

ON THE CORRELATION OF SUBJECTHOOD AND
EPHEMERAL DUMMIES IN GERMAN

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1. Introduction

There exist in German a variety of constructions which exhibit the dummy es in the initial preverbal position:

Indefinite Extraposition²

- (1) a. Es spielt ein Kind im Garten.
'A child is playing in the garden.'
- b. Es wurden zwei Kinder heute in die Schule gebracht.
'Two children were brought today into the school.'

Plain Impersonal Passive

- (2) a. Es wird hier gut getanzt.
'There is good dancing here.'
- b. Es wird hier kaum gearbeitet.
'There is hardly any work done here.'

Impersonal Experiencer Constructions

- (3) a. Es hungert mich.
'I'm hungry.'
- b. Es ist mir kalt.
'I'm cold.'
- c. Es graut mir vor der Prüfung.
'I'm scared of the test.'
- d. Es ist ihm angst und bange.
'He's afraid.'
- e. Es schwindelt dir.
'You feel dizzy.'

Existential Constructions

- (4) a. Es gibt zwei Leute da.
'There are two people there.'
- b. Es gibt hier nichts zu essen.
'There is nothing to eat here.'

Reflexive Impersonal Passive³

- (5) a. Es tanzt sich gut hier.
'There is good dancing here.'
b. Es arbeitet sich gut hier.
'Working (conditions) are good here.'

Weather Verb Constructions

- (6) a. Es regnet hier.
'It's raining here.'
b. Es hat gestern gehagelt.
'It hailed yesterday.'

It has been noted elsewhere (Breckenridge 1975) that there is a difference between the constructions in (1)-(3) as opposed to those in (4)-(6) with respect to the behavior of es. If some other element of the sentence occupies the initial position, es disappears in sentences (1)-(3):⁴

- (7) a. Im Garten spielt ein Kind.
b.*Im Garten spielt es ein Kind.
c. Spielt ein Kind im Garten?
d.*Spielt es ein Kind im Garten?
e. Heute wurden zwei Kinder in die Schule gebracht.
f.*Heute wurden es zwei Kinder in die Schule gebracht.
g. Wurden zwei Kinder heute in die Schule gebracht?
h.*Wurden es zwei Kinder heute in die Schule gebracht?
(8) a. Hier wird gut getanzt.
b.*Hier wird es gut getanzt.
c. Hier wird kaum gearbeitet.
d.*Hier wird es kaum gearbeitet.
(9) a. Mich hungert.
b.*Mich hungert es.
c. Mir ist kalt.
d.*Mir ist es kalt.
e. Mir graut vor der Prüfung.
f.*Mir graut es vor der Prüfung.
g. Ihm ist angst und bange.
h.*Ihm ist es angst und bange.

- i. Dir schwindelt.
- j.?Dir schwindelt es.

Question marks have been provided in (9f) and (9j) because it seems that the appearance of es is optional in these cases. But, es remains in sentences (4)-(6) when another element occupies initial position:

- (10) a. Zwei Leute gibt es da.
b.*Zwei Leute gibt da.

c. Hier gibt es nichts zu essen.
d.*Hier gibt nichts zu essen.
- (11) a. Hier tanzt es sich gut.
b.*Hier tanzt sich gut.

c. Hier arbeitet es sich gut.
d.*Hier arbeitet sich gut.
- (12) a. Hier regnet es.
b.*Hier regnet.

c. Gestern hat es gehagelt.
d.*Gestern hat gehagelt.

The obvious question which arises with respect to these data concerns what principle (if any) there is to account for the difference in behavior between the set in which es disappears noninitially and the set in which es does not disappear. For ease of reference I will call the es which occurs in sentences (1)-(3) above ephemeral es, and the es which occurs in sentences (4)-(6) stable es.

As far as I know, traditional treatments of es constructions in German have usually said something to the effect that es must be inserted in constructions like the ones illustrated above, and that in a certain subset of these constructions es may not appear in any but initial position. Breckenridge (1975), for example, has proposed within the framework of transformational grammar that es is inserted post-cyclically and stable es is inserted cyclically. She argues for this position in part by claiming that ephemeral es insertion is not lexically governed and thus is likely to be post-cyclic, since post-cyclic rules are not generally lexically governed (Ross 1967). She also argues that a post-cyclic formulation of ephemeral es insertion can be motivated by the surface constraint in German that the tensed part of the verb appear as the second constituent in a matrix declarative sentence. Within the transformational framework, Breckenridge's analysis offers a neat way of accounting for the mechanics of

ephemeral es insertion as opposed to stable es insertion. Bishop and Kossuth (1979) have also discussed the role of certain pragmatic and semantic factors concerning es in German. But no attempt has been made to see if a generalization can be made as to why es is ephemeral in certain constructions but stable in others. The question is whether there is any substantial way in which ephemeral es constructions differ from stable es constructions. This question is not addressed in the works cited above, and it is the problem that will be addressed in the present paper.

The analysis will utilize the framework of relational grammar as developed by Perlmutter and Postal, and the organization of the paper will be as follows: In section 2 I will examine evidence that 1s control the manner adverbial gern (cf. Jackendoff 1972), reflexivization, and Equi into gerundive and infinitival constructions. In section 3 I will examine the evidence available concerning the final grammatical relations of the nominals occurring in dummy constructions. It will be argued that in construction types (1)-(6) above there exist no final 1s other than dummy 1s. In section 4 I will contrast the behavior of ephemeral dummy constructions to that of stable dummy constructions with respect to the above-mentioned syntactic phenomena. It will be seen that the ephemeral dummy constructions group together in that they contain nominals which, while not final 1s, nevertheless exhibit the behavior of 1s. The stable dummy constructions, on the other hand, will be seen not to have 1s other than dummies. It will then be claimed that the distinction between ephemeral and stable dummy constructions can be explained by the fact that ephemeral dummy constructions have 1s other than dummies, while stable dummy constructions do not (Ephemeral Dummy Principle for German).

At this point I would like to define the notion of nondummy 1. For the purposes of this paper, I will use the term to refer to any nominal heading a 1-arc which is not a dummy. The dummy es will be assumed not to be in the semantic representation, nor will it be assumed to be a 'pronominal copy' of some other nominal. The term nondummy 1 will be useful for referring to 1s which are not dummies and which have intrinsic semantic content.⁶

2. Conditions on Gern, Reflexivization and Control of Equi in German

2.1. Gern

In the following sentences, gern modifies only the subject Hans, not the direct object Mutter or the indirect object mir:

- (13) Hans besucht die Mutter gern.
'Hans likes to visit his mother.'

- (14) Hans gab mir das Buch gern.
'Hans gave me the book gladly.'

Also, note the following passive counterparts of (13):

- (15) Die Mutter wird gern von Hans besucht.
'The mother is gladly visited by Hans.'
- (16) Die Mutter wird gern besucht.
'The mother is gladly visited.'

In (15), just as in (13), only Hans is modified by gern, not the 1 sanctioned by passive (Mutter). In (16) gern can only modify someone else who is not mentioned overtly; it cannot modify Mutter.

Following are some more examples. The nominal modified by gern is underlined in each case.

