

## Locative Relatives in Durban Zulu

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(based on collaborative work with Laura J. Downing, ZAS)

### 1. Issues

- Locatives: nominals or adverbials?
  - Bresnan & Kanerva (1989): Chichewa locatives are NPs.
  - Demuth (1990): Sesotho locatives are adverbs.
  - data mainly based on locative inversion sentences.
  
- ⇒ This talk: data from relative clauses suggest that locatives are adverbials in Zulu; they also denote different things than nominals.
  
- Nominal vs. Locative/adverbial relatives (differences)
  - Prosody
  - Resumptive pronoun marking
  
- Are there different strategies of relative clause formation?
  - Nominal relative – head raising
  - Adverbial relative – adjunction to NP

### 2. Background

#### 2.1. Locatives in Zulu

– Locatives can be derived from nouns with *e-N-(w)ini/eni*, *ku-pronoun/N*, *pha-N + kwa-N/pron*

- (1) a. ú-hlálá é-dolóbh-è:ni.  
1-live LOC-5.city-LOC  
'She lives in the city centre.'
- b. ú-nge:n' é-nd-li:-ni.  
1-enter LOC-house-LOC  
'She entered the house.'
- (2) a. Abantu abadala ba-hlala ku-lezi zindlu. ((2a-c) from Buell 2007)  
2people 2old 2-stay at-10these 10houses  
'Old people live in these houses.'
- b. Ku-lezi zindlu ku-hlala (khona) abantu abadala.  
at-10these 10houses 17-stay there 2people 2old  
'In these houses live old people.'
- c. Lezi zindlu zi-hlala abantu abadala.  
10these 10houses 10-live 2people 2old  
'Old people live in these houses.'

– Buell (2007) makes a distinction between “formal” and “semantic” locatives.

– In Cheng and Downing (to appear), locative adjuncts can be either right-adjoined to an XP above the vP, or if the adjunct is focused, left-adjoined to vP.

## 2.2. Basis properties of restrictive relatives clauses in Zulu

### ▪ Relative marking

*Subject-relatives*: relative agreement with the head

- (3) a. Ín-dod' [é-gqoke ísí-gqo:ko] í-bon-é ízi-vaká:shi.  
 9-man REL9-wear 7-hat 9-see-TAM 8-visitor  
 'The man who is wearing a hat saw the visitors.'  
 b. Si-hlek' ábá-ntwán' [ábá-jah' ím-bû:zi]  
 we-laugh.at 2-child REL2-chase 9-goat  
 'We laugh at the children who are chasing the goat.'

*Non-subject relatives*: no relative agreement with the head; relative subject marking, OM (agreeing with the head) in the case of object relatives.

- (4) a. Si-thánd' ísí-gqok' [ín-dod' é-si-gqok-ilê:-yo].  
 we-like 6-hat 9-man REL9-OM6-wear-TAM-REL  
 'We like the hat the man is wearing.'  
 b. Ín-dod' [ízi-nj' ézi-yí-jahâ:-yo] í-ntshóntsh' í-qhû:de.  
 9-man 10-dog REL10-OM9-chase-REL 9SM-steal 5-rooster  
 'The man who the dogs are chasing stole a rooster.'

### ▪ Prosodic Phrasing (based on Cheng and Downing to appear, 2009, 2007)

– The restrictive relative clause and the relative head belong to the same prosodic phrase (phrase penult vowel lengthening (marked by brackets) is the most consistent prosodic correlate of phrasing).

- (5) a. (úm-fúndísi [ó-thól-ê: ín-dánda:tho]) (ú-zo-thóla úm-klóme:lo).  
 1-teacher REL1-find-TAM 9-ring 1-FUT-get 3-reward  
 'The teacher who found the ring will get a reward.'  
 b. (Ú-gó:go ú-phék' úku-dl' [ábá-ntwan' ábá-ku-thánda:-yo]).  
 1-grandmother 1SM-cook 15-food 2-child REL2-OM15-like-REL  
 'Grandmother cooks food which the children like.'

→ Restrictive relatives differ from non-restrictive relatives and clefts.

