

Structure

1. Analyses
 2. Extraction
 3. Binding
 4. Stranding
 5. Topicalization and the Trigger
- A Hard Nuts for Rightward Movement

Doing the right thing

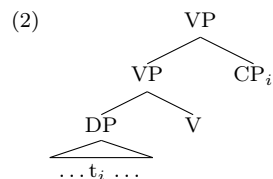
Overview

- German, being SOV, permits postverbal constituents like CPs, PPs
- there's a relation between those elements and a sentence-internal position (see relative clauses, correlates etc.)

- (1) a. Maria hat den Mann t_1 getroffen, [der neben ihr wohnte]₁.
 Mary has the man met who next.to her lived
 'Mary met the man who lived next to her.'
- b. Maria hat es t_1 bedauert, [dass sie wegziehen musste]₁.
 Mary has it regretted that she move must
 'Mary regretted that she had to move.'

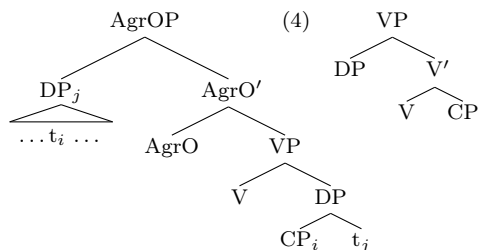
Three analyses for this relation have been proposed:

1. *Rightward Movement*
 extraposed material has moved from its sentence-internal position to the right



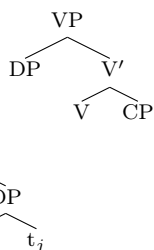
2. *Leftward Movement*
 sentence-internal material has moved stranding the extraposed material

(3)



3. *Base Generation*
 material might be base-generated sentence-internally or finally

(4)



Claim

Only an account relying on *Rightward Movement* may explain satisfyingly evidence concerning extraction (2), binding (3), stranding (4) and topicalization (5).

1 Analyses

1.1 Rightward Movement (RM)

- in German, all nominal and sentential complements and adjuncts are generated to the left of V
- Extraposition is movement to a higher position adjoined to some sentential projection

1.2 Linear Correspondence: Leftward Movement and Stranding

- Kayne 1994's *Linear Correspondence Axiom* (LCA) yields universal specifier-head-complement order
 - underlying SOV orders are ruled out in general and must be derived from SVO
 - movement, always ending in a specifier (or other c-commanding position) may never target the right
- Extraposition results from stranding postverbal material
- preverbal elements are in derived positions

Exercise 1 Draw trees for (5) both in an RM and an LCA approach.

- (5) a. Peter hat ein schlimmes Wort gesagt.
 Peter has a bad word said
 'Peter sad a bad word'
- b. Peter hat gesagt, dass Paula blöd ist.
 Peter has said that Paula silly is
 'Peter said that Paula is silly'

1.3 Base Generation (BG)

- Haider 1993a,b, 2010 claims that NP and CP objects originate in different positions
- linear ordering is determined by the hierarchical structure, no big differences to LCA

2 Islands

- extraposed CPs may or may not be islands for extraction, see (6)

- (6) a. Wen₁ glaubst du, dass Hans t₁ gesehen hat?
 who believe you that Hans seen has?
 ‘Who do you believe that Hans has seen?’
- b. *Wen₁ überrascht (es) dich, dass Hans t₁ besuchen wird?
 who surprises it you that Hans visit will
 ‘Who does it surprise you that Hans will visit?’

Exercise 2 Draw RM trees reflecting the difference between (6-a) and (6-b). Pay attention to the order of operations.