- (17) a. Die Mutter begleitet den Mann gern.
b. Den Mann begleitet die Mutter gern.
'The mother accompanies the man gladly.'
- (18) Der Mann wird gern von der Mutter begleitet.
'The man is accompanied gladly by the mother.'
- (19) a. Der Lehrer hilft mir gern.
b. Mir hilft der Lehrer gern.
'The teacher helps me gladly.'
- (20) Mir wird gern vom Lehrer geholfen.
'I am gladly helped by the teacher.'
- (21) Er weiss das gern.
'He knows that gladly.'
- (22) Hans versteht das gern.
'Hans understands that gladly.'
- (23) Hans spürt das gern.
'Hans notices that gladly.'
- (24) Das glaube ich gern.
'That I can readily believe.'

Sentences (21) and (24) show that gern can not be said to correlate with the semantic role of Agent, since in these sentences the 1s are not Agents. In addition, it should be noticed that (17b) and (19b) show that gern does not automatically modify the nominal

in initial position in a sentence, but rather the 1 in each case. (In these two sentences the object occupies initial position for the sake of emphasis.) Thus, the condition on gern does not depend upon the linear order of surface elements.

Based upon the above observations, we are now in a position to state the following condition on the nominal modified by gern in German:

- (25) "The Initial 1 Condition on the Nominal Modified by Gern"
Only a nominal that heads an initial 1-arc can be modified by gern.

We must state this condition in terms of initial 1s because non-initial 1s, such as those sanctioned by passive, can not be modified by gern.

2.2. Reflexivization ⁷

In the following sentences, only the subject Hans can serve as the antecedent of the reflexive sich:

- (26) a. Hans_i befragte den Arzt_j über sich_{i/*j}.
b. Den Arzt_j befragte Hans_i über sich_{i/*j}.
'Hans asked the doctor about himself.'
- (27) a. Hans_i erzählte dem Mann_j einen Witz über sich_{i/*j}.
b. Dem Mann_j erzählte Hans_i einen Witz über sich_{i/*j}.
'Hans told the man a joke about himself.'

We see from these examples that neither a 2 (Arzt) nor a 3 (Mann) can antecede the reflexive sich. We also see from (26b) and (27b), in which the object occupies initial position for sake of emphasis, that the condition on controllers of reflexivization can not be stated in terms of the linear order of surface elements, since in these cases Hans still controls sich, even though it is not in initial position.

In the following sentence, we see that a 1 sanctioned by passive can also antecede a reflexive:

- (28) Der Arzt_i wurde über sich_{i/?j} von Hans_j befragt.
'The doctor was asked about himself by Hans.'

My informants had some difficulty in deciding on whether Arzt or Hans could be understood as anteceding sich in (28). The general

consensus was that Arzt is the preferred antecedent, but that it is possible for Hans also to antecede, especially if the linear order of von Hans and über sich is reversed:

(29) Der Arzt_i wurde von Hans_j über sich_{?i/j} befragt.

Finally, passive chomeurs can antecede a reflexive, as shown above and in

(30) Ein Witz wurde dem Mann_j von Hans_i über sich_{i/*j} erzählt.
'A joke was told to the man by Hans about himself.'

Based upon these data, we may now state the following condition on the antecedents of reflexives in German:

(31) "The 1 Condition on Antecedents of Reflexives in German"
Only a nominal heading a 1-arc can serve as antecedent of a reflexive in German.

Note that, whereas the condition on gern could be stated in terms of initial grammatical relations, the condition on antecedents of reflexives can not be so stated, because 1-chomeurs and 1s sanctioned by passive may also antecede reflexives.

2.3. Equi Phenomena

In this section I will consider two different types of Equi phenomena in German, gerund constructions and infinitival constructions. (I will assume that present participles like weinend 'crying' and infinitival constructions with um . . . zu 'in order to', ohne . . . zu 'without . . . V-ing', etc., involve Equi--that is, that the subject of the present participle and infinitival is an Equi victim.)

2.3.1. Gerund Constructions

In the following sentences, only the subjects Kind and Hans can control Equi:

(32) Weinend sieht das Kind die Mutter an.
'Crying, the child looks at its mother.'

- (33) Hans bringt das Kind weinend ins Zimmer.
'Hans brings the child into the room, crying.'

In other words, (32) means that the child is crying as it looks at its mother, while (33) means that Hans is crying as he brings the child into the room. Note also that (33) shows that there may be a nominal intervening between the Equi controller and the gerund, so that the condition on Equi controllers can not be stated in terms of the proximity of the controller to the gerund.

In the following sentences, only the subject die Professoren can control Equi into the gerund clauses:

- (34) Sich über die Zukunft unterhaltend sahen die Professoren die Studenten an.
'Talking about the future, the professors looked at the students.'
- (35) Sich über die Zukunft unterhaltend versprachen uns die Professoren eine gute Stellung.
'Talking about the future, the professors promised us a good job.'

(34) means that the professors are talking about the future, not that the students are. And (35) means that the professors are talking, not that 'we' are talking. Note that sentences (32)-(35) show that direct objects (Mutter in (32), Kind in (33), Studenten in (34)) and indirect objects (uns in (35)) can not control Equi into gerund constructions.

Continuing, we see that 1s sanctioned by passive can control Equi into gerund constructions (controller is underlined):

- (36) Die Studenten werden lange angesehen, sich über die Zukunft unterhaltend.
'The students are looked at a long time talking about the future.'
- (37) Das Kind wurde weinend ins Zimmer gebracht.
'The child was brought crying into the room.'

In addition, passive chomeurs can control Equi in such constructions:

- (38) Das Spielzeug wurde weinend vom Kind angesehen.
'The toy was looked at by the crying child.'

With these observations, we can state the following condition:

(39) "The 1 Condition on Controllers of Equi into Gerund Constructions in German"

Only a nominal heading a 1-arc can control Equi into a gerund construction.

This condition correctly allows for the fact that in (32)-(35) only those nominals heading a 1-arc may control Equi. It correctly disallows those nominals which head 2-arcs or 3-arcs, but not a 1-arc (Studenten in (34) and uns in (35), respectively.)

2.3.2. Infinitival Constructions

In this subsection we will examine the conditions on Equi controllers into infinitival constructions of the following type:

- (40) Die Frau hörte den Mann an, $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{um} \\ \text{ohne} \\ \text{statt} \end{array} \right\}$ etwas zu lernen.
 'The woman listened to the man $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{in order to learn something.} \\ \text{without} \\ \text{instead of} \end{array} \right\}$ learning anything.'

In such constructions it is assumed that the subject of the infinitival is an Equi victim.

In the following sentences the underlined nominals control Equi:

- (41) a. Die Frau besuchte den Mann, um das Buch abzuholen.
 b. Den Mann besuchte die Frau, um das Buch abzuholen.
 'The woman visited the man to pick up the book.'
- (42) a. Die Frau ruft den Mann an, um die Neuigkeit zu hören.
 b. Den Mann ruft die Frau an, um die Neuigkeit zu hören.
 'The woman calls up the man to hear the news.'
- (43) a. Der Mann half dem Kind, um etwas Gutes zu tun.
 b. Dem Kind half der Mann, um etwas Gutes zu tun.
 'The man helped the child in order to do something good.'
- (44) a. Die Frau hörte den Mann an, ohne etwas zu lernen.
 b. Den Mann hörte die Frau an, ohne etwas zu lernen.
 'The woman listened to the man without learning anything.'

We see from these examples that direct and indirect objects can

not control Equi into infinitival constructions. Note, also, that (41b)– (44b), in which the objects occupy initial position for sake of emphasis, show that the condition on controllers of Equi into infinitivals can not be stated in terms of linear order, since the 1 of each clause still controls Equi even though it is not in initial position.