### (6) Non-restrictive relatives

- a. (Ú-nhla:nhlá) (ó-théngé áamá-tha:ngá) (ú-wá-thwéle ng`ó-bhasikí:di).  
 1-Nhlanhla REL1-buy 6-pumpkin SM1-OM6-carry with1a-basket  
 'Nhlanhla, who bought the pumpkins, is carrying them in a basket.'  
 b. (si-mem' ú-Ja:bu) (o-m-ázi:-yo) é-dilí:-ni).  
 we-invite 1-Jabu RELyou-OM1-know-REL Loc9-party-Loc  
 'We are inviting Jabu, who you know, to the party.'

→ The head of the non-restrictive relative is phrased separately from the relative clause.

(7) Clefts

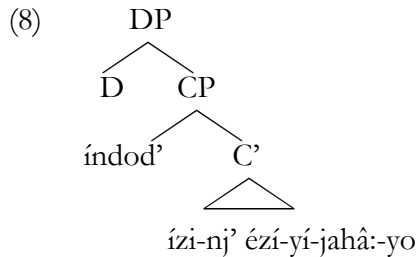
- a. (ùm-fúndí:si) [(ó-thól-ê: ín-dándatho e-bí-ngi-láhléké:le)].  
 COP.1-teacher REL1-find-TAM 9-ring REL9-TAM-I.OM-lost  
 '(It) is the teacher who found the ring that got lost from me.'
- b. (ín-kû:kh') (ú-Síph' á-yí-phékél' ú-Thâ:ndi kwa-m' ízo:lo)  
 COP.9-chicken 1-Sipho REL1-9OM-cook 1-Thandi 15-1sg yesterday  
 'It is chicken that Sipho cooked for Thandi at my house yesterday.'

→ The clefted head is phrased separately from the relative clause.

3. Basic analysis of relatives and clefts in Zulu

- Syntactic structure of restrictive relatives
  - head-raising analysis (Kayne 1994), with the head noun staying within the relative CP

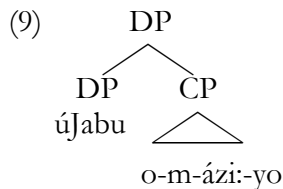
- (4) b. [<sub>DP</sub> Ín-dod' [ízi-nj' ézi-yí-jahâ:-yo]] í-ntshóntsh' í-qhû:de].  
 9-man 10-dog REL10-OM9-chase-REL 9SM-steal 5-rooster  
 'The man who the dogs are chasing stole a rooster.'



- Cheng and Downing's (2009) prosodic analysis
  - The right edge of phases, vP and CP, systematically correlates with a prosodic phrase break.
  - The left edge of the CP phase only plays a role when the CP is not selected, e.g., in a non-restrictive relative clause (as illustrated in the structure in (9)).

▪ Syntactic structure of non-restrictive relatives

- (6) b. (si-mem' ú-Ja:bu) (o-m-ázi:-yo) é-dilí:-ni).  
 we-invite 1-Jabu RELyou-OM1-know-REL Loc9-party-Loc  
 'We are inviting Jabu, who you know, to the party.'



– The left edge of CP in (9) is not selected (by a D<sup>0</sup>), and thus corresponds to a prosodic boundary.

- Syntactic structure of clefts
  - Clefts consists of a copular clause and a head(less) relative clause.

(7) a. (ùm-fúndí:sì) [(ó-thól-ê: ín-dándatho e-bí-ngi-láhléké:le)].  
 COP.1-teacher REL1-find-TAM 9-ring REL9-TAM-I.OM-lost  
 ‘(It) is the teacher who found the ring that got lost from me.’

(10) [<sub>CP</sub> [<sub>IP</sub> ùm-fúndí:sì]] [<sub>DP</sub> ø [<sub>CP</sub> ó-thól-ê: ín-dándatho e-bí-ngi-láhléké:le]]

→ The structure in (10) yields the correct prosodic phrasing since the copular clause is itself a CP.