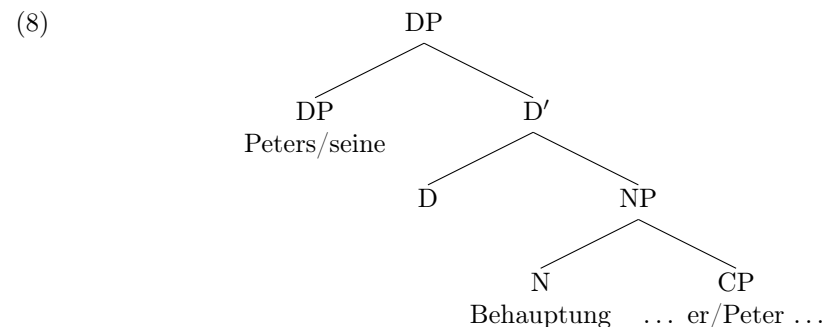
- islandhood depends on the position of the *trace* of the CP
 - if t is in a complement, extraction is ok
 - if not, extraction cannot proceed due to CED
- easy to explain if extraposition *follows* extraction
- under BG, every extraposed clause is a sister of V
- **argument against Base Generation**

3 Binding

3.1 Binding in argument clauses

- a proper name must not be c-commanded by a coreferential term (= Principle C), see (7)

- (7) a. *Wir haben [seine_i Behauptung [dass Peter_i zu Hause gewesen sei] überprüft] .
 We have his claim that Peter at home been is checked
 ‘We checked is claim that Peter is home’
- b. Wir haben [Peters_i Behauptung [dass er_i zu Hause gewesen sei] überprüft] .

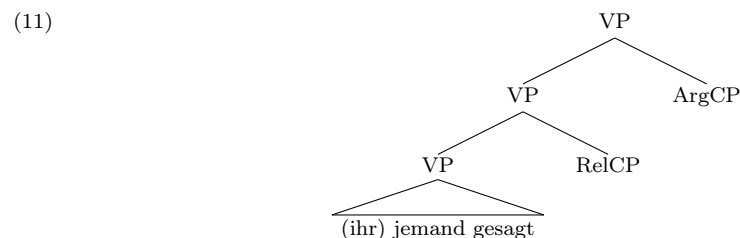


- crucially, Principle C violation in (7-a) remains under extraposition
- (9) a. *Wir haben [seine_i Behauptung] überprüft [dass Peter_i zu Hause gewesen sei] .
- b. Wir haben [Peters_i Behauptung] überprüft [dass er_i zu Hause gewesen sei] .
- that can be derived if extraposition, being A'-Movement, reconstructs before Principle C is checked
 - under BG, the pronoun in (9-a) does not c-command the name (**Exercise 3:** show this!)
 - under LCA, the same problem occurs; if object movement is A-Movement, it should not reconstruct
 - **argument against Base Generation and LCA**

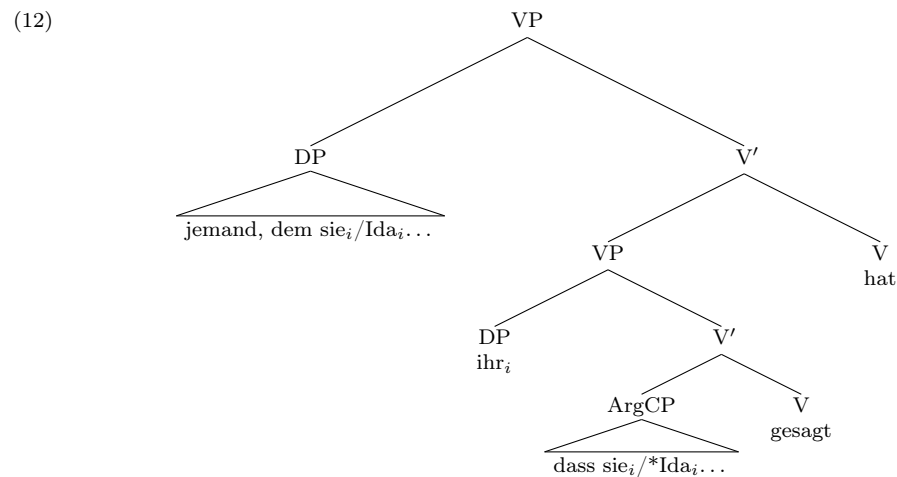
3.2 Binding in relative clauses

- (10) a. Es hat ihr_i jemand gesagt [RelCP dem Ida_i blind vertraut]
 Expl has her somebody said whom Ida blindly trusts
 [ArgCP dass sie_i sehr alt wird] .
 that she very old becomes
 ‘Someone told Ida whom she blindly trusts that she will become very old’
 b. *Es hat ihr_i jemand gesagt [RelCP dem sie_i blind vertraut] [ArgCP dass Ida_i
 sehr alt wird] .
 c. Es hat ihr_i jemand gesagt [RelCP dem sie_i blind vertraut] [ArgCP dass sie_i
 sehr alt wird] .