When we examine passive variants of the above sentences, we get the following (once again, underlined nominals are the controllers):

(45) Der Mann wird von der Frau besucht, um das Buch abzuholen.
'The man is visited by the woman in order to pick up the book.'

(46) Der Mann wird von der Frau angerufen, um die Neuigkeit zu hören.
'The man is called up by the woman in order to hear the news.'

(47)*Dem Kind wird vom Mann geholfen, um etwas Gutes zu tun.
'The child is helped by the man in order to do something good.'

(48) Der Mann wird von der Frau angehört, um etwas zu lernen.
'The man is listened to by the woman in order to learn something.'

We see that in (45) the passive chomeur (initial 1) controls Equi, while in (46) and (48) the 1 sanctioned by passive controls Equi, with (47) ungrammatical. At present, I know of no reason for the difference in choice of controller, except to speculate that the condition on controllers of Equi may in part turn out to be either semantic or lexically specified with each verb. That is, some predicates may be specified as having controllers that are initial 1s (such as besuchen), while others are specified as having controllers that are final 1s.⁸ One informant did not accept (47) as grammatical because he said the sentence contains 'no agent'. I assume that what he meant is that (47) contains no final nondummy 1 which can control Equi into the infinitival clause.⁹

Leaving aside the finer points at issue above, we can nevertheless state the following condition on Equi controllers into infinitival constructions:

(49) "The 1 Condition on Controllers of Equi into Infinitival Clauses"
Only a nominal heading a 1-arc can control Equi into infinitival constructions.

Notice that, although it is still uncertain whether Equi

controllers into infinitival constructions must be initial 1s or simply a 1 at some level, the above statement will suffice for the purposes of this paper, since we are only interested in the fact that it must be a 1 at some level that controls Equi. A more restricted condition on control of Equi into infinitival constructions (say, in terms of initial 1-hood) need not hold for the point we wish to establish in this paper. Thus, (49) is a necessary (though not sufficient) condition on Equi controllers into infinitival constructions in German, and, as such, must be included in any grammar of the language which claims to be complete.

2.4. Conclusion to Section 2

We have established specific conditions on gern, reflexivization, and control of Equi in German. In all three cases we have seen that 1-hood is the crucial factor. We are now in a position to use the above results as tests for 1-hood in clauses containing ephemeral and stable dummies. But first it will be in order to consider the final grammatical relations of nominals in constructions containing dummies.

3. On Final Grammatical Relations in Clauses Containing Dummies

In this section I will discuss the evidence I know that there exist no final 1s other than dummy 1s in the dummy constructions discussed in section 1 above. It should be noted at the outset that it is not the intention of this section to give ironclad arguments for the absence of final nondummy 1s in the constructions under consideration, nor is such a result crucial for the principle of German grammar I will be motivating in section 4. Indeed, it is probable that in some cases additional arguments could be found which would strengthen the claim. But, such a task would take us far beyond the intended scope of this paper. My intention is just to indicate that in both ephemeral and stable dummy constructions there are no apparent final nondummy 1s which could be referred to by the syntactic rules developed in section 2 above.

It will be assumed that the dummy es must bear a grammatical relation, as is required by the 'Nuclear Dummy Law', which states that if an arc is headed by a dummy, then its grammatical relation is either '1' or '2' (Perlmutter and Postal 1983).

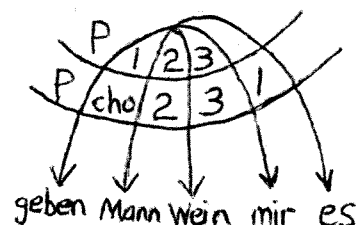
3.1. Indefinite Extraposition

The status of final grammatical relations in indefinite extraposition constructions in German is problematic. As exemplified in (50b) below, the indefinite extraposition construction

contains a dummy es and a nominal (Mann) that is the subject of the corresponding (a) sentence. This extraposed nominal is called the pivot in the paper by Perlmutter and Zaenen (1984). While there exist several arguments for the final 1-hood of the dummy in Dutch (as discussed by Perlmutter and Zaenen), most of these arguments will not translate into German, because they make use of the fact that, in Dutch, the dummy can occur in a variety of positions within the sentence in which subjects normally occur, whereas the dummy only appears initially in German. Therefore, I know of no foolproof way too show that ephemeral dummies are final 1s in German. But, let us examine the following:

- (50) a. Ein Mann gab mir den Wein.
'A man gave me the wine.'

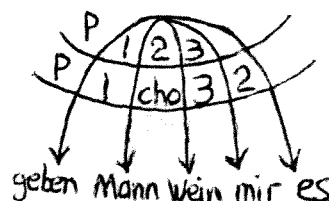
- b. Es gab mir ein Mann den Wein.
'A man gave me the wine.'



Since the pivot nominal Mann in (50b) is nominative and not accusative or dative, then it is argued that Mann is not a final 2 or 3, because accusative and dative mark final 2s and 3s, respectively. Furthermore, assuming Stratal Uniqueness, which holds that a given clause can have no more than one 1, one 2, and one 3 in a given stratum, the pivot can not be a final 2 or 3 because (50b) already has a final 2 and 3. Therefore, an analysis in which the pivot is a final 2 or 3 would violate Stratal Uniqueness. This, then, narrows down the possibility of the grammatical status of the pivot to either the final 1 or a 1-chomeur. Thus, either the pivot or the dummy is a possible candidate for the final 1 of the clause.

Leaving the pivot for a moment, let us consider the status of the grammatical relation of the dummy es in (50b). Assuming the Nuclear Dummy Law, then es can be either a 2 or a 1. Suppose es is a 2. Then we would presumably have a structure like the following for indefinite extraposition constructions:

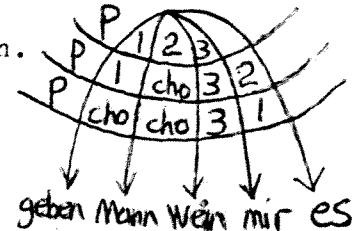
- (51) Es gab mir ein Mann den Wein.
'A man gave me the wine.'



Notice that the initial 2 is placed en chomage in the second stratum due to the entry of es as a 2 (Chomeur Law). Now, given the universal characterization of passivization (Perlmutter and Postal

1977), the dummy 2 should be capable of advancing to 1 with a concomitant demotion of the 1 Mann to chomeur:

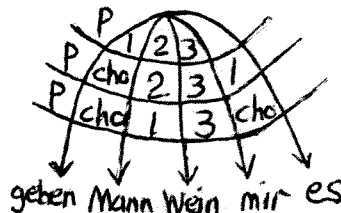
(52) *Es wird mir den Wein vom Mann gegeben.



The resultant sentence is ungrammatical. Thus, we have a case in which assuming that es comes in as a 2 can lead to an ungrammatical sentence (=52) with passivization.

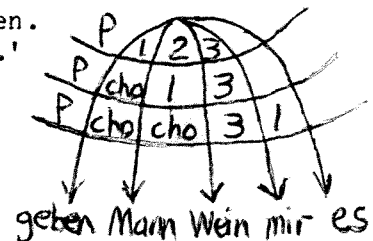
If, on the other hand, es comes in as a 1, we simply have case (50) above. Note that the only way of having passive in the structure in (50) would be for the 2 (Wein) to advance to 1 with chomage of the dummy es:

(53)



But this structure violates the Nuclear Dummy Law, in that the only grammatical relations a dummy can bear are 1 and 2. Thus, (53) is ruled out by this law. We could, however, have the following grammatical structure, in which passive occurs before dummy insertion:

(54) Es wird mir der Wein vom Mann gegeben.
'The wine is given to me by the man.'