#### 4. Locative relatives

- A first look

(11) a. ú-Síphó ú-ngené é-ndl:-iní) ú-Thémba á-yí-thengí:le).  
 1-Sipho 1SM-enter LOC-house-LOC 1-Themba REL1-9OM-bought  
 ‘Sipho went into the house that Themba bought.’  
 b. ngi-thánd’ í:n-dl’) ú-Síphó á-hlálá kú-yo:na).  
 1sg-like 9-house 1-Sipho REL1-live LOC-9pron  
 ‘I like the house that Sipho is living in.’  
 c. ú-yê: kú-l-émáke:thé) ésí-zo-hlangana no-Síphó kú-yo:na).  
 1SM-go.past LOC-DEM-9market REL1PL-FUT-meet with-Sipho LOC-9pron  
 ‘She went to the market where we will meet with Sipho.’

- The head of the relative clause in all of these cases are phrased separately from the rest of the relative clause.
- This differs from typical nominal relatives where the head and the relative clause are phrased together.

#### ◆ Problems:

- A typical head-raising analysis cannot take care of locative relatives because:
  - a. if either the matrix verb or the verb in the relative clause requires a locative form, a strict raising analysis generates the wrong form (i.e., a mismatch) (e.g., (11a,b))
  - b. if there are different locative forms required in the matrix or the relative clause, there is then again a mismatch (11c?).
- The prosodic phrasing here is similar to what we see in non-restrictive relative clauses, even though they are restrictive relative clauses (all the cases in (11) are).

- Another locative strategy – use of *lapho*-clause
- *Lapho...khona*

(12) a. ú-Síphó ú-khwélé phé:zu kwé:ndlu) lapho ú-Thémba é-hlála kho:na.  
 1-Sipho 1SM-climb.past on.top LOC-9house *lapho* 1-Themba PART1-live there  
 Sipho climbed onto the house where Themba lives.  
 b. úm-fú:la) laph’ ú-Síphó é-phónzé kho:n’ í-bhóla la:-khé ú-yá-shóna phâ:nsi.  
 3-river *lapho* 1-Sipho PART1-threw there 5-ball 5-his 3-DJ-sink down  
 ‘The river where Sipho threw his ball is very deep.’

- c. ú-yê: é-ndaw-é:ni) laph' ú-Síph' á:-khandelá í-motó ya:khe kho:na.  
 1SM-went LOC-place-LOC *lapho* 1-Sipho PART1.past-fix 9-car 9-his there  
 'He went to the place where Sipho had fixed his car.'

(13) Examples from Doke (1961) – *lapho* clauses are adverbial clauses

- a. *Lapho* usu-qed-ile, ma-wu-buye.  
 when you.PRT-finish-PERF HORT-you-return.SUBJUNCTIVE  
 'When you have finished, come back.'
- b. Yi-beke in-cwadi *lapho* kade i-khona.  
 9.OM-put.SUBJUNCTIVE 9-book where before COP-there  
 'Put the book where it was before.'

(14) Examples from Cheng and Downing (2009)

- a. (índa:wo) (laph' ú-Síph' é:-khandelé: khon' í-mo:t') (í-shí:le).  
 9.place Adv 1-Sipho PT.1-fix Adv 9-car 9-burn  
 'The place where Sipho fixed the car burned down.'
- b. (ú-su:kú) (lapho ú-Sípho é-phékélé é-mzi-ni wá:kho) (kho:na)  
 11-day Adv 1-Sipho PT.1-cook Loc-3.home-Loc 3.your Adv  
 (lú-qalé ka:mbi).  
 11-begin badly  
 'The day when Sipho cooked at your house began badly.'

- All *lapho*-clauses are set off prosodically (from the rest).
- The relative clauses related to locatives are similar to *lapho*-clauses.

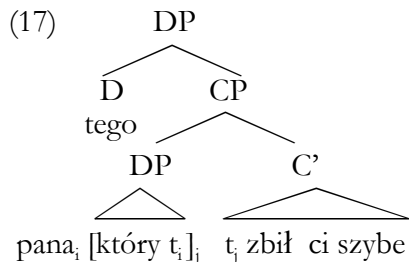
- Locative relatives in English (from Rothstein 2006, see also Larson 1985)
  - Complementizer deletion: when both the head and the gap are “the same”, complementizer deletion is allowed.

