

# Preface

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**On Extraction and Extraposition in German**

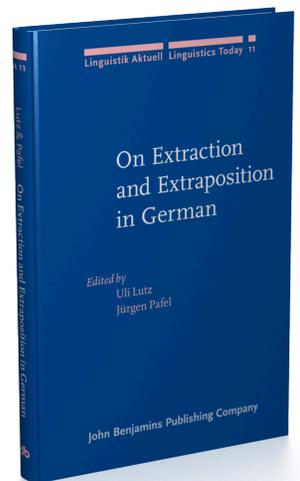
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## Preface

Extraction phenomena have always played a prominent role in the developments of modern grammar theory. Although this may be especially true for the Chomskyian tradition of generative grammar up to the current approaches in Principles and Parameters theory, the descriptive and explanatory problems posed by extraction phenomena play a considerable part in every modern theory of syntax, be it Relational Grammar, Lexical-Functional Grammar, or Head-driven Phrase Structure Grammar, to mention just a few. One central problem is the highly theory-dependent question of which phenomena have to be analysed as involving extraction. The history of syntactic theories is, to a considerable extent, also the history of debates on which phenomena are to be analysed as extraction constructions. Besides more or less uncontroversial cases like *wh*-movement and topicalization, syntacticians are divided concerning the proper analysis of, for example, passive, raising, or, more recently, scrambling and extraposition.

This volume documents current research and recent debates on (putative) extraction phenomena in German in the broader context of the Principles and Parameters framework (including recent Minimalist approaches). With the main focus on German, its contributions deal with the question of which constructions are to be analysed as involving extraction and which not, the suitable syntactic structures of extraction constructions, the appropriate design of extraction theory from the point of view of German and the impact of extraction on semantic interpretation.

The first contribution serves as an introductory overview. In “Some Notes on Extraction Theory”, ULI LUTZ starts with a preliminary discussion of extraction and its constraints, exemplified with relevant data from German, and then turns to a compressed overview of the treatment of extraction in some central stages of the theory upon which current Principles and Parameters approaches are based. This overview is then taken as a background for a closer look at extraction phenomena in German, which also provides a preview of the following contributions.

In “Extraction from Verb-Second Clauses in German?”, MARGA REIS deals with the kind of construction exemplified in (1). This construction is standardly analysed in the generative tradition as extraction out of an embedded verb-second clause (see (2)).

- (1) *Wo glaubst du wohnt sie jetzt?*  
 where believe you live she now  
 ‘Where do you think that she lives now?’
- (2) *Wo<sub>1</sub> glaubst du [ t<sub>1</sub>’ wohnt sie jetzt t<sub>1</sub> ]?*

If one analyses constructions like (1) as extraction constructions, two special restrictions have to be explained which do not apply to standard cases of extraction: first, extraction from a verb-second clause obligatorily must leave a gap in the initial position of the verb-second clause, and second, extraction from a verb-second clause may only occur via and into verb-second clauses. There is, however, a conceivable alternative to an extraction analysis as in (2): (1) could be analysed as a parenthetical construction. Reis gives a detailed and critical analysis of the arguments upon which the extraction analysis rests. She concludes that the extraction analysis cannot be upheld and argues that there are conclusive arguments for a parenthetical analysis. Finally, she discusses hitherto unnoticed, marginal cases of genuine extraction from verb-second clauses, which do not exhibit the restrictions mentioned above.

The most prominent recent theories on *wh*-islands are especially concerned with the properties which, in English and Italian, distinguish *wh*-phrases which are extractable from a *wh*-clause from *wh*-phrases which are not. In “On *wh*-Islands in German”, FRANZ-JOSEF D’AVIS contrasts such theories with German data. German is peculiar for a striking asymmetry: extracting *wh*-phrases from *wh*-clauses is straightforwardly impossible, whereas extracting non-*wh*-phrases from *wh*-clauses is possible (at least to a certain degree). As for the extractable phrases, indefinite ones are more easily extractable than definite ones (while a certain intonation pattern is necessary for the definites), and argument/adjunct-asymmetries can only be observed if temporal and locative phrases are not regarded as adjuncts. In order to account for the German facts, d’Avis argues for a theory which distinguishes between *wh*-movement and topicalization in terms of specific landing sites of the moved elements. Finally, d’Avis investigates the range of interpretations of bare plurals extracted from *wh*-clauses and compares it with other cases of topicalizations of bare plurals. In all these cases the so-called quantificational

reading is strongly preferred. This can be explained if one assumes topicalization to be successive-cyclic and the topicalized bare plurals to be reconstructed to the position of an intermediate trace.