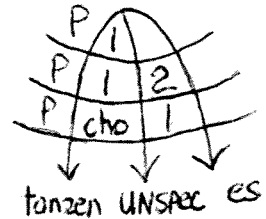


We conclude, therefore, that es enters as a 1 and not as a 2, since we saw that an ungrammatical sentence would result in (52) above if es were to enter as a 2 and passive were then to apply.¹⁰ Thus, with es assumed to be the final 1 of the clause, the pivot can not be a final term, but rather it must be a chomeur. Later, we will see that the behavior of indefinite extraposition constructions with respect to gern, reflexivization, and Equi will show that the pivot must head a 1-arc at some stratum.

3.2. Plain Impersonal Passive

Consider the following sentence:

- (55) Es wird hier (von allen) gut getanzt.
'There is good dancing here (by everyone).'



Such sentences display passive verb morphology. The parentheses indicate that these constructions will optionally allow the passive chomeur to appear, although the usual tendency is for the passive chomeur to be omitted. Assuming that every clause must have a final 1 (Final 1 Law), and given that (55) is passive, then the only candidate for final 1 is the dummy. Incidentally, the dummy controls verb agreement (3rd person singular), which is with final 1s in German.

3.3. Impersonal Experiencer Constructions

3.3.1. Case

These constructions have nominals which appear either in the dative or accusative case:

- (56) a. Es hungert mich.
ACC

'I'm hungry.'

- b. Es ist mir kalt.
DAT

'I'm cold.'

Since final 1s are marked with nominative case, it is argued that the nominals appearing in these constructions in the dative and accusative are not final 1s. Thus, the dummy must be the final 1.

3.3.2. Verb Agreement

Verb agreement in German is with final 1s. The nominals in the dative and accusative cases in (56) do not control verb agreement, which on both (56a) and (56b) is 3rd person singular. Thus, it is argued that mich and mir in (56) are not final 1s. But, the dummy es does control verb agreement, so it must be the final 1.

3.4. Existential Constructions

Consider the following example of an existential construction:

- (57) a. Es gibt einen Mann da.
 'There is a man there.'
- b. Es gibt zwei Männer da.
 'There are two men there.'

3.4.1. Case

Mann is marked with the accusative in (57a), which marks final 2s in German. Thus, it is argued that the nominals appearing in the accusative case in these constructions are not final 1s.

3.4.2. Verb Agreement

The nominal Männer in (57b) is plural, but it does not control verb agreement, which is 3rd person singular in agreement with the dummy es. Thus, es must be the final 1 of the clause.

3.4.3. Linear Order of the Dummy

The dummy es behaves like a final 1 with respect to word order. It appears initially in neutral statements, in second position in questions, and immediately following the subordinating conjunction in subordinate clauses:

- (58) a. Es gibt einen Mann da.
 b. Gibt es einen Mann da?
 c. Er sagte, dass es einen Mann da gibt.

Therefore, it is argued that es must be the final 1.

3.5. Reflexive Impersonal Passive Constructions

Consider the following example of a reflexive impersonal passive construction:

- (59) Es tanzt sich gut hier.
 'There is good dancing here.'

3.5.1. Case

Sich is a reflexive pronoun which can only be a 2, 3, or an oblique in German:

- (60) Er sieht sich im Spiegel.
ACC
'He sees himself in the mirror.'
- (61) Er kauft sich das Buch.
DAT
'He buys himself the book.'
- (62) Er brachte einen Freund mit sich.
'He brought a friend with himself.'

Sich can never be a 1. Therefore, es is the only candidate for final 1 in reflexive impersonal passive constructions.

3.5.2. Linear Order of the Dummy

As was the case in section 3.4.3 above with respect to existential constructions, the dummy es also behaves like a final 1 in reflexive impersonal passive constructions:

- (63) a. Es tanzt sich gut hier.
b. Tanzt es sich gut hier?
c. Er sagte, dass es sich gut hier tanzt.

Therefore, it is argued that es must be the final 1.

3.6. Weather Verb Constructions

Consider the following examples of weather verb constructions:

- (64) Es regnet.
'It's raining.'
- (65) Es schneit.
'It's snowing.'

The dummy is the only nominal which occurs in these constructions.

3.6.1. Linear order of the dummy.

Once again, as was the case in sections 3.4.3 (existential constructions) and 3.5.2 (reflexive impersonal passive constructions), the dummy es also behaves like a 1 in weather verb constructions:

- (66) a. Es regnet.
- b. Regnet es?
- c. Er sagte, dass es regnet.

Therefore, it is concluded that es must be the final 1 in weather verb constructions.

3.7. Conclusion to Section 3

It is concluded that there are no nondummy 1s in the final strata of the dummy constructions considered in this paper which could be referred to by the syntactic rules developed in section 2 above. Next I will contrast the behavior of ephemeral versus stable dummy constructions with respect to gern, reflexivization, and Equi.

4. Comparison of the Behavior of Ephemeral Dummy Constructions with that of Stable Dummy Constructions

4.1. Gern

As we established in section 2.1 above, only a nominal that heads an initial 1-arg¹² may be modified by gern. Observe, then, the following examples:

4.1.1. Ephemeral Dummy Constructions

Indefinite Extraposition

- (67) a. Es besucht Hans die Mutter gern.
- 'Hans likes to visit his mother.'

- b. Es hört mein Bruder den Professor gern an.
- 'My brother likes to listen to the professor.'

Plain Impersonal Passive

- (68) a. Es wird hier gern getanzt.
- 'One likes to dance here.'

- b. Es wurde da gern gearbeitet.
'One liked to work there.'
- c. Das wird von ihm gern befürchtet.
'He likes to be scared of that.'

Impersonal Experiencer Constructions¹³

- (69) a. Mich hungert gerne.
'I like to be hungry.'
- b. Mich friert gerne.
'I like to freeze (be cold).'
 - c. Mir ist gerne kalt.
'I like to be cold.'
 - d. Ihm ist gerne warm.
'He likes to be warm.'
 - e. Mir schwindelt gerne.
'I like to feel dizzy.'
 - f. Dir graut gerne vor Gespenstern.
'You like to be scared of ghosts.'
 - g. Mich graust gerne davor.
'I shudder happily on account of that.'
 - h. Mir ist gerne angst und bange.
'I like to be scared.'
 - i. Mir ekelt gerne davor.
'I like to feel nauseated.'

4.1.2. Stable Dummy Constructions¹⁴

Existential Constructions

- (70) a. *Es gibt einen Mann hier gerne.
'There is a man here happily.'
- b. *Es gibt ein Kind hier gerne.
'There is a child here happily.'

Reflexive Impersonal Passive

- (71) a. *Es tanzt sich gerne hier.
'There is dancing happily here.'

- b. *Es arbeitet sich gerne hier.
'There are happy working conditions here.'

From the above data we see that gern may occur only in those dummy constructions with ephemeral dummies. Gern is impossible in clauses containing stable dummies. This phenomenon is unexplained without the claim that the ephemeral dummy constructions contain nondummy 1s initially, even though it was argued in section 3 that there exist no nondummy 1s in the final strata. The fact that gern can not occur in stable dummy constructions suggests that these constructions do not contain any initial nondummy 1s. It is interesting to note that in (68a) and (68b) gern may occur even though there is no overt nominal to which gern refers. In fact gern modifies the unstated passive chomeur, which in this case is understood but not overt.