- (15) a. [<sub>DP</sub> The book] which/that/∅ Mary read [<sub>DP</sub> e ] is out of print.  
 b. [<sub>DP</sub> The shop] where/in which/\*that/\*∅ Mary bought the book [<sub>PP</sub> e ] is on the corner of the street.

4.1. Zooming in on mismatches in relatives

- Mismatches in Case (Polish, from Borsley 1997: 638)

- (16) Widziałem tego pana który zbił ci szybę  
 saw-1SG this-ACC man-ACC which-NOM broke you glass  
 'I saw the man who broke your glass.'



– the Case mismatch in Polish (and in other languages like German) cannot be easily handled by a head-raising analysis without special mechanisms.

- Mismatches – free relatives (from van Riemsdijk 2005)

#### CATEGORIAL MATCH

- (18) a. The police arrested [<sub>DP</sub> the man] to whom the witness pointed [<sub>PP</sub> e].  
b. \*The police arrested *who(ever)* the witness pointed [<sub>PP</sub> e].  
c. \*The witness pointed *who(ever)* the police had arrested [<sub>DP</sub> e].
- (19) a. The police arrested *who* the witness identified [<sub>DP</sub> e].  
b. They tend to live *in whatever town* their parents used to live [<sub>PP</sub> e].

- Locative relatives (Zulu)

- (20) a. ú-Síphó ú-nge né é-ndl:-iní [ú-Thémba á-[<sub>DP</sub> yí]-thengí:le].  
1-Sipho 1SM-enter LOC-house-LOC 1-Themba REL1-9OM-bought  
'Sipho went into the house that Themba bought.'

- Locative in matrix, DP in REL
- object marker *yi* in REL
- categorial mismatch? ⇒ *endli:ni* is not a noun

- b. ngi-thánd' [<sub>DP</sub> í:n-dl'] ú-Síphó á-hlálá kú-yo:na.  
1sg-like 9-house 1-Sipho REL1-live LOC-9pron  
'I like the house that Sipho is living in.'

- Locative in REL, DP in matrix
- no object marker in REL; locative pronominal as resumptive
- categorial mismatch?

- c. ú-yê: kú-l-émáke:thé ésí-zo-hlangana no-Síphó kú-yo:na.  
1SM-go.past LOC-DEM-9market REL1PL-FUT-meet with-Sipho LOC-9pron  
'She went to the market where we met with Sipho.'

- both matrix and REL have a locative
- locative pronominal as resumptive
- any mismatch? perhaps morphological marking on the locatives

- ◆ Understanding the issue in interpretation

#### NOMINAL RELATIVE

- (21) Ngi-thánd' í-ndl' [ u-Síph' á-yí-thengí:le ].  
1SG-like 9-house 1-Sipho REL1-9OM-bought  
'I like the house that Sipho bought.'

- A nominal such as *indlu* 'house' denotes a set of individual (entities).
- The relative clause *uSipho á-yí-thengí:le* denotes the set of individuals/entities that Sipho bought.

→ Combining *indlu* and *uSipho á-yí-thengí:le* yields the right interpretation, with standard set intersection.

- (22) Ngi-thánd' [DP í:n-dl'] ú-Síphó á-hlálá kú-yo:na.  
 1sg-like 9-house 1-Sipho REL1-live LOC-9pron  
 'I like the house that Sipho is living in.'

– *indlu* denotes a set of entities

– *ú-Síphó á-hlálá kú-yo:na* denotes a set of locations

→ what the nominal denotes and what the relative clause denotes are different sortal types (Rothstein 2009).

- Solving semantic type-mismatch

Rothstein (2009) – an extra type-shifting mechanism changes the denotation of the nominal or the relative clause (note: the complementizer still cannot be deleted).

## 5. Towards a solution

– Taking care of mismatches can only account for some of the problematic cases.