- only RelCP may contain an R-expression (see b)
- Haider 1993a points out that ArgCP is higher than RelCP under RM



- thus, Binding conditions for R-expression cannot be derived from S-Structure
- Büring and Hartmann 1997's solution: reconstructing everything to D-Structure



- argument against Base Generation(?)

3.3 Variable Binding

- (13) a. I told everyone_i the fact he_i wanted to know.
 b. I told everyone_i the fact yesterday he_i wanted to know.

- variables may be bound by c-commanding quantifiers, see (13)
- again, this does not change under extraposition
- again, variable binding depends on the trace, see (14)

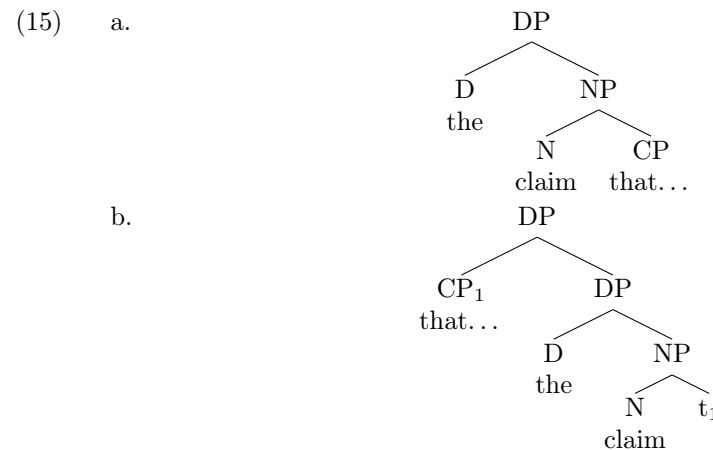
- (14) a. ... weil wir jedem_i die Daten t_j gegeben haben [die er_i braucht]_j
 b. *... weil ein Mann t_j jedes Datum_i kennt [der es_i braucht]_j

- under Base Generation and LCA, every preverbal element c-commands every postverbal element

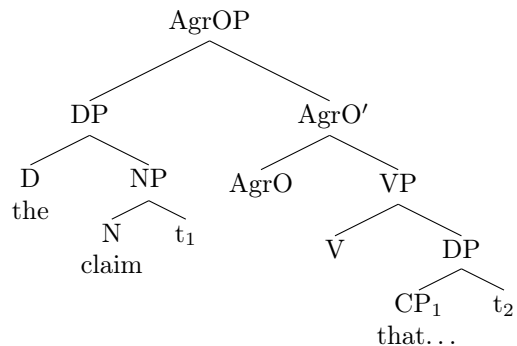
- argument against Base Generation and LCA

4 Stranding

- LCA based analyses have to rely on unusual kinds of movement, see CP argument to N in (15)



c.



- but: D+N do not move stranding their relative clause normally (and moving a segment is explicitly prohibited in the Kayne framework), see (16)

(16) * $[\text{The information } t_2]_1$ he passed $[\text{that the party was rescheduled }]_2$ on to his classmates.

