, whether (68) could replace the case filter of Vergnaud in languages that do not have an overt case system.

We will developp this matter elsewhere.

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