- Typical nominal relatives:

- (23)  $V_{\text{matrix}} [DP D^0 [CP \text{Head-REL } C^0 [TP \dots t_i ]]]$   
 – the head noun raises up to SpecCP  
 – D selects for CP, for left-edge of CP plays no role in prosodic phrasing

- Cases to solve

- (24) Matrix – Loc; Rel-clause – NP (e.g., *John lives in the house that he bought*)  
 – no  $D^0$  in the matrix to select for a Relative CP  
 – N cannot move to SpecCP to form a relative, due to mismatch?  
 → to derive a relative clause, which can modify a location, something else has to happen.
- (25) Matrix – NP; Rel-clause – Loc (e.g., *John bought the house that he is living in*)  
 – there is  $D^0$  in the matrix to select for a Relative CP, BUT  
 – no nominal can move up to SpecCP  
 → the relative clause has to be formed another way, which can then modify a nominal
- (26) Matrix – LOC; Rel-clause – Loc (e.g., *John lives in the house that Mary is also staying at*)  
 – no mismatch qua category, BUT  
 – no  $D^0$  in the matrix to select for a Relative CP  
 → the relative clause has to be formed another way

### 5.1. Ingredients

- Phonological phrasing – relatives involving a locative (either head, or within the relative) are phrased separately.  
 → unselected CP  
 → cf. *lapho*-clauses, which are also unselected CPs, and non-restrictive relative clauses

- Syntactic proposals for solving syntactic mismatch
  - Several proposals modifying the head-raising analysis in order to solve the mismatch.
- ◆ Citko (2001) and Sauerland (2001)
  - Matching analysis: base generation plus deletion/ellipsis

- (27) a. the picture which he likes  
b.  $[_{DP} \text{ the picture } [_{CP} [_{DP} \text{ which picture}]_i [_{TP} \text{ he likes } t_i ]]]$ 
  - *the picture* in the DP external to CP is base-generated
  - the relation between the DP and the CP not mentioned

→ can solve Case mismatches, and also lack of condition C violation

- (28) a. The picture of John<sub>i</sub> which he<sub>i</sub> likes is on the front page.  
b.  $[_{TP} [_{DP} \text{ the picture of John}] [_{CP} [\text{which picture of John}]_i [_{TP} \text{ he likes } t_i \text{ is } \dots ]]]$

- ◆ Rebuschi (2005)
    - Conjunction modification (without head-raising): head noun in ConjunctionP.
  - Base-generated head
- (29) Relative head  $[_{CP-rel} \text{ OP/wh}_i [_{TP} \dots t_i ]]$ , where Rel head is either a nominal or an adjunct

## 5.2. Proposal

– back to an adjunction analysis, with an empty operator

- (30) a. *ngi-thánd'*  $[_{DP} \text{ í:n-dl}']$  *ú-Síphó á-hlálá kú-yo:na.*  
1SG-like 9-house 1-Sipho REL1-live LOC-9pron  
'I like the house that Siphó is living in.'  
b. *ngi-thánd'*  $[_{DP} [_{NP} [_{NP} \text{ í:n-dl}'] [_{CP} \text{ OP } \text{ú-Síphó á-hlálá kú-yo:na } ]]]$

– as (29), the relative head is base-generated; the relative clause is formed by empty operator movement  
– an empty category can bind either a nominal element or an adverbial element

- ◆ Problems solved?
  - no problem concerning categorial mismatches
  - yields the correct phonological phrasing

→ Two strategies for relative clause formation

- a. Head-raising – with reconstruction effects
- b. Adjunction to NP – without reconstruction effects

- Remaining puzzle
  - Some cases of “mismatches” do not yield separate phonological phrasing.



- (31) Examples from Cheng and Downing (2009)
- a. (índaw' ú-Síph' â:-khandelá kú-yón' í-mo:t') (í-shí:le.)  
9.place 1-Sipho REL.1-fix Loc-9 9-car 9-burn  
'The place where Sipho fixed the car burned down.'
- b. (ú-súk' ú-Síph' á-phekelé nga-l' é-mzi-ni wá:kho) (lú-qalé ka:mbi).  
11-day 1-Sipho REL.1-cook Prep-11 Loc-3.home-Loc 3.your 11-begin badly  
'The day when Sipho cooked at your house began badly.'