Negative island effects come in two varieties: under certain circumstances negative elements either make a sentence unacceptable or they make a theoretically possible reading unavailable. In “Negative Islands and Reconstruction”, SIGRID BECK investigates a certain subset of negative island phenomena. She claims that in these cases the negative island effect can be explained by a constraint on LF: an LF trace may not be bound across an intervening negative quantifier. This constraint is shown to account for the ungrammaticality of certain sentences with negative quantifiers. The bulk of the article, however, is devoted to demonstrating that this constraint is crucial in explaining the range of readings of *wh*-clauses where at LF – for semantic reasons – reconstruction (in terms of backward movement) of parts of the initial *wh*-phrase is necessary. In certain such cases reconstruction creates an LF configuration which is ruled out by the above mentioned constraint. The reading corresponding to reconstruction is thus not available in these cases. Finally, Beck discusses the possibility of generalizing this constraint to prohibiting binding of an LF trace across a quantifier – negative or not.

Extraction from noun phrases is a domain where it is unclear which constructions are to count as extractions and which not. In “Kinds of Extraction from Noun Phrases”, JÜRGEN PAFEL investigates the constructions which are candidates for extraction from noun phrases. In a first step, he takes them all to be extractions and divides them into two groups according to their sensitivity to restrictions on extraction. One group – to which PP Extraction, *was für* Split, and NP Split (i.e. Split Topicalization) belong – is limited by a set of restrictions which does not constrain the second group – to which Quantifier Floating, Partitive Split, and *w-alles* Split belong. In a second step, Pafel proposes explaining this difference by the fact that, in the first group, the element to be extracted is “included” in the noun phrase, whereas in the second group, the element to be extracted is adjoined to the noun phrase. This proposal is supported by independent considerations concerning the structure of the noun phrases. The resulting classification of extraction constructions is shown to be of crosslinguistic value. Finally, evidence for and against the view that the constructions under investigation really are extraction constructions is considered. It is argued that the extraction view is well founded.

Four contributions to this volume are dedicated to the proper analysis of extraposition. For some time the main debate in this field was about the question of whether extraposed material has undergone movement to a right-adjoined position or whether it is base-generated in this position. The recent debate, however, is centered around the question of whether extraposed material is situated in a right-adjoined position or whether extraposition sites must be analysed as complement, specifier, or left-adjoined positions. This recent discussion is a consequence of new developments in the theory of phrase structure, that is, a consequence of the debate on whether right-adjunction is ruled out for principled reasons, as argued for e.g. by Haider and Kayne (see the articles of this section for references). As for the contributions to this section, BÜRING & HARTMANN and MÜLLER argue in favour of extraposition as rightward movement to an adjunction position, whereas HAIDER and WILDER argue in favour of extraposition as base-generation in complement (or specifier) position.

In “All Right!”, DANIEL BÜRING and KATHARINA HARTMANN draw a detailed comparison between an account of extraposition as rightward movement and non-adjunction analyses of extraposition, especially the “base analysis” espoused by Haider. They argue that a movement account is superior in explaining the facts of extraction, binding, topicalization, and stranding in sentences with extraposition – the main reason being that such an account can refer to the base-positions of moved extraposed elements. A movement account, they claim, can explain asymmetries concerning extraction out of extraposed clauses by the distinct properties of the base-positions of the extraposed clauses (L-marked vs. not L-marked), assuming that extraction out of a clause occurs before the clause is extraposed. Furthermore, a movement account can explain Principle C and variable binding effects, assuming that binding principles apply to a structure where A'-moved elements (including extraposed elements) have been reconstructed into their base-positions. They argue that the “base analysis” has no conceptual tools to explain these facts. In the second part of their paper, Büring and Hartmann develop a “dynamic theory of extraposition”, whose central element is an S-structure filter which triggers extraposition. This filter allows extraposition to I' (or IP) or VP, depending on the specific syntactic contexts.