4.2. Reflexivization

As we saw in section 2.2 above, only a nominal heading a 1-arc can serve as antecedent of a reflexive in German. With this condition in mind, let us examine the following data:

4.2.1. Ephemeral Dummy Constructions

Indefinite Extraposition

- (72) a. Es befragte Hans_i den Arzt_j über sich_{i/*j}.

'Hans asked the doctor about himself.'

- b. Es erzählte Hans_i dem Mann_j einen Witz über sich_{i/*j}.

'Hans told the man a joke about himself.'

- c. Es wurde der Arzt_i über sich_{i/?j} von Hans_j befragt.

'The doctor was asked about himself by Hans.'

- d. Es wurde der Arzt_i von Hans_j über sich_{?i/j} befragt.

'The doctor was asked about himself by Hans.'

- e. Es wurde ein Witz dem Mann_j von Hans_i über sich_{i/*j} erzählt.

'A joke was told to the man by Hans about himself.'

- f. Es sieht sich_i Hans_i im Spiegel.

'Hans sees himself in the mirror.'

Plain Impersonal Passive

(73) a. Von ihm_i wurde sich_i geholfen.

'He helped himself.'

b. Dann wurde sich_i gegenseitig (von allen_i) kritisiert.

'Then everyone criticized each other.'

c. Hier wird sich Sorgen um sich gemacht.¹⁵

'Here one is worried about oneself.'

d. Hier wurde (von Hans_i) über sich_i viel erzählt.

'Here Hans told a lot about himself.'

e. Hier wurde über sich viel gelacht.

'Here one laughed a lot about oneself.'

Impersonal Experiencer Constructions¹⁶

(74) a. Ihn_i ist angst und bange um sich_i.

'He is frightened of himself.'

b. Ihn_i ekelt vor sich_i.

'He's disgusted with himself.'

c. Ihm_i graut vor sich_i.¹⁷

'He's scared of himself.'

d. Ihn_i schaudert vor sich_i.

'He's scared of himself.'

We can see from the above examples that reflexives, which are controlled by nominals heading a 1-arc, can occur in ephemeral dummy constructions. In (73a) we see that the 1-chomeur is serving as the antecedent of the reflexive sich.¹⁸ This is compatible with the condition on reflexives in German. In examples (73b) and (73d) we have other cases of plain impersonal passives with overt passive chomeurs as antecedents. In (73c) and (73e), however, there is no overt passive chomeur, but the sentences with reflexives are still grammatical. The indefinite 'one' was used in the English translation to give the idea of the fact that the chomeur, even though not overt, is still understood. Finally, in (74) we have examples of impersonal experiencer constructions in which 3rd person nominals in either dative or accusative case control reflexivization, which indicates that these nominals must head a 1-arc at some level.

4.2.2. Stable Dummy Constructions

Existential Constructions

- (75) *Es gibt einen Mann vor sich hin.
'There is a man by himself.'

Reflexive Impersonal Passive¹⁹

- (76) a. *Es tanzt sich gut hier vor sich hin.
(No interpretation given)
- b. *Es arbeitet sich gut hier vor sich hin.
(No interpretation given)

Weather Verb Constructions

- (77) ?Es regnet vor sich hin.
'It rains over and over.'

I have less data for reflexives in stable dummy constructions simply because my informants were hard pressed to come up with even a few ungrammatical examples. In each case we have ungrammatical sentences containing the reflexive sich. The fact that these sentences are ungrammatical indicates that there are no nondummy is in these constructions, either overt or covert, which can control reflexivization.

In each of the sentences above we have the reflexive phrase vor sich hin, which appears to have both the literal meaning 'by oneself' and the less literal meaning 'over and over'. The more literal meaning is represented by the sentence:

- (78) Er_i spricht vor sich_i hin.
'He is talking to himself.'

The less literal meaning is illustrated by the following sentence:

- (79) Ich_i hungere vor mich_i hin.
'I'm hungry over and over (continually).'

This phrase is absolutely reflexive--that is, only sich may occur following the preposition vor. Thus, the phrase vor Hans hin would be ungrammatical.

Sentence (77) deserves a special note with regard to the vor sich hin construction. My informants reported that the sentence is possible, but only with the less literal meaning 'over and over (continually)'. They called this usage 'very poetic'. This example may be an exception to the principle I am developing, or it could be regarded simply a case wherein vor sich hin has been lexicalized to mean 'over and over (continually)', no longer having a

reflexive meaning. As I have no explanation for this, I will let the matter rest.

To sum up the data on reflexives, we have seen that, with the possible exception of (77), reflexives are only possible in ephemeral dummy constructions, which correlates with the fact that such constructions must have a nondummy 1 in some stratum. The fact that reflexives are impossible in stable dummy constructions correlates with the fact that these constructions do not have non-dummy 1s at any level.

4.3. Equi Constructions

In section 2.3 we saw that only a nominal that heads a 1-arc can control Equi into a gerund or infinitival construction. With this condition in mind, let us examine the following data:

4.3.1. Ephemeral Dummy Constructions

Indefinite Extraposition

- (80) a. Es sieht das Kind weinend die Mutter an.
'The child looks at its mother, crying.'
- b. Es bringt Hans das Kind weinend ins Zimmer.
'Hans brings the child into the room, crying.'
- c. Es haben die Professoren die Studenten lange angesehen, sich über die Zukunft unterhaltend.
'The professors looked at the students a long time, talking about the future.'
- d. Es wird das Kind weinend von Hans ins Zimmer gebracht.
'The child is brought by Hans, crying, into the room.'
- e. Es hörte die Frau den Mann an, um etwas zu lernen.
'The woman listened to the man in order to learn something.'
- f. Es besuchte der Mann die Frau, um das Buch abzuholen.
'The man visited the woman in order to pick up the book.'

Plain Impersonal Passive

- (81) a. Lachend und singend wurde hier viel getanzt.
'People danced here a lot, laughing and singing.'

- b. Sich über die Zukunft unterhaltend wurde da (von den Studenten) viel gesprochen.
'There was a lot of talking there by the students, who were conversing about the future.'
- c. Es wird hier gut getanzt, um Spass zu haben.
'There is good dancing here in order to have fun.'
- d. Da wurde Holz geschlagen, um etwas zu tun.
'Wood was chopped there in order to have something to do.'

Impersonal Experiencer Constructions²⁰

- (82) a. Über die Zukunft nachdenkend wurde mir angst und bange.
'Thinking about the future made me scared.'
- b. Über die Zukunft nachdenkend wurde ihm angst und bange.
'Thinking about the future made him scared.'
- c. Mich hungert, ohne zu dürsten.
'I'm hungry without being thirsty.'
- d. Mich hungert, um zu protestieren.
'I'm fasting in order to protest.'
- e. Mir schwindelt, ohne dabei schlecht zu sein.
'I'm dizzy without being sick.'
- f. Mir graute vor den Gespenstern, um mich abzulenken.
'I was frightened by the ghosts in order to entertain myself.'

As we can see, Equi can apply into gerund and infinitival constructions in ephemeral dummy constructions. Equi seems to apply most freely in indefinite extraposition clauses, while in plain impersonal passive and impersonal experiencer constructions Equi structures are not so freely found (see fn. 20). My informants felt that sentences like those in (81) and (82) were, for the most part, poetic or bookish, overly stilted and awkward, even though grammatical. Nevertheless, on the basis of these data, I claim that such constructions must have nondummy Is at some level.