– *indawo* 'place' and *usuku* 'day' as heads of relative clauses do not set off a separate phonological phrase.

- (32) In answering the question: *which house do you like?*  
ngi-thánda índl' u-Thémb' a-hlálá kú-yo:na.  
1SG-like 9.house 1-Themba REL1-live LOC-9.pron  
'I like the house that Themba lives in.'

→ Rothstein (2009): *place* in English is ambiguous in its denotation – both individuals and locations. (The examples in English below are from Rothstein 2009.)

– Recall that complementizer deletion in English requires matching

- (33) a. The book which/that/∅ Mary read is out of print.  
b. The shop where/in which/\*that/\*∅ Mary bought the book is on the corner of the street.

- (34) a. The *place* which/that/∅ I painted [<sub>DP</sub> t] is on the corner of the street.  
b. The *place* where/in which/∅ I painted (the picture) [<sub>PP</sub> t] is on the corner of the street.

– *place* allows the complementizer to be deleted,

– Rothstein (2009): this shows that *place* can also denote locations

⇒ not all nouns can denote locations (*shop* in English can't). *Place* in English, and *indawo* 'place' in Zulu can, and perhaps *indlu* 'house' also.

⇒ Buell's (2007) distinction between formal and semantic locatives

- Extensions to other domains? (eg., manner, reason, temporal)

- (35) a. The way in which/∅ he painted the house [<sub>PP</sub> t] surprised me. (cf. \*manner)  
b. The reason why/∅ he did it... (cf. \*explanation)  
c. The day/hour/moment at which/when/∅ he made the announcement upset me.  
(cf. \*meeting)

– *way*, *reason* and *day/hour/moment* can denote in another domain than individuals

→ *usuku* 'day' (31), and *indlela* 'way' (36) in Zulu appear to be able to denote within the temporal domain and the manner domain respectively.

- (36) a. ngi-thánd' ín-dlel' á-cúla nga:yo.  
1SG-like 9-way PT.1-sing PREP.9  
'I like the way he sings.'

- b. *ngi-thánd' ín-dlel' á-phéka nga:yo.*  
1SG-like 9-way PT.1-cook PREP.9  
'I like the way he cooks.'

- (37) *ú-khúlúma ngé-ndle:lá á-cúla nga:yo.*  
1SM-talk PREP-9.way PT.1-sing PREP.9  
'He talks the way he sings.'

→ (37) requires an adjunction-type of relatives, yielding a separation between the head *ngéndle:lá* and the relative clause.

- Back to asymmetry concerning locations, time, manner, etc. (data from Larson 1985)

- (38) a. the month (when/during which) you traveled to France  
b. the place (where/near which) Peter is currently working  
– *when, where* are adverbial *wh*-elements, or PP is used

- (39) a. the ceremony (which/that) you arrived during/\* $\emptyset$   
b. the city (which/that) you live near/\* $\emptyset$   
c. the direction (which/that) Max walked off in/\* $\emptyset$   
– when a stranded preposition is left in the relative, deletion of complementizer ok  
– here, a DP gap

- (40) a. \*the location/street (that) you live  
b. \*the vacation (that) you traveled to France

#### IMPLICATIONS

- with preposition stranding, i.e., DP gap, a typical head-raising derivation of relatives (39)
- mismatch cases (e.g., (40)) require adverbial relatives, i.e., adjunct-relatives
- adjunct relatives cannot accommodate *that* (empty operator, or adjunct *wh* cannot co-occur with *that* (doubly filled comp?)) (see also Pesetsky and Torrego 2006)
- English also has two strategies for relativization.

- Locatives in Zulu vs. other Bantu languages
  - impoverished locative classes in Zulu → adjuncts, with some left over locative “nouns”
  - other Bantu languages, e.g., Chichewa? may have locative nouns (see Downing’s paper and Bresnan and Kanerva’s paper).

#### CONCLUSION

- Relatives involving a locative cannot be formed by head-raising.
- An adjunction analysis is needed to derive adverbial relatives.
- Prosodic phrasing can provide clues to syntactic structures.

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