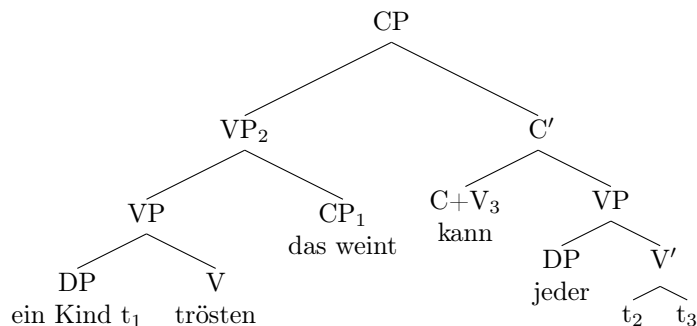
- **argument against LCA**

5 Topicalization and the Trigger

5.1 Fronting extraposed clauses with VP

- extraposed clauses appear postverbally
- thus, extraposition has to target a position above the highest VP
- but: with VP topicalization, CP may target the highest topicalized verbal projection

(17)



- RM needs to facilitate adjunction at *any* verbal projection which is not c-commanded by another one

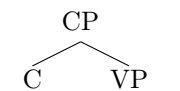
5.2 Case Resistance

- based on Stowell 1981:

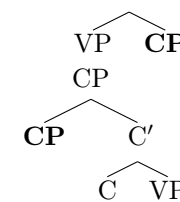
(18) Finite sentences may not be governed by V.

- if the representational (18) is checked at 'S-Structure', finite CPs have to turn up extraposed (19-a), topicalized (19-b) or extraposed on a topicalized VP (19-c)

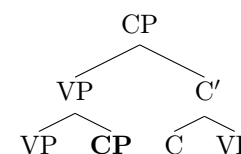
(19) a.



b.



c.



6 Summary

- island related data show that Extraposition counterbleeds Freezing effects
- Binding effects suggest that Binding respects the traces of A'-movement rather than the moved items
- an LCA based analysis of nominal arguments has to rely on movements only occurring in those very cases

References

- Büring, Daniel and Katharina Hartmann (1997). “Doing the right thing”. In: *Linguistic Review* 14, pp. 1–42.
- Haider, Hubert (1993a). *Detached Clauses – The Later The Deeper*. Arbeitsberichte des Sonderforschungsbereichs 340, Bericht Nr. 23.
- (1993b). *Deutsche Syntax – generativ*. Tübingen: Narr.
- (2010). *The Syntax of German*. Cambridge, MA: CUP.
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- Stowell, Timothy A. (1981). *Origins of Phrase Structure*. PhD Thesis, MIT.

A Hard Nuts for Rightward Movement

A.1 Trigger

- Case Resistance is a representational constraint which does not follow from Principles of Movement
- NP shells save CPs from government by V
- if relative clauses are still able to move, movement is not a Last Resort
- Case Resistance might be too strong

(20) weil Clara, ob Peter sie liebt, nicht mehr weiß
because Clara if Peter her loves not anymore knows
‘because Clara doesn’t know anymore if Peter loves her’

A.2 Reconstruction of fronted Pronouns

- in (12) vs. (10), the fronted pronoun has been reconstructed
- however, fronting pronouns to the postverbal position probably is not A'-movement
- if pronoun fronting does reconstruct, one would expect a difference between

(21) a. dass Peter sie_i niemandem vorstellte, den Ida_i mochte
that Peter her.ACC no.one.DAT presented who Ida liked
‘that Peter presented Ida to no one whom she liked’
b. dass Peter ihr_i niemanden vorstellte, den Ida_i mochte
that Peter her.DAT no.one.ACC presented who Ida liked

A.3 Violation of Island Conditions

- it is one fact that Extraposition does not constitute islands for extraction
- it is strange that Extraposition, by assumption movement, does not respect islands at all

(22) a. dass ein Buch bei CUP erschienen ist über Chomsky
that a book at CUP appeared has about Chomsky
‘that a book was published by CUP about Chomsky’
b. dass Peter die Titelseite eines Buchs gesehen hat über Grammatik
that Peter the titlepage a book.GEN seen has with Chomsky’s silhouette
‘that Peter has seen the titlepage of a book about grammar’