4.3.2. Stable Dummy Constructions

Existential Constructions

- (83) a. *Es gibt ein Kind hier lachend und singend.
'There is a child here laughing and singing.'
- b. *Es gibt zwei Bücher hier, um zu lesen.
'There are two books here in order to read.'

Reflexive Impersonal Passive

- (84) a. ?Lachend und singend tanzt es sich hier gut.
'There is good dancing here, laughing and singing.'
- b. *Sich über die Zukunft unterhaltend spricht es sich da leicht.
'There is good conversation there, talking about the future.'
- c. *Es tanzt sich gut hier, um Spass zu haben.
'There is good dancing here in order to have fun.'
- d. *Es tanzt sich gut hier, um etwas zu tun.
'There is good dancing here in order to do something.'

Weather Verb Constructions

- (85) a. *Es regnet, um Feuchtigkeit zu haben.
'It's raining in order to get some moisture.'
- b. ?Es regnet, um mich zu ärgern.
'It's raining in order to vex me.'

Once again we see that, with two marginal exceptions, subject controlled Equi can not occur in clauses containing stable dummies. (84a) was essentially unacceptable, but I marked it with a question mark because my informants were not completely sure it would be ruled out. And (85b) is possible, but only in a poetic or metaphorical sense in which the rain is thought to be some type of personal agent which is seeking to cause trouble. At any rate, the sentences in (85) show that there is no understood covert nondummy 1 in such constructions which can be understood as controlling Equi.

4.4. Conclusion to Section 4

We have seen a remarkable correlation between subject-controlled phenomena and ephemeral dummy constructions on the one hand, and an equally remarkable lack of correlation between such phenomena and stable dummy constructions on the other. I conclude, therefore, that these facts offer good evidence that ephemeral dummy constructions have nondummy 1s at some level of structure.

5. Conclusions

5.1. Ephemeral Dummy Principle

We have argued that ephemeral dummy constructions in German must have nondummy 1s at some level of structure, while stable dummy constructions do not. But, it is also the case that there exist no nondummy 1s in the final stratum of ephemeral dummy constructions, as was shown above in section 3. It would appear that the ephemeral nature of the dummy correlates with the fact that a 1 in some stratum is demoted in some later stratum upon the insertion of the dummy. This 1 is presumably demoted to chomeur in indefinite extraposition and plain impersonal passive constructions, and to either a 2 or a 3 in impersonal experiencer constructions.

I propose the following principle of German based upon the evidence presented in this paper:

Ephemeral Dummy Principle

In a construction with the dummy subject es in German, the dummy will be ephemeral if the clause contains a nondummy 1 at some level. If the clause contains no nondummy 1, then the dummy will be stable.

Of course, this statement of the principle may be seen to need revision upon further work. I maintain, however, that a complete grammar of German must include a statement of this type concerning dummy constructions.

We should consider whether the Ephemeral Dummy Principle might be extended to languages other than German. Of course, it may well be that the disappearance of certain dummy subjects is simply a language particular fact peculiar to German. But we should not necessarily dismiss out of hand the possibility that such a principle might eventually be extended to other languages containing dummy subjects, but such an extension will have to wait until the pertinent data from other languages are found and studied.

5.2. Contrastive Behavior of Plain and Impersonal Passives

Perhaps one of the most striking results of this paper (apart from that discussed in 5.1 above) is the fact that the two types of impersonal passives are completely opposite in behavior with respect to gern, reflexivization, and Equi:

Gern

(86) a. Es wird hier gern getanzt.
'One likes to dance here.'

- b.*Es tanzt sich gerne hier.
'There is dancing happily here.'

Reflexivization

- (87) a. Hier wurde über sich viel gesprochen.
'Here one talked a lot about oneself.'

- b.*Hier spricht es sich leicht vor sich hin.
(No interpretation given)

Equi

- (88) a. Es wird hier gut getanzt, um Spass zu haben.
'There is good dancing here in order to have fun.'

- b.*Es tanzt sich gut hier, um Spass zu haben.
'There is good dancing here in order to have fun.'

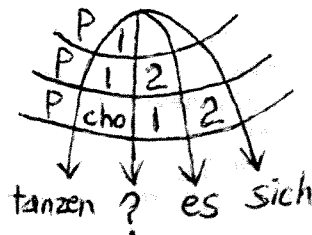
Neither construction manifests an overt nondummy 1, but the (a) sentences in each case do have 'covert' 1s while the (b) sentences do not. This is so striking because it appears that both constructions involve the understanding in some sense that some activity is undertaken by people.

Evidently, while the covert nondummy 1s in the (a) examples can still control syntactic phenomena (as demonstrated above), there are no nondummy 1s in the (b) examples which can participate in such syntactic phenomena, even though it is evident that there is some sort of human agent understood semantically, at least.

5.3. On the Structure of Reflexive Impersonal Passives

At this point I would like to briefly consider the structure of reflexive impersonal passive constructions. It is usually proposed that these clauses have the following structure (cf. Perlmutter and Postal 1984):

- (89) Es tanzt sich gut hier.

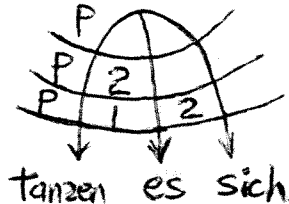


Here the sich is considered to be a 2-copy of the dummy which advances to 1.

We have seen that these constructions do not exhibit behavior which indicates that there is a nondummy 1 at some level. Therefore, I propose the possibility that such constructions in German do not contain a nondummy 1 at any level, but that they have

something like the following structure:

(90)



This is the same structure as that given in (89) above, except that there is no longer a nondummy nominal heading a 1-arc. Such a structure would account for the fact that these clauses do not permit the subject controlled phenomena described earlier. Also, this analysis suggests that verbs like tanzen, which can occur either in plain or impersonal passive constructions, may have initial 1s in some cases, but no initial 1s in other cases.²¹

If we accept a structure like that in (90), then we can account for the fact that reflexive impersonal passives do not allow passive chomeurs--chomeurs are not tolerated because there is no nondummy 1 in any stratum to be put en chomage. With the analysis given in (90), we also do not need to appeal to the idea of short passive (Johnson and Postal 1980), in which the initial 1 is assumed not to be put en chomage.

5.4. Evidence for Inversion and Syntactic Levels in German

In addition to the previously discussed results, it should be noted that the data in this paper also give evidence for inversion and syntactic levels in German. In this subsection, I will briefly recap the evidence which supports this.

5.4.1. Inversion in German

We saw in section 4 that the impersonal experiencer constructions contain nondummy nominals which, while not final 1s (see section 3.3), nevertheless exhibit behavior consistent with that of 1s at some level. (Recall that the conditions on gern, reflexivization, and Equi were all stated in terms of 1-hood.) Following are several examples repeated from section 4 illustrating this behavior (controllers are underlined where necessary):

Gern

(91) a. Mich hungert gerne.
'I like to be hungry.'

- b. Mir ist gerne kalt.
'I like to be cold.'
- c. Mir schwindelt gerne.
'I like to feel dizzy.'

Reflexivization

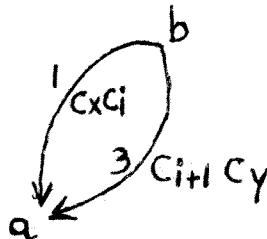
- (92) a. Im_i ist angst und bange um sich_i.
'He is frightened of himself.'
- b. Im_i ekelt vor sich_i.
'He is disgusted with himself.'
- c. Im_i graut vor sich_i.
'He is scared of himself.'