GEREON MÜLLER's “Extraposition & Successive Cyclicity” deals with two peculiar properties of extraposition which set it apart from leftward movement

types and which have long been known to be problems for any movement account of extraposition: first, extraposition is strictly clause-bound (known as the *Right Roof Constraint*); and second, extraposition may violate NP islands. Müller claims that both properties can be explained if extraposition is analysed as successive-cyclic rightward movement and is thus subject to the *Principle of Unambiguous Binding* (PUB), the core of the articulate theory of improper movement developed by himself and Sternefeld. PUB requires a movement chain to be uniform with respect to the types of syntactic positions involved. Müller argues that there is overt evidence for right-adjunction to VP, IP and NP in German, but no such evidence for right-adjunction to CP. Then both properties of extraposition follow from PUB, thus yielding a strong argument in favour of a movement approach to extraposition: extraposition across a CP boundary is impossible because right-adjunction to CP is impossible and successive-cyclic extraposition via other types of syntactic positions violates PUB. Extraposition from NP islands, on the other hand, is possible because right-adjunction to NP is possible.

In “Downright Down to the Right”, HUBERT HAIDER continues his work on a restrictive variant of generative grammar, which, in contrast to other recent approaches, tries to minimize movement in syntax and functional structure. Haider’s central assumption is that branching is universally left-associative in phrase structure (the *Branching Constraint*), i.e. phrase structure is universally right-branching. This rules out base-generated right-associative structures as well as adjunction structures derived by rightward movement. Consequently, extraposition structures must be analysed as embedded structures. In this contribution, Haider sets out to further strengthen his approach and to reject the arguments in favour of the movement account advocated by Büring & Hartmann as well as Müller. Haider argues that the so-called non-elliptic comparative construction (such as *Pictures of more people than I met yesterday are for sale* and its German counterpart) is a key construction in the debate on extraposition, providing manifest evidence against any adjunction analysis of extraposition as well as against head-movement to the right. Finally, he discusses the relation between the syntactic domains of directional and indirect licensing, which is crucial for an adequate analysis of extraposition within the limits of the Branching Constraint.

Comparable to Haider, CHRIS WILDER’s account of extraposition in “Rightward Movement as Leftward Deletion” is based on assumptions which rule

out rightward movement for principled theoretical reasons. But, unlike in Haider's theory, (leftward) movement plays a crucial role in Wilder's account, which aims to highlight the nature of "headed extraposition", such as the extraposition of the noun-complement clause in (3) in German and English:

- (3) *We talked about the claim yesterday that Mary will hire Peter.*

According to Wilder's analysis, the noun phrase *the claim that Mary will hire Peter* has its base-position to the right of the adverb *yesterday* and moves from there to a position to the left of the adverb – where movement is considered as a copying process. The surface string in (3) is derived by a combination of backward deletion (~~that Mary will hire Peter~~) and forward deletion (~~the claim~~), see (4).

- (4) *We talked about [the claim ~~that Mary will hire Peter~~] yesterday*  
*[~~the claim~~ that Mary will hire Peter].*

Thus, headed extraposition is analysed as leftward movement and a combination of backward and forward deletion. Wilder embeds his analysis in a minimalist theory, relating backward deletion to a PF process, while taking forward deletion to be an independent LF process.

The contributions to this volume – except for Haider and Lutz – go back to talks presented at a workshop on extraction at the 16th Annual Meeting of the German Linguistic Society (Deutsche Gesellschaft für Sprachwissenschaft), Münster (Westfalen), March 9-11, 1994. The contributions by d'Avis, Beck, Haider, Lutz, Pafel, and Reis report work in progress for the Sonderforschungsbereich 340, *Sprachtheoretische Grundlagen für die Computerlinguistik* (Tübingen & Stuttgart), supported by the German National Research Society (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft).

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