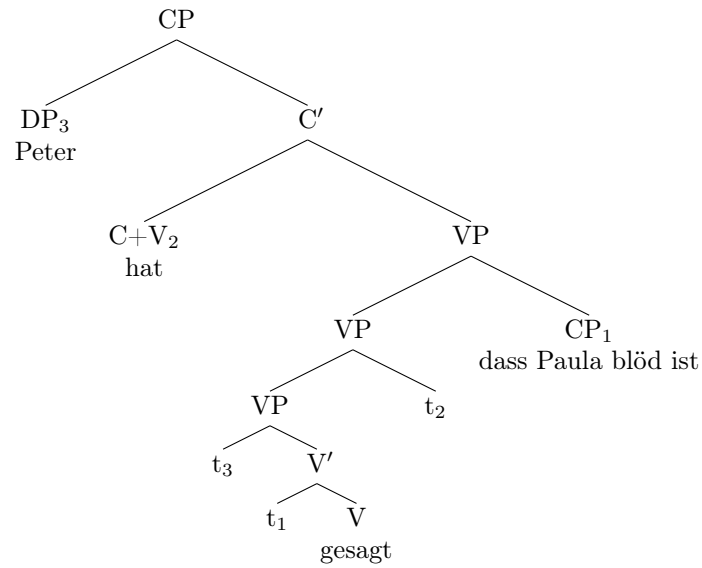
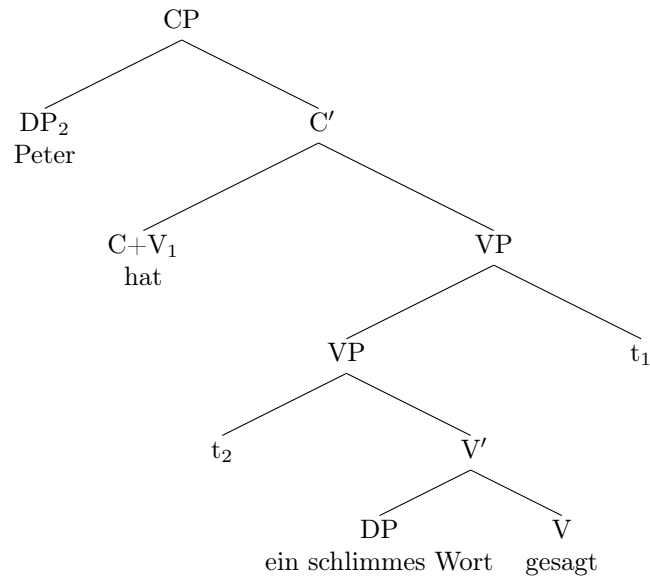
- it is also strange that Extraposition, by assumption A'-movement, may not cross the CP boundary

(23) *Peter hat, als Christopher gefragt hat, geputzt, ob noch Brot da
Peter has when Christopher asked has cleaned if still bread there
ist.
was
‘Peter has cleaned when Christopher asked if there was still bread.’