Equi

- (93) a. Über die Zukunft nachdenkend wurde mir angst und bange.
'Thinking about the future made me scared.'
- b. Mich hungert, ohne zu dürsten.
'I'm hungry without being thirsty.'
- c. Mir schwindelt, ohne dabei schlecht zu sein.
'I'm dizzy without being sick.'

These facts help support the conclusion that impersonal experiencer constructions are actually inversion constructions in German. Recall that the inversion is characterized by relational subnetworks of the form

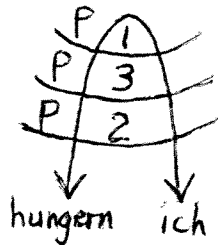
(94)



for some nominal node 'a' and clause node 'b' (Perlmutter 1978a). Thus, in an inversion construction, a nominal that is a subject of a clause in one stratum is the indirect object of that clause in the following stratum. That is exactly the case with respect to the German impersonal experiencer constructions.

Note that some of the examples given above contain inversion nominals which are final 2s instead of final 3s. Perlmutter (1978a) discusses similar examples in Dutch and argues that such constructions involve both inversion and 3 to 2 advancement:

(95) Mich hungert.



It is likely that the same analysis also holds for German, although I have no arguments at present which show that the final 2 mich is also a 3 in the previous stratum.

5.4.2. Syntactic Levels

Finally, the data given in section 4 above (some of which was repeated in the preceding subsection) support the claim currently being debated that distinct syntactic levels must be recognized in linguistic theory. As noted by Perlmutter (1978a) (with specific reference to inversion):

- (96) a. Theories of language that do not recognize a distinction between initial and final grammatical relations will fail to capture the relevant generalizations concerning the inversion construction.
- b. Analyses of the Inversion construction in particular languages will be inadequate if they do not recognize the nonidentity of initial and final grammatical relations in this construction.

In this paper we have examined three constructions--indefinite extraposition, plain impersonal passives, and impersonal experiencer (inversion) constructions--which were found to contain nondummy nominals which are final 2s, 3s, or obliques, but which also behave like 1s. Therefore, if we were not to recognize distinctions between syntactic levels, then the grammar of German would be complicated with respect to the rules for ger, reflexivization, and Equi developed above. We would be forced to state that not only 1s can be involved in such rules, but also that 2s, 3s, and obliques can be involved.

But, such a formulation would not capture the generalization that the nominals in question in such constructions behave just like 1s in some circumstances. In a theory which recognizes distinct syntactic levels, the rules are not complicated. We merely need to state that the nominals in question are all 1s at some (nonfinal) level, therefore allowing us to state the rules solely in terms of 1s.

5.5. Broader Questions

Finally, we should not forget the broader question concerning why certain dummy subjects disappear in all but initial position and why this disappearance should necessarily correlate with the presence of nondummy 1s in the clause. In other words, what is there about the existence of a nondummy 1 in a clause which necessarily correlates with the dummy being ephemeral? Why should some sentences apparently have no overt subjects? At the present time I have no explanation for this, but these further questions should be kept in mind as areas for further investigation.

Footnotes

* I would like to gratefully acknowledge the native speakers without whose patient help this paper could not have been written: Jürgen Kleist, Christina Peutsch, and Robert Vogelauer. Also, I would like to thank David Perlmutter, Sandy Chung, Ed Klima, Ron Langacker, Carol Georgopoulos, and Joe Queen for their helpful comments and suggestions on the ideas in this paper.

¹For the purposes of this paper I will disregard dummy constructions of the following types:

- (i) a. Es ist leicht, ihm zu glauben.
b. Ihm ist leicht zu glauben.
'It is easy to believe him.'
- (ii) a. Es ist sicher, dass Hans zurückkam.
'It is certain that Hans came back.'
- b. Ist es sicher, dass Hans zurückkam?
'Is it certain that Hans came back?'

As can be observed, type (i), an impersonal object-raising construction, has an ephemeral dummy, while type (ii), sentential extraposition, has a stable dummy. These constructions involve matters which are beyond the scope of this paper, although I would speculate that the principle developed in this paper would ultimately account for the above constructions, as well.

²I will use the term 'indefinite extraposition' to refer to these constructions, even though there is evidence that definite NPs can also be extraposed in German:

- (iii) a. Das Kind spielt im Garten.
b. Es spielt das Kind im Garten.
'The child plays in the garden.'

My informants found no problems with sentences like (iiib).

³ Reflexive impersonal passives are highly constrained in German. They seem to occur only with a very restricted class of verbs, such as tanzen, arbeiten, sprechen, etc. For example, the following sentence would be unacceptable, since it has no manner adverbial:

(iv) *Es tanzt sich hier.

And, as will be seen to be important later on, such constructions do not allow a passive chomeur:

(v) *Es tanzt sich gut hier von allen.
'There is good dancing here by everyone.'

⁴ I am assuming that German has silent dummies (see Perlmutter and Zaenen (1984) for discussion). But whether or not one accepts the notion of silent dummies, there still exists a systematic non-occurrence of es in certain constructions which needs to be explained.

⁵ Ed Klima has pointed out to me that those constructions in which es appears to be optional could be thought of as constituting a third set. For the purposes of this paper, I will go ahead and group these constructions with the ephemeral dummy constructions, since we will see that they behave like constructions containing truly ephemeral dummies.

⁶ Here I am assuming that only nondummy NPs can control certain syntactic processes (some of which are to be discussed in this paper). That dummies do not have intrinsic semantic content may be seen by the following example:

(vi) Es sieht sich.

This sentence is acceptable only under the interpretation that es is referential--i.e., that es is a pronoun referring to some third person singular neuter noun. If es is taken to be a dummy, then the sentence is bad. Therefore, yet another property of dummies is that they are non-referential.

⁷ This basic condition on reflexivization is also discussed in Reis (1974).

⁸ Of course, there may be additional reasons for the discrepancy noted with regard to Equi controllers. There may be semantic anomalies between the two clauses in sentences like

(45)-(48) which would force the initial 1 to control Equi in some cases, and any nominal heading a 1-arc in other cases. I have no idea at present what the explanation would be.

⁹ Note that helfen takes a dative object:

- (vii) Der Mann half dem Kind.
'The man helped the child.'

Since (vii) is intransitive (containing a 1-arc but no 2-arc), its only passive counterpart is an impersonal passive, with the dummy subject es bearing the final 1 relation:

- (viii) a. Es wird dem Kind vom Mann geholfen.
b. Dem Kind wird vom Mann geholfen.
'The child is helped by the man.'

The fact that the 1-chomeur (= initial 1) Mann can not control Equi into an infinitival clause (as shown in (47)) indicates that, in the case of helfen, the condition on control of Equi can not be stated in terms of initial 1s. Thus, (47) is ungrammatical because there is no final nondummy 1 in the clause which can control Equi into the infinitival.

¹⁰ In addition, we may adduce some circumstantial evidence based on word order which seems to support the analysis that es enters as a 1 and not a 2. This 'evidence' is based on the fact that the least marked position for subjects in neutral statements in German is initial position. It seems completely unmotivated to posit the dummy as the final 2 of the clause, since ephemeral es may only occupy initial position overtly, whereas 2s may occupy initial position in German only if the 2 is especially focused or emphasized. The neutral position of 2s is post-verbal, as in the case of Wein in (50b). Thus, it seems highly adhoc to posit that es, if indeed a final 2, can only overtly occupy a position which for 2s is one of emphasis or focus in the clause and not the neutral post-verbal position.

On the other hand, if we posit es to be the final 1 of the clause, we do not have to accept the above adhocity, since the least marked position for subjects is initial position, which is exactly the position es occupies in (50b).

Note, also, that the only discernable difference between (50a) and (50b) is that, upon insertion of es, the NP ein Mann, which was the final 1 of (50a), comes to occupy a different, post-verbal position in (50b) (i.e., it has been extraposed). In contrast to this, the insertion of es has had no discernable effect upon the position of the nominal Wein (a 2 in (50a)), which still occupies the same final position of the clause in (50b). Given these facts, then, it seems reasonable that the extraposed

nominal is the one most likely to have been put en chomage upon insertion of es, with es bearing the final 1 relation of the clause.

¹¹In some metaphoric usages there exist weather verb constructions containing other nominals:

- (ix) Es regnet junge Hunde.
'It's raining cats and dogs.'

It seems to be the case that only plural nouns can occur in such metaphorical weather constructions, which gives no clue as to the case of the nominal, since no definite articles may be used:

- (x) *Es regnet die jungen Hunde

(Here the adjective jung has a weak adjective ending -en following the definite article die). Furthermore, even if definite articles could be used, the accusative and nominative forms are both die. We can observe, though, that junge Hunde does not control verb agreement in (ix) above, which is an argument that it is not a final 1 (recall that only final 1s may control verb agreement).

Thus, even in the case of metaphorical weather constructions, it can be argued that there are no final 1s.

¹²Throughout section 4 overt controllers will be underlined. Some of the impersonal experiencer constructions with gern seem to be a bit strange semantically (cf. 'liking to be hungry', 'liking to feel nauseated'), but these expressions are fully grammatical. Many of the translations given in English are only gross approximations of the German meanings. This is especially the case in those instances where the sentences are ungrammatical in German.

¹³The variant of gern which appears in these constructions (gerne) is simply an alternate form having no difference in meaning.

¹⁴Note that there is no argument here with the weather verb constructions in the case of gern, since such sentences as

- (xi) *Es regnet gern.

would be ruled out on semantic grounds because weather constructions have no understood human or animate agents. Thus, gern, which is possible only with such human nominals, can not occur in such clauses.

¹⁵This sentence contains the expression sich Sorgen machen

um, which means 'to be worried about'. The sentence contains, then, two reflexive forms.

¹⁶It appears that verbs like hungern, dürsten, frieren, etc., do not appear in reflexive constructions. The only reflexive usage I could elicit was the following:

- (xii) a. ?Mich hungert vor mich hin.
'I'm starving over and over (continually).'
- b. ?Mich düstet vor mich hin.
'I'm thirsty over and over (continually).'

These sentences, while marginally grammatical, are evidently awful stylistically. But the fact that reflexives do exist in other impersonal experiencer constructions indicates that the failure of this subset of predicates to be used in reflexive constructions is more than likely due to some semantic peculiarity these predicates share.

¹⁷Some speakers differ on the usage of grausen and grauen. One speaker said that he preferred grausen to be used impersonally, as in (xiiia), and grauen to be used personally, as in (xiiib):

- (xiii) a. Mir graust es davor.
'I'm scared of it.'
- b. Ich graue mich davor.
'I'm scared of it.'

But, usage tended to vary. Also, this group of verbs, including grauen, grausen, schauern, gruseln, etc., seems to vary with regard to whether the experiencer nominal is in the dative or accusative case.

¹⁸But note the following:

- (xiv) a. *Ihm wurde von sich geholfen.
b. *Ihm wurde von sich widersprochen.

The apparent active counterparts of the sentences above are:

- (xv) a. Man half ihm.
'Someone helped him.'

- b. Man widersprach ihm.
'Someone contradicted him.'

The fact that the sentences in (xiv) are ungrammatical is explained by the fact that only 1s can antecede reflexives. Ihm in (xiv) is always a 3, never a 1. Thus, ihm can not control reflexivization, and both sentences in (xiv) are ungrammatical.

¹⁹A question which might arise with respect to the data in (76) is: what is the difference (if any) between the sich which occurs mandatorily in reflexive impersonal passives and the sich following the preposition von (the addition of which makes the sentences in (76) ungrammatical)? In other words, why should the presence of one sich (the mandatory one) be all right, but the presence of a second sich cause the sentences to be ungrammatical? Recall that the presence of two reflexive sich 's in one sentence does not automatically cause the sentence to be ungrammatical (cf. sentence (73c) and footnote 15).

But it can be shown that there is a systematic difference in behavior between the two sich 's which occur in (76), in that the sich which occurs in reflexive impersonal passives does not behave like the true reflexive sich. The true reflexive sich, as well as nondummy nominals in general which have semantic content, can be intensified by the modifier selbst:

- (xvi) Er kauft sich selbst das Buch.
'He buys his own self the book.'
- (xvii) Er sieht sich selbst im Spiegel.
'He sees his own self in the mirror.'
- (xviii) Hans selbst hat das Buch gelesen.
'Hans himself read the book.'
- (xix) Hans hat das Problem selbst gelöst.
'Hans solved the problem itself.'

But the sich which occurs in the reflexive impersonal passive construction can not be modified by selbst, nor can the dummy es:

- (xx) *Es tanzt sich selbst hier gut.
(xxi) *Es selbst tanzt sich hier gut.

Selbst can also not modify the dummy es in the other types of dummy constructions we are considering:

- (xxii) *Es selbst spielt ein Kind im Garten.
(xxiii) *Es selbst wird hier gut getanzt.

(xxxiv) *Es selbst gibt einen Mann da.

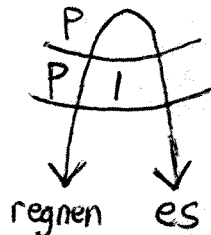
The above data show that the sich which occurs in reflexive impersonal passive constructions behaves like the dummy es and not like nondummy nominals with respect to the ability to be modified by selbst. Therefore, the dummy es and the sich which mandatorily occurs in reflexive impersonal passive constructions group together in not being able to be modified by selbst, while nondummy nominals which have intrinsic semantic content group together in their ability to be modified by selbst.

This indicates that the sich which occurs in reflexive impersonal passive constructions is nonreferential, having no semantic content (like the dummy es). Therefore, it appears that this sich is substantially different in character from other types of sich (such as those following von in sentence (76)).

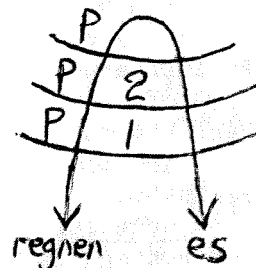
²⁰The use of the present participle in these types of gerund constructions is very limited in German. Stylistically, such constructions are felt to be rather bookish and awkward. Also, the participial construction does not appear to occur at all with verbs like hungern and dürsten.

²¹In other words, I am claiming that reflexive impersonal passives may have structures more like those of weather verb clauses than those of plain impersonal passive clauses. Compare the structure in (90) with the following possible structures for weather verb constructions:

(xxv) a.



b.



Note that the choice in (xxv) above is constrained by the Nuclear Dummy Law.

It has also been pointed out to me by David Perlmutter that another possible analysis of the reflexive impersonal passive construction is Carol Rosen's 'double dummy birth' analysis, which is described in her 1981 doctoral dissertation.

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