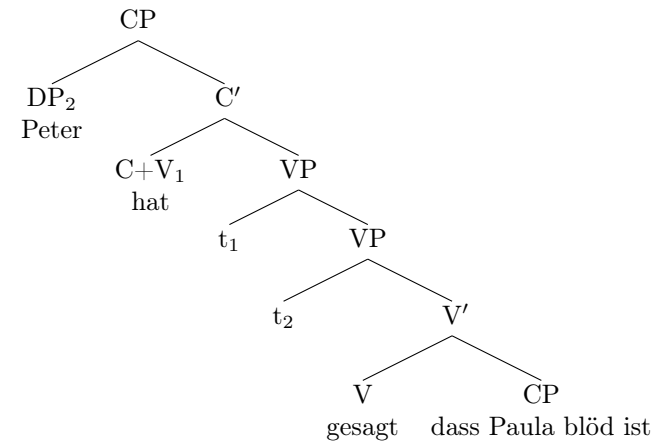
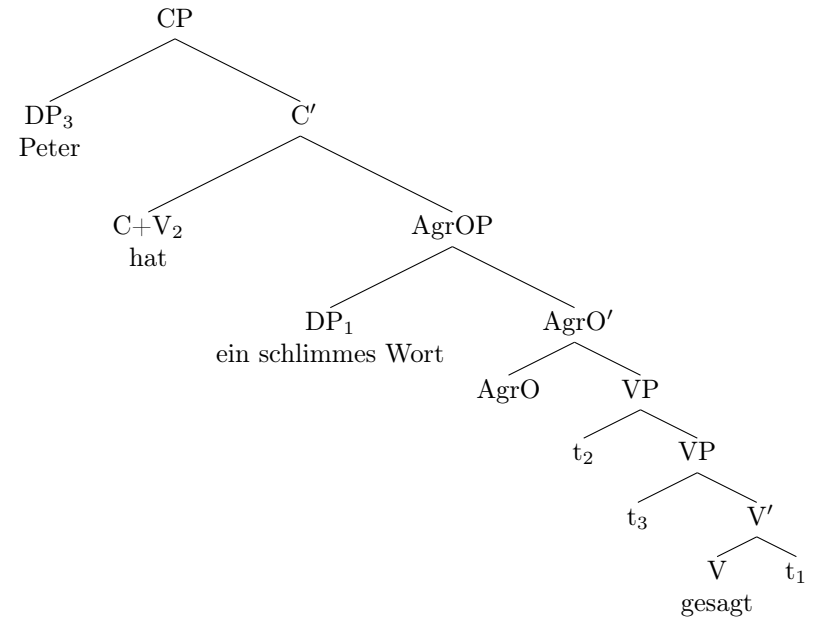
B Trees

Exercise 1

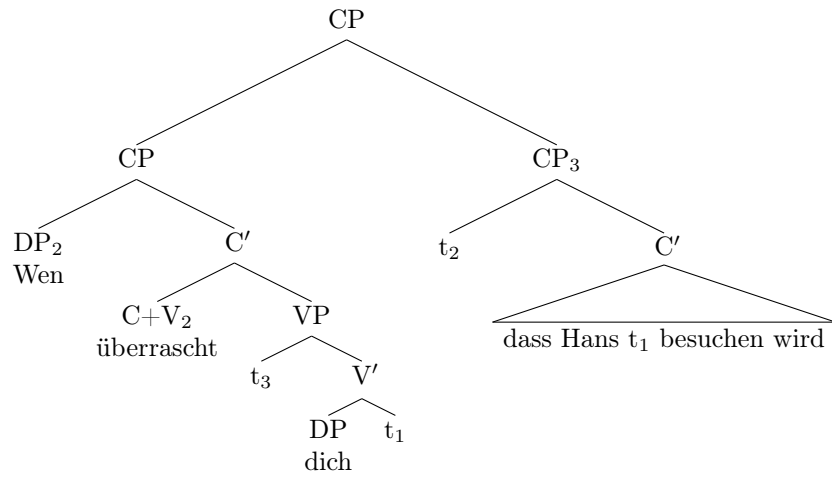
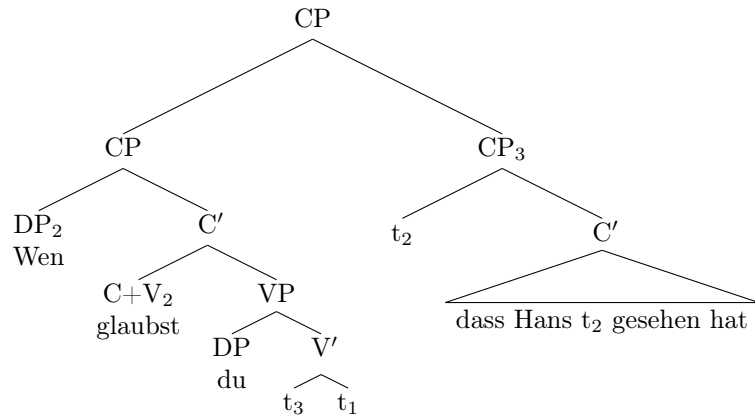
Rightward Movement



LCA



Exercise 2



Exercise 3

